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EDITED BY

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No. CXCIII. New Series.—January 1, 1883.

THE COMING SESSION.

By this day seven weeks we shall have entered on the fourth session of the present Parliament, and the moment is not unseasonable for a brief review of the position of the Liberal party, and an inquiry into the legislative enterprises which lie before it in the immediate future. Probably no party ever succeeded to power amid brighter or more hopeful circumstances than those which surrounded Mr. Gladstone's Government in April, 1880. An overwhelming victory following a desperate fight; an immense majority, in which internecine jealousies were, at any rate for the moment, happily composed; a leader of extraordinary powers and popularity; an administration of all the talents; and an attractive and practicable programme of ministerial measures—such were some of the elements which combined to form a condition of unusual prosperity and promise. But among them all there was probably not one on which trained observers of political phenomena relied so confidently for useful results as on Mr. Gladstone's personal ascendancy over the House of Commons. Old and experienced Members of Parliament instructed the new-comer to watch carefully the methods of Mr. Gladstone's leadership, because it was remarkable for its completeness, its dexterity, and the willing submission with which it was received. The personal authority of the Premier was the most noteworthy feature which the new House of Commons, unusually rich in such features, presented to the student of parliamentary life.

Nothing, therefore, was more surprising, or even startling, than the promptness with which the majority of the House set itself in opposition to that authority, in a matter where the personal opinions, predilections, and influence of the Prime Minister were specially involved. It would be useless now to discuss the question whether the difficulties and scandals of Mr. Bradlaugh's case might have been avoided in the first instance by the peremptory intervention of the Chair, or subsequently by a bolder policy on the part of the Liberal leaders. The incident is only mentioned in this connexion because it manifested, on the very threshold of the new Parliament, three

facts of great significance in relation to the future conduct of the Liberal party and of the House.

These were, first, the fact that a certain section of the Liberal majority in Parliament had only the frailest hold on the primary principles of Liberalism, and were prepared to abandon those principles under the pressure of social and theological prejudice. Secondly, there was this phenomenon, noticeable in itself, and specially noticeable when contrasted with Mr. Gladstone's just ascendancy over the great bulk of his party: that in a question where his political faith was specially operative, where desertion by his followers must have been specially annoying, and where he had personally intervened with an unusually fine display of reasoned and impassioned eloquence, he was unable to secure a majority except by a conditional compromise such as satisfied nobody's conscience, and merely postponed the difficulty to a later but not more convenient season. The third point of interest was that the readiness, the pertinacity, and the acuteness with which Mr. Bradlaugh's claim was resisted revealed the existence of powers in the Opposition, and mainly outside its official ranks, which gave the promise of abundant difficulties ahead.

This enumeration by no means exhausts the instructive material which the Bradlaugh incident afforded; but it lays stress on three elements of difficulty which no thoughtful observer who watched the incident could have overlooked in reference to the probable development of future events. It is also worthy of remark that whatever difficulties the Government have as yet encountered have arisen far more from these causes than from any robust opposition on the part of Sir Stafford Northcote, that—

> "Scrupulous good man,
> Who would not, with a peremptory tone,
> Assert the nose upon his face his own."

In the successive phases of Mr. Bradlaugh's case, in critical stages of the Irish Land Bill, and in the main divisions on the Closure, the Government have found their chief embarrassments to arise, not from the fossil officialism of the front Opposition bench, but from the disaffection of a certain group of their own followers, and from the enterprising though irregular tactics of the Fourth Party.

It would be idle to suppose that these powers of mischief have exhausted themselves. But the Government stands at this moment in a position where it can defy them all. On all hands the Ministers are successful. In Ireland, though the dying struggles of a murderous conspiracy are desperate, the Crimes Act, firmly administered by courageous judges, is producing the best results. No constitutional principle is violated or even strained; but criminals

are brought to justice, and the safety of the law-abiding classes is restored. Daily experience bears out the contention of those who maintained that, as soon as a proper tribunal was constituted, evidence would be forthcoming, while it throws into glaring prominence the folly of those maudlin politicians who had no method of dealing with organized murder except to heap fresh benefits on the murderers. The proceedings and results of the Special Commission in Dublin are respectfully commended to the study of the men who, when Mrs. Smythe's murder and the tragedy of the Phœnix Park were filling England with horror, sat simpering in the Reform Club, deprecating a "howl for blood," and complacently asserting that "nothing could be done."

In Egypt the English forces have obtained a decisive and dramatic success, the effects of which have been distinctly perceptible in the region of politics at home. Army reorganization, short service, and the abolition of flogging, though inaugurated amidst the most mournful prophecies, have been justified by results, and the eminent General whose known Liberalism had won him the rancorous hatred of his profession is the hero of the hour.

It would be a grave mistake to suppose that the Egyptian campaign has strengthened the position of the Government as regards the Liberal party. The most that can be said is that it has not weakened it. Confidence in Mr. Gladstone's moral rectitude and tried love of peace alone has reconciled the great bulk of Liberals to a policy which, at any rate on the surface, bore an unpleasantly close resemblance to the antics of Lord Beaconsfield. As it is, signs have not been wanting at important centres of political feeling that the loyalty of the party has been sorely strained. To the end there will probably be many who, while regarding every step taken by the Government since the riot at Alexandria as necessary and right, will feel an uneasy suspicion that the occasion for those steps might have been avoided by a more skilful and decided diplomacy in the previous autumn.

It will be fortunate, indeed, for the Liberal party if this feeling does not find marked expression at the next general election, and illustrate once again the worthlessness of Tory applause when won by the alienation of any section, however inconsiderable, of Liberal voters. Lord Salisbury, it would seem from his speech at Edinburgh, is disposed to see the beginning of the end in Mr. Grenfell's recent defeat. It would be interesting to hear his comments on the Liverpool election; but even with regard to Salisbury, apparently, he is wrong. Those best qualified to speak are disposed to attribute the Liberal disaster, not to dislike of any part of the Ministerial policy, but to local jealousies, emulations, and rival interests, which made a contest at the

moment highly inopportune, and were, characteristically enough, ignored by those Liberal officials whose business it is to inform themselves of the state of parties in the constituencies, and the probable issues of an electoral contest. There is still reason to hope and believe that the Egyptian war is regarded by the mass of Liberal electors rather as an odious necessity, or, in Mr. Chamberlain's phrase, a "hateful incident," than as the deliberate adoption of a "spirited foreign policy;" and if this view, which is that entertained by the majority in the House of Commons, be generally accepted, the Egyptian campaign may, after all, do us no permanent injury. And, for the moment, it has done unquestioned good. It has proved that Liberals can, on good cause shown, fight with a promptitude and effect unknown to the blustering tactics of Jingoism. It has silenced all foolish cries about Mr. Gladstone's indifference to national honour, and has substituted an even stranger cry about his indifference to human life, to peace, and to civilisation—a change of tune which argues that the bewildered Opposition are reduced to the most desperate shifts of an exhausted polemic. It has improved his position with the timid and the respectable, who oddly enough are usually the most bellicose, and it has made him for the moment popular with the London mob. Above all, it knocked the heart out of the opposition to his new Procedure Rules. Nothing can be more amusing than to contrast the serious anxieties about the result of Mr. Marriott's amendment last March, and the vainglorious prophecies of Mr. Gladstone's impending defeat, which prevailed up to the commencement of hostilities in Egypt, with the singularly plain, easy, and triumphant course of his Resolutions on Procedure during the autumn session. The credit of the opposition to them, such as it was, belongs to Lord Randolph Churchill and his confederates, who have fought the new rules with untiring assiduity, and have illustrated once again the lesson which the writer has sought to draw from the Bradlaugh incident. But in spite of all opposition, Mr. Gladstone has carried his rules, on the main question by an ample, and on all the amendments by an overwhelming majority. With reformed procedure, a devoted following in the House, and a renewed popularity out-of-doors, Mr. Gladstone is for the moment master of the situation. And if anything were wanting to the completeness of his opportunity, it is to be found in the confessed disorganization of the Conservative party. In the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury openly bewails his inability to drag the Conservative peers with him into the dangerous and infatuated courses which he loves to follow. In the House of Commons, Lord Randolph Churchill and his adherents ridicule and defy the Front Opposition Bench, and not infrequently lead them into follies. In the pages of this magazine "Two Conservatives" pour scorn upon all the principles,

methods, and results of Conservative leadership and organization. The Conservative Chairman of Committees vacates his seat, and the official director of Conservative electioneering reads him a sharp lecture on his want of consideration for the party. The "polite letter-writer" in question renounces his post in the Conservative Central Association, on the ground that their organization is so hopelessly bad that his services are thrown away. The ex-Conservative whip makes a plain statement of fact about his relations with the Conservative Chairman of Committees, is met with a flat denial, and has to hobble out of the scrape with more celerity than grace. And the Conservative electors of Preston resolutely reject the candidate chosen for them by the Carlton Club, and triumphantly return a local gentleman of their own choosing.

The rout and perplexity of the Tory camp are complete. Mr. Gladstone's personal powers are at their zenith; his position in Parliament and in the country is supreme; his followers everywhere are demanding the fulfilment of the promises of 1880, and the enactment of the measures in which they are so profoundly interested; and we may fairly hope that the approaching session will bring them what they desire. 1884 will be too late. The shadows of the dissolution will have begun to fall upon us, and the measures which we have in view are too momentous and far-reaching to be scrambled through by an expiring Parliament at the fag-end of a wasted life. It is on the session of 1883 that the hopes of Liberal Reformers must be concentrated; and it now becomes a matter of pressing interest to know what measures the Government will bring forward.

And here, at the outset, let a "feeble unit" of the Liberal party express a hope that we are to have no more Irish legislation. It is true that some ominous hints of such legislation were dropped by the Prime Minister during last session. But there is still room to hope that those hints were only the mutterings of a storm which may yet roll harmlessly away. Ireland has been the evil genius of the present Government. Their experiment of letting the Peace Preservation Act expire, though as Liberals they were bound to make it, proved a dismal failure. Their well-meant though hastily drawn Disturbance Bill was wrecked by the Lords, who thus, with characteristic shortsightedness, precipitated the sweeping reforms contained in the Land Bill. The Land Bill itself, while grand in conception and marvellously elaborated in detail, was yet so mangled before it passed into law that it has been necessary to spend the best part of another session in amending it.

The Coercion Bill of 1881 was so conceived and so administered as to secure the maximum of popular irritation with the minimum of deterrent effect. The overt and ostentatious defiance of the law

was suppressed; but the unchecked increase of murder and similar crimes attained the dimensions of a national scandal. The murder of Mrs. Smythe first aroused a visible flame of public indignation, and forced on the Government the necessity, which the murders in the Phœnix Park only emphasized, for a more efficient measure of repression. Such a measure, happily, is now law, and for a while we may surely let the Irish question slumber. The law-abiding Irishman now enjoys a measure of religious equality and of agricultural security such as his English congener may fairly envy. A murderous and treasonable conspiracy is his only enemy; and against that enemy the law has armed the Government with those new, and we may fairly hope sufficient, powers which Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan are now administering with such exemplary tact and firmness. The time has surely come when, with regard to Ireland, we may "rest and be thankful," and leave the amended Land Act to work out, under the protection of a powerful executive, its mission of mercy and amelioration. Certainly the English constituencies grudge none of the precious time which has been bestowed on securing this beneficent end; but no less certainly they are beginning to invite parliamentary attention to their own concerns, and to remember that the Government entered office pledged to a large and a varied list of reforms, very few of which have been at present fulfilled. Foremost among these, in the writer's judgment, must be placed the Corrupt Practices Bill.

And here the Government must be prepared to encounter the full force of all those difficulties which have been mentioned above as having beset them, and being likely to beset them again, in the House of Commons. The defection of sham Liberals and the calculated insolence of the Fourth Party will co-operate with a dogged though shuffling opposition from the whole Conservative side. The scandalous nature of the abuse will prevent any open hostility to the principle of the reform; but it will drive the forces of resistance underground, and by a thousand tortuous but effective shifts the powers of corruption will strive to the bitter end for their time-honoured privileges.

But in the country the Government may count on an enthusiastic and, as far as the Liberal party is concerned, an unanimous support. The public conscience is at last fully awake to the scandals of corruption and intimidation. The better sort of English electors are heartily sick of being bribed and bullied. There is rapidly growing up a manly determination to be rid of the degrading tyranny of the purse. And a Liberal Government which any longer hesitates to deal peremptorily with electoral malpractices must lay itself open to the odious reproach of being secretly not unfavourable to the evil which it repudiates. Suspicion is a plant of rapid growth in the popular bosom; and the electorate which has laughed to scorn the

elaborate attempts to evoke its sympathy for the imprisoned bribers will not confidingly endure continued dallying with an evil so long denounced, and, as yet, so little discouraged. It would be blind folly to underrate the difficulties in the path of reform. Rich men, directly or collaterally interested in politics, have so long been in the habit of influencing the course of elections, that the practice has become second nature, and has up to quite recently been accepted an all hands as a recognised part of the political *modus vivendi.* Sir Leicester Dedlock, when his cousin Volumnia was so indiscreet as to ask "what for?" about the "hundreds of thousands of pounds" spent at the general election, answered, "For necessary expenses. And I trust to your good sense, Volumnia, not to pursue the subject here or elsewhere." And he was only the prototype of a numerous and influential class. The profligate expenditure in the actual contest, and the practice of "salting" the constituency between one election and another, have gone far to destroy the very idea of electoral independence, and, to invert a phrase of Burke's, have kept alive in freedom itself the spirit of a debasing servitude. Agricultural and economic depressions have indeed done something to cripple the power, if not to chasten the spirit, of corruption. The country gentleman, for whose misfortunes Mr. Milnes-Gaskell has lately uttered such a piteous wail, must be prepared, in his efforts after "simpler living," not only to sell his hunters and give up his moor, but also to forego the traditional luxury of tampering with his neighbour's political conscience. But, while the pecuniary influence of the squire declines, that of the mere capitalist is no doubt on the increase. And the change is hardly an improvement. Consoling ourselves with the belief that vice loses half its evil by losing all its grossness, we no longer buy our neighbour's votes at a pound a head, but we give sites for people's parks and found scientific museums; we distribute our influence in showers of cocoa and clouds of superior sheeting; and if we lend fifty pounds to an entangled grocer, we only hint at repayment just before the general election.

It is impossible, in a sketch like this, to describe a tenth part of these manifold and ingenious methods of corruption. Sometimes the actual or would-be Member of Parliament prepares an elaborate banquet in a public hall, sends the champagne, the venison, and the pine-apples, and generously distributes tickets to his poorer brethren, or—more transparent artifice still—sells them at sixpence a head. Anon an ambitious sheep-farmer, anxious to reproduce at Westminster the eloquence which has thrilled an Australian Senate, suddenly developes a passion of æstheticism, summons all his neighbours to an antiquarian inspection of his baronial halls, and flavours the luncheon with a well-timed discourse on the advantages of fair trade or the iniquities of a gagging government.

Again, as is the case in an important metropolitan constituency,

a wealthy member who is openly and professedly the sworn and profitable ally of the publicans, and is returned largely by their vote and influence, surreptitiously subsidizes all the anti-publican institutions, the working men's clubs, and young men's institutes. Such a man, indeed, "does good by stealth," though he must "blush to find it fame" in the mouths of his licensed victualling supporters.

These permanent modes of corruption are, no doubt, very difficult to check. But there is reasonable ground for hope that they will gradually perish by their very affinity to the corrupt expenditure at the time of election, when once that expenditure has been stamped as criminal. As long as the present scale of outlay is permitted, it is unavoidable. One candidate is ready to incur it, and his opponents must incur it also, or compete on unequal terms. Or, where both are disposed to fight economically, a whole swarm of agents and solicitors, canvassers and committee-men will spring up and make retrenchment impossible. Thus, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out in the *Nineteenth Century* five years ago, a man who has no equipment but his character and abilities has less and less chance of success; and the result is that most degrading of all governments—a plutocracy.

The present Liberal majority in the House of Commons contains many men who have declined or left remunerative and permanent employment in order to serve the party in Parliament. They have damaged their professional prospects or deliberately neglected the claims of business. This is a sufficient sacrifice, and they cannot be expected to increase it by submitting every three or four years, or whenever a disappointed minister decrees an unexpected dissolution, to be mulcted in several thousand pounds of election expenses. If elections are to continue as costly as heretofore, the contest must be abandoned to those whose means enable them, and whose principles permit them, to buy the victory. And which political party is most likely to profit by such an arrangement is a question for the consideration of her Majesty's present ministers.

What is the weapon which we are to employ against these varied evils? Roughly speaking, we cannot do better than take the Corrupt Practices Bill, which is ready to our hands. In its general conception and main provisions it is excellent. It may, indeed, require to be so extended as to cover some other matters now left out of sight, but those leading provisions which fix the maximum of the candidates' expenditure and attach heavy penalties to transgression must at all costs be maintained intact. On these there must be no surrender either to the mock-heroics or the mock-pathetics of borough-mongering attorneys or the wire-pullers of the Carlton Club. At the same time it is to be hoped that the firmness of character which we all admire so much in Sir Henry James will not induce him to turn a deaf ear to those who are in sympathy with his object, and

who, from their exact knowledge of local circumstances, would be his best counsellors. For example, it is absolutely necessary, if the votes of the working men in thickly populated districts are not to be lost by the prohibition of conveyances, that polling-places should be made more numerous and polling-hours extended. If the multiplication of polling-places raises the necessary expenses above the legal maximum, the surplus might be charged on the rates, where, indeed, a considerate section of the Liberal party would wish to charge the entire cost of the election. Another point in which Sir Henry James's proposition seems susceptible of amendment is that, while he forbids the hiring of conveyances, he allows the rich man to convey voters in his private carriage. This concession seems to create a social inequality which is scarcely equitable in principle, and unquestionably mischievous in policy.

There are countless details in which the present arrangements of the ballot require revision. The open voting allowed to the illiterate voter has been widely abused by voters, who have feigned to be illiterate in order to secure the reward of a vote certainly given on the right side.

Again, a dangerously wide discretion is allowed to the returning officers, some of whom have not scrupled to supply ballot papers so thin that the voters' mark could be seen through the paper when it is folded up. Some provision must be made for remedying these defects of administrative detail.

In view of the extraordinary contradictions and perplexities which have arisen in the courts of the revising barristers, it is worth while to consider whether registration could not be made, in reality as well as in theory, a function of the State instead of being left to the haphazard agencies which now direct it. It ought to be impossible for an elector's constitutional right to be "wrested from him by force or shuffled from him by chicane."

It will be answered that all these reforms, and the many others which are germane to them, cannot be covered by a single Bill. Still it is obviously desirable that as large a field as possible should be embraced in order that the Government measure—the last in this direction which we are likely to see for a long time—may not stand in perpetual need of supplementary amendment. It is only by giving a very wide extension to the term "Corrupt Practices" that we can hope to deal a crushing blow at so widespread and deeply-rooted an evil. To whatever perfection of detail the Bill is carried, its leading principles must be, by elaborate precaution and stringent penalties, to show that practices, always immoral, are now no longer safe, and so to make that impossible which has so long been intolerable.

The next point on which it seems to us imperatively necessary

that the Government should take action is the Liquor question. This has already been brought within the range of possibilities by Mr. Gladstone's intimation that the licensing system would be dealt with in the County Government Bill. That Bill, on all accounts so urgently needed, we may hope to see reintroduced next session, and the licensing system should then be thoroughly reviewed. The time is ripe for such a review, and it will be useful, not only in its immediate object, but in clearing up the whole subject of the Liquor traffic, and in showing what is practicable and what merely chimerical in the way of liquor law reform.

For several years past the Liquor question has been claiming our attention from various quarters and with increasing urgency. The whole medical profession, in lectures, in magazines, in professional books, and in private consultation, has announced the reaction from the "stimulating" or "fortifying" treatment of twenty years ago, has depicted the disastrous effects of unrestricted alcohol, and has preached the necessity of moderation and self-control.

Approaching the subject from the religious point of view, the Nonconformists have thrown themselves into the movement with characteristic energy, and have, in a large number of cases, identified themselves with the cause of Total Abstinence. Even the clergy of the Established Church, not always prominent in social reforms, have forgotten the "port and prejudice" of the apathetic past, and outvied the most vigorous of their Nonconformist brethren. The more moderate have found a refuge in the "Church of England Temperance Society" with its various grades; the more uncompromising have embraced the rigour of the "Blue Ribbon."

Nor are these all. Uninfluenced by the considerations which have swayed the religious advocates of abstinence, less exactly scientific than the medical contingent, a busy host of social reformers have compared the statistics of drink, pauperism, and crime, and, pointing to our crowded gaols and workhouses, have called on us to abolish this prolific source of national deterioration.

Now, were this threefold outcry of religion, science, and economy directed solely against drunkenness, the path of reform would be comparatively easy. There are certain palpable and admitted remedies to which recourse might by common consent be had. We might heavily increase the penalties on drunkenness, wherever, whenever, and by whomsoever committed. We might establish the principle that drunkenness is an aggravation, and not an extenuation, of any crime committed under its influence. We might devise a much severer and more systematic plan of punishing adulteration, as one of the gravest crimes against the physical welfare of the State. We might punish the publican in whose house drunkenness habitually occurred by deprivation of license without compensation. The oppo-

sition to these changes would be slight and ineffectual, for no one would willingly figure as the champion of the unprotected drunkard or the designing publican. But unfortunately the question is too complicated to be so simply dealt with. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that a large proportion of those who are agitating for liquor law reform are pledged, not against the abuse, but against the use, of alcohol. They believe that indulgence in strong drink is not only capable of producing evil results, but is in itself an immoral act, if not a crime. And, holding this view (though they may shrink from formulating it in a plain sentence), they, consistently enough, determine, as far as lies in their power, to make the practice impossible for their neighbours. The simplest method of doing this was that embodied in the Permissive Bill, which would have conferred on a majority of the ratepayers power to prohibit absolutely the sale of intoxicating liquors in the district. For the promotion of this measure the extreme reformers were fortunate enough to discover in Sir Wilfrid Lawson an advocate ready to their hand, an amiable enthusiast, a persuasive and amusing speaker, a man of large means and abundant leisure, and, above all, animated by a single-minded and self-denying desire to serve the highest interests of his fellow-men. Yet, in spite of a combination of qualifications as happy as it was rare, Sir Wilfrid did not find the Permissive Bill prosper in his hands. The better the proposal was understood, the more apparent it became that, while overshooting the mark in stringency, it gave no certain promise of reaching the evil at which it was aimed. The power of a majority of inhabitants to forbid the ordinary convenience and enjoyment of the minority was an invasion of personal liberty such as Englishmen do not relish, and a disagreeable approximation to mob-government. Men were scandalized by the gross unfairness, as between class and class, of a measure which would close all the public-houses in the village, but would leave the squire unrestricted access to his club and his wine merchant. The inevitable result of such an enactment in making drinking solitary instead of social, and substituting spirits as a durable commodity for the more perishable malt liquors, seemed of doubtful advantage to the cause of sobriety. But, above all else, the public conscience revolted from a measure which was founded on the essentially untrue principle that the use as well as the abuse of alcohol was an evil which the State must combat, which would include drinking in the same condemnation as drunkenness, and would punish all for the offence of some.

The Permissive Bill having thus perished by its inherent faults, the advanced reformers fell back upon a device by which they thought to secure the same end, while disarming opposition and allaying fears. This device was the invention of "Local Option."

A resolution was introduced into the House of Commons which affirmed the desirability of establishing a local veto over the issue of licenses. This manœuvre was, for a time, eminently successful. Many of the present Ministry voted for the resolution, though conspicuous exceptions were found in Mr. Gladstone, in Lord Hartington, and in Mr. Fawcett, than whom no Minister has a better acquaintance with the habits and needs of working men in town and country. Many members who had wholly refused to countenance the enormity of the Permissive Bill were yet ready to support an abstract resolution, which, while formally recognising an admitted evil, yet committed them to no practical step.

All those who numbered among their supporters a large and influential teetotal body hailed with thankfulness a means of escape from what threatened to become a serious embarrassment.

Another class, while feeling less keenly about the particular reform in view, were glad to support a proposition which tended towards a further development of local self-government. Thus, from one cause or another, all prospered happily with the Local Option resolution, and it was twice affirmed by the present House of Commons. But, after a while, men tire of the abstract, however excellent, and begin to consider how it can be translated into the concrete. And here the temporary convenience of the device disappears, and we are once again confronted by the primary difficulties of the case. It now appears that the authors of the resolution have all along had nothing in their view but the Permissive Bill, pure and simple. They have not been unwilling to catch the votes of those who, without looking to practical consequences, have given their adhesion to the abstract theory of local option. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in whom the harmlessness of the dove is agreeably tempered by the wisdom of the serpent, states roundly that he is, and has all along been, of his original opinion, that there is no way of giving effect to the resolution which the House of Commons has affirmed, except his first plan of conferring on the majority of ratepayers the power of abolishing the liquor traffic of the district. No mere power (such as the moderate reformers and the advocates of local government aimed at) in a representative body to grant or refuse licenses will, we are now told, meet the exigencies of the case. "If the devil is to be licensed, it may as well be by magistrates as by an elected board." Thus those simple folks who had thought, by voting for the resolution, to temporize with a difficulty which they saw ahead, discover to their confusion that, less fortunate than Sir Wilfrid Lawson, they have evinced that wisdom of the dove which is too often allied with the harmlessness of the serpent.

Meanwhile the individual Member of Parliament is placed in a position of peculiar difficulty. If he refuses to vote for Local Option

he is reproached with being indifferent to the evils of drunkenness, and runs a risk of alienating an active and zealous section of his supporters. If, on the other hand, he votes for the resolution, he does so with the knowledge that its authors mean by it something wholly different from what popular opinion supposes it to mean; and that, in their opinion, the only way of giving it practical effect is by an invasion of individual freedom which his intellect and conscience alike condemn. If "Local Option" meant, as at one time every one supposed, and as some people still suppose it to mean, the power of a board elected by the ratepayers to grant or refuse licenses, the Liberal Party would probably support it with virtual unanimity. It would be likely to do more than anything except free trade in drink (for which the public conscience is not prepared) to proportion the supply of public-houses to the demand for them, and thus to abolish those houses which exist less to supply a want than as incentives to excess. It would be a more truly reforming measure than the Permissive Bill; for, whereas that Bill only provides for the suppression of the drink traffic, and makes no attempt to regulate it where it is permitted, Local Option, as we contend for it, would effectually prevent the nuisance which arises from ill-regulated houses, or the intrusion of well-regulated ones into localities where they are not wanted. It would secure to the working man his right to obtain what he requires, whether he chooses to treat the public-house merely as a liquor-shop or more as a club. It would harmonize fully with those English instincts and traditions of local self-government which the forthcoming County Government Bill is designed to develope and consolidate. It would probably, in the long run, tend to improve the character and increase the utility of the public-house by making it less a drinking-place and more a place of general refreshment, such as the phrase "licensed victualling" naturally and historically imports. Finally, by making the landlord more directly and consciously dependent on public favour, it would restore the natural relation between him and his customers, and go far to destroy his already shaken influence over politics and electioneering.

But all these advantages are as nothing in the eyes of those who framed the Permissive Bill, and still desire to carry it under the name of Local Option. They will, we fear, hardly satisfy the bulk of total abstainers. No one wishes to cast a slur upon those admirable men who, from a simple desire to benefit their fellow-men or themselves, have imposed upon themselves the yoke of total abstinence. They may fairly claim a share of that honour which we pay to the missionary who abandons home, and to the monk or hermit who renounces the family tie; even to the apostolic spirit which will eat no meat while the world stands, lest it make its brother to offend.

But it must be plainly said that, while self-denial is an heroic virtue, the denial to others of their just rights is a grievous wrong; and while we are determined, as far as possible, to correct the evils which have grown up round the liquor traffic, we have no mind to abolish that traffic for the poor man, while we leave the rich man undisturbed in his indulgence.

This extremity of their followers seems to be the opportunity of the Government. We may even go a step further, and say that they are bound in honour and justice to extricate those followers from the embarrassments which have arisen from a too-docile following of Liberal leaders.

It is easy to forecast the probable drift of the reform of local government. Of this we may be sure, that local powers will be conferred on elected Boards. These Boards, which are to administer all matters of urban government, may fairly take the liquor traffic under their control; and, being by their nature essentially representative of the feelings of the community and of no one section, they can deal with each house upon its merits, and with an exact knowledge of local circumstances. Mr. Chamberlain, with his well-known powers of persuasion, may here find an opportunity for experiments in his Gothenburg theory. It would be well if, at the same time, instead of proceeding piecemeal with Cornwall and Yorkshire, power were universally conferred to deal with the question of Sunday closing, due provision being made for the supply of proper wants at suitable hours. The present system of open hours seems ingeniously contrived to meet the convenience of no single class.

No one pretends that this is an exhaustive exposition of details; but by deliberate and well-weighed legislation on such lines as these, we may hope to attain the object of all reasonable reformers, to secure to the working man the same liberties as are claimed by the rich and the "respectable," and to demolish finally the theory that one hundred men are to make impossible the legitimate enjoyment of ninety-nine.

There remains another field of legislation in which it seems alike the wisdom and the duty of the Government to take an immediate step. We refer to the numerous questions affecting the condition of the agricultural labourer. Of course no one is unmindful of the stupendous change in the labourers' position, as well as in our whole polity, which is involved in the impending extension of household suffrage to the counties. But that reform, to which the Liberal Government is more deeply pledged than to any other, forms no proper part of the work of next session. We are entitled to ask for at least one session of practical legislation before we embark on a measure which, whether successful or unsuccessful, must be the immediate precursor of a dissolution. Something, his friends would

urge, must be done for the agricultural labourer in the meantime. The agricultural labourer has had but little share in the legislative improvements of the present age. Public and compulsory education is preparing his children to take their proper place in the State, but it has done little for the men who are now middle-aged. Great social and economic changes have rolled by, and left the bulk of the agricultural population unhelped, uncomplaining, and yet we cannot suppose unconscious of their wrongs—

> "Born only to endure,
> The patient, passive poor
> Seem useful, chiefly by their multitude ;
> For they are men who keep
> Their lives secret and deep ;
> Alas ! the poor are seldom understood."

And now we are pledged, at no distant date, to confer on these men, whom we have done so little to prepare for the change, a large and possibly a preponderating share in the governing power. Fortunately, what we have failed to do, the instincts of manhood have done for them. And, without waiting for encouragement from above, the English labourers have asserted and maintained their right to combine, to agitate, and to press their claims. As one of their truest friends, Mr. Stubbs, of Granborough, has said they are "struggling towards citizenship through self-reliance and association." Surely it is at once our duty and our wisdom to meet them half way. We must not wait for the County Suffrage Bill, which, when once it is law, will have made them, in Lord Sherbrooke's phrase, "our masters," and will have taken away all grace and all disinterestedness from zeal on their behalf. As a duty to them and to the State in which they are to have so large an influence, we must try to accustom them beforehand to the habits of thought, of speech, and of action, to the reasonable self-control and no less reasonable self-assertion, which beseem free and responsible men. We must remember betimes that they are not serfs or ciphers, but citizens who will soon be law-makers. As a question of mere policy, let us show the labourer, before all parties in the State have begun to outbid one another for his favour, who really are his friends, and who most truly desire to see him emancipated and self-governing. On what lines we are to move towards this result may not be so clear. But two points at any rate suggest themselves. We must give the subject of Peasant Proprietorship at least a thoughtful and sympathetic consideration before we dismiss it as impossible. Least of all must we listen to those shallow dogmatists who teach us to regard as visionary everything which they themselves have not seen and felt. Next session ought not to pass without a thorough, conscientious, and exhaustive attempt by the House of Commons, under

the guidance and encouragement of a Liberal Ministry, to see whether a step, on social and political grounds so desirable, cannot be accomplished in perfect harmony with economic laws.

On the borders of the New Forest there is a most interesting colony. Twenty years ago a public-spirited landlord sold a tract of ground to some five-and-thirty labourers of the district, who were anxious to become peasant proprietors. In the process of time a certain proportion of these have been obliged to sell, and now rent what once was their own. But the majority have lived and prospered. Some own as many as ten acres apiece; the average five; and many less. Those who own less than five eke out their subsistence by working for hire. But the majority are independent of any such extraneous aid, bring up large families, have sufficiency of food and clothing, and can occasionally hire such labour as they require. The soil is very poor, from four to eight inches in depth, with gravel and sand below. But by industry and labour it has been increased to a depth of one foot, and with abundance of manure and chalk it is found to yield well. Each proprietor divides his land between market-gardening and dairying. Corn and apples will not grow; but vegetables of all kinds, and fruit, especially strawberries, are abundant. The markets which the men attend are ten and twelve miles off; they sell wholesale to save time, and bring manure back on their return journey. In dairying, each man keeps from one to three cows, and the waste of the garden feeds one cow for nine months. For the others, and for pigs, which are kept in large numbers, brewers' grain is bought. The following letter from one of the original settlers in this colony was addressed to the present writer some weeks ago, and is here printed with no corrections except of punctuation and orthography:—

"It is little more than twenty years ago I bought my piece of land, between five and six acres. I was about twenty then, and had been to grass mowing and harvesting, and saved a little money. And I paid a part for the land, and with what I had left I built me a house, but I think it would have been the best to have paid all for land, and done with my poor house for a time. It would save a lot of interest money for the first few years. I broke up a piece of land and done a day or two's work to live, but many of my crops I never gathered for want of manure and chalk and being drained; but I kept cattle and pigs from the first, and it gradually made the land better; but I had very bad luck with my horses and cattle for the first ten years. My first horse died and I bought another, and in a year or two that died, and about ten years ago the only two cows I had died not two weeks apart, with the milk-fever. But we got over it without any help, and since then our cattle have done well, and I have always kept the cattle on my own ground, as the common is too poor and too far away. The first ten or twelve years I sowed down a piece for grass to [feed] the cows in, and I bought for them in winter, and I planted the rest with oats, peas, potatoes, rye, turnips, and carrots. But now my ground is better, I can grow the same things as I did at first, then plenty left for market-gardening. The things what I grow for that purpose is potatoes, peas, beans, cabbage, carrots, onions, parsnips, strawberries, gooseberries, currants. This

lasts two years; our ground and cattle have brought us in £100 a year for our work. One thing I must mention: we have baked a little bread and sold it, which have helped us a little. My opinion is that if waste land was sold in small lots it would do good; but I do not think much of life-land or lease land, for I think your children should reap the benefit after. I would not care to work night and day as I have done if it was not for my children; but my land was very poor.

"The plantation is about two hundred acres, and there is thirty-six families and twenty-two freeholders. There is some of them that get their living by market-gardening and keeping cattle. Some have got two and three or four acres, but they are all doing well. I know they are glad with myself that they persevered and bought a piece of land. It is better for them and better for the country."

An experiment which produces results so good as these, and engenders this spirit of self-helpfulness and independence, is surely not to be contemptuously disregarded or shelved as impracticable. As far as it goes it tends to prove that Peasant Proprietorship is economically possible. And, if this be so, it would surely confer an immense benefit on the body politic by giving the labourer a direct and conscious stake in the State. But there is another change which simple justice would seem to require. Almost every class has received some legislative boon from the present Government. The Dissenters have had their Burials Act; the mechanic has obtained the protection of the Employers' Liability Act; the farmers have benefited by the Ground Game Act. The agricultural labourer alone remains unnoticed and unrelieved. It would be only a graceful and an equitable act to extend to him some share of the benefit which his employer has received, and relieve him from the temptations, the demoralization, and the penalties which are bound up in the odious anachronism of the Game Laws.

These remarks have indicated, however imperfectly, some legislative projects which might profitably engage the attention of the Liberal Government during the ensuing session. There are other measures of great, though not of equal, importance, which may fairly claim their share of attention. Mr. Chamberlain will, we hope, contrive to carry his Bankruptcy Bill. The reform of the Corporation of London ought not to be very difficult, now that the boasted potency of the City in Parliament has so completely collapsed that the conscript fathers did not venture last summer to divide the House on the question of the fish-market.

There remains, of course, the County Franchise Bill, a legislative revolution much too vast to be discussed here and now; and then, one leaf of the Liberal programme being turned, the next page will be found inscribed with the names of important changes: Free Schools and Compensation for Improvements are boons already promised. We must expect the English Land Bill, which will develope the work begun by Lord Cairns' Act, and also secure to the English tenant a more

perfect freedom. The action of the Peers under Lord Salisbury's guidance will probably force on the question of a second chamber and its proper constitution; and those who flatter themselves that the Liberal party will shrink from discussing it will be grievously disillusioned. Disestablishment, begun in Ireland, will inevitably work round, by Scotland, to England. And who is to preside over these changes?

Every observer of politics will have noticed that, in exact contradiction of the current nonsense which represents Sir Charles Dilke as an impracticable theorist, and Mr. Chamberlain as the most parochial of vestrymen, the Foreign Under-Secretary is a master of administrative detail, and the President of the Board of Trade takes a singularly wide view of the functions of Government. Sir William Harcourt, by his firmness and temper in office, and especially in the conduct of the Irish Crime Bill, has established a commanding position in the House of Commons. The fact that Lord Hartington must some day be a peer co-operates with the voluntary self-effacement of Mr. Goschen and the compulsory self-effacement of Mr. Forster to leave the Home Secretary very few rivals.

Men of all opinions have been delighted to see the brilliant success of Mr. Trevelyan in posts of administrative responsibility from which, when the Government was formed, he was so strangely excluded. But the main achievements of all these men belong probably to a later day. For the work of next session, and of every other session which sees him still sitting in Parliament, it is childish to mention any one in the same breath as Mr. Gladstone. The fortunes of Liberalism are so bound up in his life, that one recalls Bishop Hall's saying about Queen Elizabeth, "Every one pointed to her white hairs and said, 'When this snow melteth there will be a flood.'" His commanding personality dwarfs all surrounding figures, and concentrates the gaze of all beholders upon itself alone. He counts indeed among his nominal adherents some half-hearted Liberals whom nothing but the force of circumstances has constrained to follow him. But for those who, by early and spontaneous choice, have made him their leader and hero in politics, the spell of his genius has lost nothing of its power. Once felt, it is irresistible. When next he rallies his party to a struggle for life and death, none will respond with such a loyal enthusiasm as those who were Gladstonians before the last general election. It is our boast, these may justly say, that when Mr. Gladstone's political fortunes were at their lowest ebb, and when many who now profess to be his followers had openly renounced their allegiance, we fought and won the battle of 1880 for his cause, under his leadership, and by the invocation of his beloved and venerated name.

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL.

WILL THE NEW RULES WORK?

When the House of Commons reassembles next month it will be under conditions without parallel in the six centuries of its history. From the days of Simon de Montfort down to the present the House has been engaged in an almost incessant struggle for the assertion, maintenance, and consolidation of its privileges. To many of these it laid claim as the necessity for their exercise arose, whilst it has divested itself of others when the circumstances of the time no longer seemed to warrant their retention. But there is one privilege of which the House has ever shown itself jealously watchful, which at all cost it has resolved firmly to uphold, and the destruction of which would strike at the very roots of its usefulness and independence. That privilege is the right of free speech. Even in the dark ages of Parliamentary life, when monarchs who believed in the "Divine right of kings" sought, and often with much success, to force their imperious will upon their abject subjects, the Commons stood out manfully for the right of full and free discussion. In the famous Protestation addressed to James I. they urged it as "their antient and undoubted right and inheritance," and they further went on to say that "the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, the redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, *every member* of the House hath, *and of right ought to have*, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same." And again, in the well-known "Apology" of 1604, one of the three chief "rights of the liberties of the Commons of England" insisted upon was that members should be permitted to "speak freely their consciences without check or controlment." It has been reserved for an age in which the right of free speech is the common boast of every platform orator, and for a Minister whose eloquence (displayed without stint throughout a long and noble career) has been the admiration of mankind, to impose upon the House of Commons restrictions and restraints which were found intolerable even by the obsequious Parliaments of the Tudors and the first of the Stuarts. The New Rules are not so rough a method as "Pride's Purge," but they are virtually intended to produce the same effect.

It is idle, however, to lament the lost liberties of the past. The practical points now to be considered are, Will the New Rules work the evils that have been predicted of them? Will they, on the other

hand, yield the benefits that are expected from them? Or will the instrument of repression have been forged in vain? Before any attempt is made to answer these questions it is necessary to ask another—With what object were the Resolutions introduced? At first the country was told that the Reform of Procedure was necessary to put an end to Obstruction. When, however, the Rules came to be examined and discussed, it was found, and the fact was frankly admitted by Ministers, that they were intended, not only to suppress Obstruction, but to curtail the legitimate rights of the Opposition. Had it been desired simply to place a curb upon the rampant vagaries of the Obstructives, the Fifth Rule, dealing with continued irrelevance and tedious repetition, and the Ninth Rule, dealing with wilful and persistent obstruction, would have sufficed for the purpose. Indeed, there is nothing else in the whole of the Resolutions which is directed against the Irish Members exclusively. The First Rule will not touch them, if they continue to exhibit the same wariness and circumspection that have hitherto characterized their tactics. In point of fact, Ministers have openly acknowledged that the First Rule is aimed directly against the Opposition. The story is old now, and will hardly bear repetition; but the minority in the House is to be muzzled in order that the Government may hurry through the Bills which, owing to the exigencies of Irish affairs (the result partly of Ministerial mismanagement), have for three years lain undisturbed in their pigeon holes. The Conservative party have been beaten and crushed in the struggle for the retention of their "antient right and inheritance," not by argument, but by the dead-weight of their opponents. Human endurance has its limits; though, with experience to guide us, we can scarcely doubt that, had Mr. Gladstone been in opposition instead of office, he would have maintained a still more stubborn fight than the Conservative leaders have done. The worst enemy of Mr. Gladstone, indeed, could wish him no harder fate than that which befell Perillus, the maker of the famous brass bull of torture, who was condemned by the tyrant to be the first victim of his own misapplied ingenuity.

But will the new legislative machine answer the expectations of its inventors? It is more than questionable. The *Clôture* Rule, for example, can only be valuable by being judiciously kept in reserve. Frequent application of it will dull its effect, and render it useless. Members will become accustomed to its employment, and, shaping their conduct accordingly, will render legislation impossible except on retaliatory principles. This, it should be said at once, is the worst evil that the new system will work. The courtesy and consideration which have hitherto pre-eminently marked the proceedings of the House of Commons, will give place to less worthy feelings. The policeman, so to speak, will take the place of the man of liberal

education and good breeding. Everything which is not especially forbidden will be considered lawful. The leaders of parties will be less anxious to produce arguments than to devise combinations for themselves or to defeat the combinations arrayed against them. In short, the statesman will be sunk in the politician, whose most valuable accomplishment will be an intimate acquaintance with the Rule of Three.

The correctness of these conclusions will, of course, be denied. But what have we witnessed since the New Rules have been in force? What has been the experience of the working of the Second Resolution? And what glaring abuses have there been of the half-past twelve o'clock rule? To move the adjournment of the House at question time, it is now necessary to secure the support of forty members; but on two of the occasions out of the three on which the adjournment has been moved since the rule came into operation, not forty members merely, but the whole of the Opposition responded to the Speaker's challenge. It has been urged that, having regard to the exceptional circumstances of the session, the conduct of the Opposition was not improper or unreasonable. But if this be so, why did the Government compel them to resort to such an irregular method of discussing their grievances? Escape from this dilemma is impossible. Either the Government refused a privilege to which the Opposition were fairly and reasonably entitled, or the Opposition abused a privilege which the House had placed at their disposal.

Again, as regards the half-past twelve o'clock rule, what has occurred? The practice of "blocking" Bills and Motions, which was mischievously resorted to before, has now been carried to such a pitch of refinement as almost to constitute it a fine art. Mr. Labouchere, and one or two members of the same type—clever but not serious politicians—have demonstrated to what unfair uses the practice may be put. The Government, for example, are not desirous that the affairs of Egypt, or of Madagascar, shall be discussed. What happens? A private member places a notice on the paper to the effect that he intends, at some time or other, to call attention to one or both of these subjects. Of course, he does not intend to do anything of the sort. His only object is to save the Government the unpleasantness of an inconvenient debate. But so long as his notice remains on the paper, no other member—not even the leader of the Opposition—can lawfully bring either of these subjects under the consideration of the House, however necessary it may be to do so in the interests of the country at large. It will probably be said that no Government possessing the confidence of the House would countenance such subterfuges, or avail themselves of assistance so contemptibly procured. In reply, it is only needful

to refer to what actually took place in connection with Mr. Yorke's motion on the Kilmainham compact, and that of Mr. Bourke, relating to the trial of Arabi Pacha. These things, it cannot be too strongly urged, are the natural results of a system which, whilst it annihilates feelings of mutual regard and mutual forbearance, not only legalises obstruction, but encourages and even invites it.

Another important change has been effected, the consequences of which may be disappointing even to Ministers. When Charles I. strode down to the House of Commons to demand the arrest of the Five Members, and called upon the Speaker to point them out to him, Speaker Lenthall replied, "I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here." But this is so no longer. The Speaker has become the ears and eyes of the House. He is its master, and the master of Ministers. The Government may urge their supporters to clamour for the *Clôture*, but it is for the Speaker to decide whether it shall be enforced or not; and unless his office is to be degraded by thrusting into the chair pliant and willing tools, men who will be content to do the bidding of Ministers, the hope of rushing through a long list of Bills to dangle before the constituencies will remain a phantom of the imagination. So long as men of the stamp of Sir Henry Brand can be found for the Speakership, the Opposition, if their forces are skilfully manipulated, stand in no danger of being outdone by their rivals. If the Government seek to take unfair advantage of the powers they have acquired, the Opposition will be very badly handled indeed, if they do not contrive, while keeping strictly within the four corners of the Standing Orders, to out-manœuvre them. But the very reason which now compels the Speaker to be impartial—a sense of independence, and of responsibility for the honour of an ancient and dignified office—is a powerful argument in favour of vesting in the House the appointment of Chairman of Committees. He ought no longer to be a creature of the Government, holding his office during good behaviour, of which they are to be the judges. However honourable his intentions, and however upright his conduct, he will, under the new system, be more than ever exposed to the suspicion of yielding to the solicitations of the Ministers to whom he owes his promotion, and of using his vast powers for the furtherance of their designs. Æolus, still subject to the appeals and remonstrances of Jove's wife and sister, is not likely to forget who it was that caused him to sit at the feast of the gods.

Some of the minor reforms that have been effected are, no doubt, useful and necessary. Among them is the Third Rule, limiting the rights of members in regard to motions for adjournment during debate, and the Seventh Rule, which provides that the chairman of

a committee, when ordered to make a report to the House, shall leave the chair without putting the question. The advantage to be gained from Rule Six, postponing the preamble of a Bill until after the consideration of the clauses, without question put, will depend entirely upon the spirit in which the House consents to work the new system. The object of the Rule is to diminish by one the occasions on which the principle of a Bill may be discussed. But if obstinacy, or retaliation, or obstruction on a largely organized scale, is to be in future the rule of conduct in the House, nothing will be saved by the change. While the spirit of obstruction exists, it will ever find means to accomplish its end. As regards the rule relating to Supply on Mondays and Thursdays, it cannot be reasonably objected to, but it is only fair to remember that for many of the difficulties which the Government have brought upon themselves in this matter, Mr. Gladstone is himself responsible. It was formerly the practice on Friday nights to "set up" Supply as often as there was a fresh Motion to be discussed. But during Mr. Gladstone's first administration, the time of the House was so fully occupied in debating great legislative schemes, that the business of supply naturally fell into arrears. Private members had hardly any rights left to them, and even these it was sought to abridge. For it occurred to the logical mind of Mr. Gladstone, or some member of his Government, that if the House once voted to go into Committee of Supply, it was utterly illogical to vote again on the same question the same evening. The result was that, if a private member was not fortunate enough to obtain first place for his motion on a Friday evening, he either took a fresh chance at the ballot-box, or put it down for a Government night. Thus, although the sagacity of Ministers enabled them occasionally to obtain a few votes in Supply on Fridays, it was at the risk of having their own business blocked on Mondays and Thursdays. Cleverness, even in the case of Governments, sometimes outwits itself.

Considerations of space preclude the possibility of discussing adequately the scheme of Grand Committees. But there is the less necessity for this, inasmuch as the country will very shortly be able to test their value by experience. The scheme is to be tried only as a temporary experiment, and if it fails it will be discontinued, or amended, at the end of the coming session. Should it succeed, the fact will surprise many of the oldest members of the House, as well as many persons outside the House, who have, nevertheless, a fair knowledge of the working of the existing legislative system. The project bristles with practical difficulties, not merely in regard to the constitution and organization of the committees, but in reference to the manner in which their functions are to be recognised, and their labours accepted, by the House. The great obstacle in the

way of their success is the jealousy with which the House always guards the exercise of its own powers. It is only because the House at large is not interested in particular private Bills that these are relegated to the discretion of a Select Committee. Yet even then, if public interests are in question, the decision of the Committee is sometimes set aside, and their labours are thrown away. In a public Bill every member is more or less interested, and if a member cannot get his views and opinions attended to by a Grand Committee, or if he is dissatisfied with their decision, he will not scruple to exercise his rights when the measure comes back to the House. Moreover, there is one portion of the scheme the importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate. Not only have the Committee of Selection the power of choosing the members of a Grand Committee, and of nominating the Chairman's panel, but they are also empowered to discharge members from time to time, and to appoint others in their places. What is still more extraordinary, they are entitled to add fifteen members to a Standing Committee at any time after it has been first constituted, if they are of opinion that this step will facilitate the progress of the Bill under discussion. Of course, they have not the right to dismiss members, but it is not difficult to imagine how a committee could be manipulated, even during the consideration of a Bill, so as materially to affect the complexion of the measure. However, these are matters of which we shall know more by-and-by. At present the scheme is crude and cumbrous, and if a single session suffices to give it form and an orderly existence, the time will not have been spent in vain.

Coming back, then, to the question, "Will the New Rules work?" what answer shall be given? Some of them, doubtless, will be useful in their operation; others will disappoint alike those who look upon them with complacent expectation and those who regard them with apprehension and dread. Taking them as a whole, their tendency will be to lower the tone of the House, and to loosen its hold upon the respect and esteem of the nation. The House, with its long centuries of glorious traditions, will become less and less an assembly of gentlemen, and more and more a mere gaming-house for political gamblers. Obstruction was an evil; but if the *Clôture* becomes an oft-used weapon, it will do more to damage the reputation of Parliament than Obstruction by itself could ever have accomplished.

GEORGE BYRON CURTIS.

MERTON COLLEGE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The era of the Reformation coincided with a period of marked decline in the vital energy of our Universities. The old scholastic learning had justly fallen into disrepute, but the new learning was slow in establishing itself, and attracted little popular support. Though Oxford contained twelve Colleges[1] before the foundation of Christ Church by Cardinal Wolsey, the number of her students was much less than in the middle of the fourteenth century, when she had contained but six. Erasmus, it is true, is said to have there learned the Greek which he afterwards taught at Cambridge, and was, at first, profoundly impressed by the range and vigour of Oxford scholarship. But he afterwards spoke of it less respectfully, and his advocacy of Greek culture at last provoked that strange outbreak of academical barbarism on the part of the so-called "Trojans," which raged at Oxford, until it was checked by a peremptory royal letter in 1519. In the next year Wolsey founded the Greek Professorship, and the Visitors sent down by Henry VIII. to remodel the University in conformity with the new Church government set on foot classical lectures in five of the leading Colleges. Still, the number of degrees continued to fall off, and Anthony Wood goes so far as to describe the University as "empty" in the reign of Edward VI., when religious controversy had usurped the place of education, as it did in the generation succeeding that of Wyclif. Queen Mary's short reign had a still more depressing effect on the Oxford studies, and it was long before the University which had witnessed the burning of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, became heartily identified with the great revival of the Elizabethan age.

Notwithstanding that Merton no longer maintained the proud supremacy which it possessed during the first century after its foundation, it was still at least in the front rank of Colleges. This appears from the frequent recurrence of Merton names among the Commissaries, or Vice-Chancellors, and Proctors, as well as from the frequent election of Merton Fellows to the headship of other foundations. It would appear from the list of assessments to the Royal loan of 1522, that Merton and Corpus were each charged with a contribution of £133 6s. 8d., being less than was levied upon Magdalen, New College, and All Souls, but above the rating of other Colleges. Nor is it without significance that when Henry VIII., with Catherine of Arragon and Wolsey, visited Oxford in 1518, the Queen specially elected to dine in Merton, on the 17th of April, notwithstanding

(1) The last of these, Corpus, was founded, in 1516, on a site of which the greater part was purchased from Merton College.

she was "expected by other Colleges." A very fulsome entry in the College Register, which commemorates this visit, declares that she was received with as grateful homage as if she had been "Juno or Minerva," and that she deigned to express her preference for Merton over all other places of education. Again, Merton was one of the five Colleges upon which the support of classical lectures was charged by Henry VIII.'s Commissioners, who directed the students of the other Colleges—that is, University, Balliol, Exeter, Oriel, Lincoln, Brasenose, and Corpus—to attend some of the courses daily.

Several members of Merton College are mentioned as having specially distinguished themselves in the obscure period of University history which followed the dissolution of monasteries and the first throes of the Reformation. One of these, David de la Hyde, is said by Anthony Wood to have been so formidable a disputant that "at his appearance in the schools place was presently given." Wood proceeds to describe the rhetorical feats of De la Hyde within his own College in a passage so illustrative of University manners in the sixteenth century as to be worthy of full quotation.

"He was also very well seen in the Latin and Greek tongues, and excellent in speaking orations, especially in that made before a considerable auditory in his College Hall; esteemed very witty and ingenious according to the humour of this age. The subject was 'de ligno et fœno,' made in praise of Mr. Jasp. Heywood, about this time King, or Christmas Lord, of the said College; being, it seems, the last who bore that commendable office. That custom hath been as ancient, for aught that I know, as the College itself, and the election of them after this manner. On the 19th of November, being the vigil of Prince Edmund, King and Martyr, letters under seal were pretended to have been brought from some place beyond sea, for the election of a King of Christmas, or Misrule, sometimes called with us of the aforesaid College, 'Rex Fabarum.' The said letters being put into the hands of the Bachelour Fellows, they brought them into the Hall that night, and standing, sometimes walking, round the fire, there reading the contents of them, would choose the Senior Fellow that had not yet borne that office, whether he was a Doctor of Divinity, Law, or Physick, and being so elected had power put into his hands of punishing all misdemeanours done in the time of Christmas, either by imposing exercises on the juniors, or putting into the stocks at the end of the Hall any of the servants, with other punishments that were sometimes very ridiculous. He had always a chair provided for him, and would sit in great state when any speeches were spoken or justice to be executed, and so this his authority would continue till Candlemas, or much about the time that the Ignis Regentium was celebrated in that College."

Another Fellow of Merton, William Tresham, who filled the office of Commissary in 1532, is commended by Anthony Wood for his successful "endeavours in obtaining subsidies for learning." Dr. Thomas Raynolds, who filled the same office in 1556, was also Warden of Merton from 1545 to 1559, and is commended for "his care in renewing the schools and doing other very beneficial offices." Indeed, according to Anthony Wood, it was chiefly owing to the

efforts of these two Mertonians that "the University, which was almost brought to nothing, began to re-flourish." Dr. Martiall, who acted as Deputy Commissary to Dr. Raynolds, had apparently brought himself into collision with the City by his zealous execution of his duty as Proctor in 1551, and was himself Vice-Chancellor in 1555, when Ridley and Latimer were burned. On that famous occasion a sermon was preached before the stake itself in Canditch, opposite Balliol College, on this text, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." The preacher was Dr. Richard Smyth, then Regius Professor of Divinity, who had also been a Fellow of Merton, and was accounted by his adherents "the best schoolman of his time," having encountered, and, as they alleged, confuted Peter Martyr himself at a great public disputation on the Eucharist, held in the Divinity School before the Visitors sent down by Edward VI. We also find the name of Robert Ward, one of the Senior Fellows of Merton, on the list of Doctors appointed to sit in judgment on the doctrines of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

It is remarkable that all these representatives of Merton during the Reformation period, should have espoused the Catholic side. It has been well pointed out by Professor Montagu Burrows, in the preface to his *Visitor's Register*, that Henry VIII. and his successors, "obeying the instincts of the nation in setting themselves free from the yoke of Rome, found that they must lean on something more solid than the popular will; and the Universities were ready to their hands." Accordingly, Commissions of Visitation were issued, not only by Henry VIII. himself during Cromwell's Secretaryship, but also by Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. It would have been quite in harmony with its ancient traditions and the spirit of its founder, if Merton had cast in its lot with the Protestant cause during this period of trial. It had long been known as a consistent opponent of Papal encroachments, and had produced redoubtable supporters of Wyclif. Having from the first excluded monks and friars, it might naturally have been expected to welcome the fall of monastic bodies, the only formidable rivals of secular colleges, and to head the Reformation movement in the Universities. In this very generation, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, one of the most eminent Protestant martyrs, and Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the most eminent Anglican divines, had owed their education to Merton. Nevertheless, the sympathies of its resident Fellows appear to have been mainly Catholic. The College Register, though ominously silent on the great political vicissitudes of that eventful age, bears witness that masses and requiems for the souls of benefactors were celebrated in the reign of Edward VI., and in the first year, at least, of Elizabeth. Perhaps the spoliation of Merton Library, from which

"cartloads of MSS. were taken away" in 1550, by the authority of Edward VI.'s Visitors, had not disposed the Fellows to regard Protestant iconoclasts with much favour. At all events, during the short ecclesiastical reaction under Philip and Mary, Dr. Smyth and Dr. Tresham, the leading spirits in the College, were at once rewarded by Canonries of Christ Church, and Smyth also became one of Queen Mary's chaplains; while Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, is the only Fellow of Merton recorded by Anthony Wood to have sought refuge beyond the seas, with numerous exiles from other Colleges.

With the accession of Elizabeth the scenes were rapidly shifted and the parts of the chief actors reversed. The reforming party resumed its ascendancy in the University, and many of the Catholics endeavoured to make their peace with the new Queen, though some retired into banishment to await the progress of events. Dr. Raynolds, the Warden of Merton, and Dr. Tresham, were among those deputed by the University Convocation to present her with an address of congratulation. Both, however, were ejected by the Commissioners appointed in the following year (1559) to "make a mild and gentle, not rigorous reformation." Tresham is expressly stated to have refused the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy. Dr. Raynolds had conformed during the reign of Edward VI., but had probably relapsed during that of Mary. Of the grounds upon which he was now deposed we have no direct evidence, but there is an entry in the College Register, dated September 7th, 1559, which shows how summary the process was. On that day Lord Williams, Dr. Wright, and Dr. White called on the Warden at his lodgings, and announced to him, in the presence of several Fellows, that his place was vacant, the sentence having been recorded against him three days earlier by the Queen herself at Hampton Court. Not long afterwards he died in retirement, if not in prison, near Exeter. The Dean of Christ Church, the President of Magdalen, the President of Corpus, the Master of Balliol, the Rector of Lincoln, the President of Trinity, the Master of University, and the Principal of St. Alban Hall were either turned out or forced to resign by the same authority. Smyth was imprisoned in Archbishop Parker's house and recanted, but afterwards reverted to Romanism and obtained preferment from Philip II. Only three Fellows of Merton—De la Hyde, Atkins, and Dawkes—are mentioned as having suffered the penalty of expulsion for refusing the Oath of Supremacy; whence it may be inferred that others found means to satisfy their consciences more easily. The mandate for their expulsion solemnly warns the Warden and Fellows "to loke narowlye to suche as shall be disobediente or showe ani contempte of the godlye reformation in Religion now established in this Realme by publike authoritie."

The successor of Dr. Raynolds, James Gervase, was elected under a mandate from the Queen's Visitors. Four only of the Senior Fellows voted for him, one voted for another person, and a sixth declined to vote, while Gervase himself gave his vote for a certain Pawle. The Visitors accordingly instituted him, but are said to have been disgusted by such a display of discord. Three years later, however, Gervase resigned, and the election of his successor gave rise to a far more disgraceful conflict, which throws much light on the latitude of ordinary jurisdiction claimed by College Visitors in the sixteenth century. This jurisdiction had recently been exercised by Archbishop Warham in 1521, when he deposed, for various breaches of the Statutes, Warden Rawlins, who had stood in high favour with Catherine of Arragon, and who lived to be Bishop of St. David's. It had also been exercised by Archbishop Cranmer, when he made a hasty order sweeping away some of the ancient customs of the College, which customs were afterwards restored by Warden Chamber, to whose discretion the Archbishop had considerately intrusted the matter. One of these customs was the practice of Bachelors "capping" Masters in the College quadrangle, and it is recorded in the College Register, that the University authorities protested against Cranmer's order, on the ground that it would be utterly subversive of discipline in other colleges. Upon the resignation of Gervase, however, in January, 1562, the Senior Fellows openly rebelled against the commands of their Visitor, then Archbishop Parker; and the scene that ensued became memorable in the domestic annals of the University. The story is graphically told by Anthony Wood, as well as by Strype, in his *Life of Matthew Parker*, but the most authentic account is to be found in the College Register itself.

By the old Statutes of Merton, the Senior Fellows were bound to choose three persons, out of whom the Visitor should nominate one as Warden. Instead of this, they presented five persons, two or three of whom had never been members of the College. This constituted no disqualification, for the Statutes expressly authorised the Seniors to select three persons "either belonging to the House or elsewhere;" indeed, Mr. Rowland Philipps, who became Warden in 1521, is stated by Anthony Wood to have been "a stranger and never a Fellow." On the other hand, the Statutes do not contemplate the presentation of five names. In this case, the Visitor, acting under the advice of counsel, and treating the appointment as having passed to himself, *jure devolutionis*, thought proper to ignore all those presented, and to nominate Mr. John Mann, formerly a Fellow of New College, and a chaplain of his own. This nomination was vehemently resented by the Senior Fellows, and especially by what Strype calls, "a great Popish faction in the College, headed

by one Hall." This Hall, being Sub-Warden, had exerted himself during the vacancy to restore certain usages which Protestants deemed superstitious. "Among such," as Anthony Wood informs us, "was the singing certain hymns, in the College Hall, round the fire on Holyday evenings and their Vigils, enduring from the Vigil of All Saints to the evening of the Purification, which custom being before annulled in Dr. Gervase his time, the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins were appointed in their places, which do to this day continue. But so it was that when Mr. James Leech, one of the Junior Fellows, had took the book into his hands ready to begin one of the said Psalms, Mr. Hawle stept into his place, offering to snatch the book from him, with an intent, as 'tis said, to cast it into the fire, adding, moreover, that neither he nor the rest would dance after his pipe."

The new Warden did not present himself till March 30th, when he appeared at the College gate with the Vice-Chancellor and Warden of New College, was admitted to the Hall, and delivered the Visitor's letter of nomination. The Senior Fellows begged for a delay of three days, but, on his presenting himself again on the 2nd of April, he found the gate closed against him "by the general consent of the Fellows," as Anthony Wood says, but in reality by a vote of the majority. Mann, thereupon, sent for Mr. John Broke, the Senior Fellow, who, "being of a base and false spirit," as Anthony Wood is pleased to describe it, had the gate opened and admitted him. "At whose entrance," says Anthony Wood, "the Fellows were so enraged that Mr. Hawle, as 'tis reported, gave the new Warden a box on the ears for his presumption to enter into the gates without his leave." Strype's version of the affair is somewhat different, and is founded on the result of the official inquiry afterwards made, according to which, Hall caused the gates to be shut by the servants against Mann, and had him carried back, "whereas he was almost in," irreverently plucking the Statute Book out of his hand. Upon these indecorous incidents the Register is prudently silent.

Archbishop Parker was not a man to put up with such mutinous conduct. He forthwith issued a Visitation, conducted by his Vicar-General and two other Commissioners, which seems to have lasted a whole year. The Commissioners first admitted and established Mann in the Wardenship on the 27th of May, 1562. They next propounded twenty questions, some of which touched on the general management and discipline of the College, but the last eight of which specially related to Hall's behaviour and the opposition to Mann's nomination. In the end, according to Strype, "Mann was settled in his Wardenship, and this dangerous, infectious person, Hall, was, according to his deserts, expelled," having been convicted

of proselytizing, writing offensive libels against Protestantism, and other disorderly acts. He retired to University College, and died of disappointment in the following December. The Visitation was continued by three fresh Commissioners, and the Romanizing party in the College was at last effectually broken up. Roger Gifford, Linacre Lecturer, and one of Hall's chief supporters, anticipated the sentence of the Commissioners by resigning his Fellowship. We learn from the College Register that, although he was afterwards pardoned by the Archbishop, and obtained letters of recommendation both from him and the Earl of Leicester, then Chancellor of the University, and a perfect adept in favouritism, he never could induce the College to re-elect him, or even to create some new office for him by way of compensation for his loss. He became, however, a Fellow of All Souls, President of the College of Physicians, and Physician to Queen Elizabeth. Potts and Applebe, two other malcontent Fellows, were expelled in the following year for alleged perjury in connection with this affair; and it "went hard" with Benyer, another opponent of the new Warden. Anthony Wood relates, with evident satisfaction, the expulsion of Broke, two years later, for peculation in the office of Bursar. He admits that Mann became eminent enough to be sent on a mission to Spain, after Don Goseman de Sylva had been received in England as Ambassador of Philip II., but he does not fail to preserve the playful sarcasm of Queen Elizabeth that, "as her brother, the King of Spain, had sent to her a Gooseman, so she to him a Man-goose." Meanwhile, the example made at Merton was not lost upon other Colleges, and reactionary tendencies among the older Fellows were successfully checked throughout the University.

In the year 1562, during the Wardenship of Mann, but apparently during his absence in Spain, Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford in state, and was regaled with an incessant round of orations, disputations, and Latin plays, in which several Merton Fellows bore important parts. Goseman, the Spanish Ambassador, was quartered in the Warden's lodgings at Merton, and the Royal party attended disputations, in the College Hall, on Natural and Moral Philosophy. It is particularly mentioned that John Potts, a Fellow of Merton, had a learned discussion with Cecil himself on certain opinions of Aristotle.

On Mann's death, in 1569, three names—all of persons who had never been Fellows—were duly submitted to Archbishop Parker, who nominated one of them, Bickley, another of his own chaplains. Bickley had always been a strong Protestant, and was one of those who took refuge abroad, after the departure of Peter Martyr from Oxford, on the commencement of the Marian persecutions. He also seems to have been an earnest promoter of that literary revival which now

began to show itself in the University, and was heartily encouraged by Queen Elizabeth. Anthony Wood mentions "that she gave a strict charge and command to both the Chancellors of both the Universities to bring her a just, true, and impartial list of all the eminent and hopeful Students (that were Graduats) in each University, to set down punctually their names, their Colleges, their standings, their Faculties in which they did *eminere*, or were likely so to do," in order that she might herself select men to serve as chaplains or secretaries to ambassadors, or to receive other preferment. The effect of this discriminating patronage was sensibly felt at Oxford, and we know that Merton fully shared the benefits of it. This College had always set a good example by recruiting itself from the rest of the University, and, in 1563, having no good preacher, had imported a certain Edmund Bunny to represent it in that capacity, who afterwards competed with Henry Savile for the Wardenship. In 1565 it elected Thomas Bodley Prælector of Greek, and soon afterwards increased his stipend out of the annual sum paid by a farmer in lieu of twenty sheep, which seems to have been his customary rent. It is some proof of the liberal spirit which prevailed among its Fellows under Bickley, that when John Drusins, a Flemish scholar, was invited to lecture on Syriac in the Oxford Schools in 1574, they gave him rooms in College and a salary of 40s. per annum for five years, besides what had been allowed him already by Magdalen, so that he might privately instruct Merton students in that language. The College Register mentions another vote of 20s. to two French Protestant exiles in 1575. So, again, in 1579, when several foreign scholars were appointed by the University to deliver catechetical lectures against Romanism, Merton contributed 40s. a year towards the salary of one of them, Anthony Corrano. The College also subscribed to maintain Albericus Gentilis, and other learned refugees, during their residence at Oxford; specially retaining the services of Bensirius, of Caen, in Normandy, to lecture on Hebrew to its students, at a salary of £3 6s. 8d. a year, when great efforts were being made to recall him to his own country. It may be added that in 1590, and again in 1604, the College voted money to aid the people of Geneva in the distress occasioned by their war with Savoy.

Dr. Bickley seems to have governed his own College ably and well. The Register shows that, in 1573, four years after his election, there were no less than twelve Bachelor-Fellows, of whom four were mere probationers, and so few Masters of Arts that a Bachelor of Arts was Dean, and another Bursar. This apparently proves that the statutable duty of keeping up the succession had been greatly neglected by his immediate predecessors, either because the College was impoverished, or because the Fellows consulted their own selfish interests. The

former explanation derives some probability from occasional entries in the College Register, which show that, notwithstanding the irregular suspension of Fellowships, the College was often in pecuniary difficulties. The Bursars, we are told, habitually deferred the settlement of their accounts, evidently in the vain hope of putting a better face on them by delay. In the year 1500, as the Register informs us, the College being unable to get in heavy arrears due to it, the number of Fellows being large, and the price of wheat being exorbitant —that is 15d. a bushel—it was found impossible to keep up the household on its ancient footing without running into debt, and it was therefore ordained that three Fellows should make shift with the same dishes as had formerly been allowed for two. On the resignation of Warden Philipps, in 1525, the state of the College treasury is described as pitiable, so that even the College plate was actually in pawn, and had to be redeemed by his successor, Dr. Chamber. Under Bickley, the affairs of the College were, doubtless, better managed; though we may infer that it was necessary to practise strict economy from the fact that old College plate was twice sold, once for repairs in the chapel, and once for the purchase of land. It is probable, however, that vacancies on the foundation were duly filled up, since, in the year of his resignation (1585), no less than five Fellows of Merton took a Doctor's, and six a Master's degree. The Merton historian, Astry, whose MSS. were copied and annotated by Kilmer, claims for Bickley, as well as for Savile, who followed him, the special credit of having kept the Fellowships open, as they were by their original institution, "to the whole exterior flower of this University, and without excluding that of any other that might be in the kingdom." Of Bickley Anthony Wood records, "that on the Earl of Leicester's recommending to him an unfit person for a Fellowship, he caused a pair of scales to be brought to the place of election, and, having first read his lordship's letter, put it into one scale, and weighed the book of our Statutes against it." We learn incidentally from an entry in the Register that it was the custom for the election of a Bachelor-Fellow to be celebrated by a great feast, the expense of which was very wisely commuted in 1572 into a contribution to the College library.

During the sixteen years of Bickley's Wardenship the office of Proctor was filled at least four times by Fellows of Merton, three of whom afterwards attained some distinction. Thomas Bodley, Junior Proctor in 1569, became the celebrated founder of the Bodleian library, as well as a benefactor of his own College. Arthur Atie, Senior Proctor in 1569, was also Public Orator of the University, and, strange to say, became successively private secretary to the Earl of Leicester, and favourite of the Earl of Essex, whose disgrace he shared, and was forced to abscond, but was afterwards knighted by James I. Wood accuses him of abusing Leicester's

influence to obtain profitable leases for himself, and, in particular, of fraudulently procuring a lease of the Manor of Malden, in Surrey, from Merton College, for 500 years. The College Register shows that it was actually granted for 5,000 years, and nominally to Queen Elizabeth. Another Mertonian, John Tatham, Junior Proctor in 1573, was elected Rector of Lincoln College in the next year. Henry Savile, Junior Proctor in 1575, was afterwards appointed Tutor to Queen Elizabeth for the Greek Tongue; he was elected Warden of Merton in 1585, upon the recommendation of Lord Burghley, and became Provost of Eton in 1596. He was a typical specimen of the Elizabethan scholar and gentleman; and his name is still perpetuated in the University by the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy, which he founded in 1619, "finding the mathematical studies to be neglected by the generality of men."

The Wardenship of Savile, extending over thirty-six years (1585—1621), may be regarded, together with that of Bickley, as a prosperous episode in the history of Merton. The College Records contain many traces of his beneficent activity, including the useful institution of an arithmetic lecture, to be held twice a week. In 1589 the whole north wing of the College, being in a ruinous state, was rebuilt from the gate to the Warden's lodgings, which, in those days, had no street entrance. In 1608 the first stone of the Fellows' Quadrangle was laid, the contract for carpenters' work alone amounting to £430, and it is stated that £15 a year was to be paid to the Lord of Headington Manor for stone to be used in the work By Michaelmas, 1610, it was completed, and in the following year £20 was voted to the architect as a mark of satisfaction on the part of the College. This extension of Merton is specially mentioned by Isaac Casaubon in a letter dated July, 1613. The old "Postmasters' Hall," opposite to Merton, had been rebuilt in Bickley's time, but St. Alban Hall, then in the possession of Merton, and just restored to it, was rebuilt under Savile out of a sum bequeathed by Alderman Barham, of London, and a lease of the garden adjoining it was procured from Balliol. The Postmasters were now removed into the College, and their allowances increased in 1595 by the benefaction of Thomas Jessop. In 1597, a monument to the founder was erected in Rochester Cathedral, with an inscription composed by Savile. At his instance, too, the College placed seasoned timber at the disposal of Bodley for the construction of the Bodleian Library, and shortly afterwards added a contribution of books. About the same time his brother, Thomas Savile, purchased books for the College Library at Frankfort Fair. But Anthony Wood tells us that, of all Savile's benefactions to Merton, the greatest was the care which he took in getting deserving persons chosen Fellows, and afterwards obtaining promotion for them: "In his first election, which consisted but of four, were Henry Cuffe and Francis Mason; in the last, which consisted

of seven, four of them were esteemed eminent, whereof two were afterwards bishops; and during the whole course of his Wardenship he was diligent, when an election was approaching, to search both the Universities for candidates that might do honour to his society." After he became Provost of Eton, six Fellows of Merton, including the renowned John Hales, were elected Fellows of Eton, and four Prebendaries of Windsor, doubtless by the use of his interest; and one of these, John Chamber, a member of all three bodies, being a great friend of Savile, left £1,000 to found those Eton scholarships at Merton which still bear his name. The fate of Henry Cuffe, before mentioned, was far different. He was made Regius Professor of Greek, and in that capacity addressed Queen Elizabeth in an oration at Carfax, on her second visit to Oxford in 1592; but, like Arthur Atie, attached himself to Essex's party, and was hanged at Tyburn on March 30th, 1601. Altogether, no less than 67 Fellows were elected under Savile's Wardenship, and a complete list of the members of Merton College in 1612 enumerates 22 Fellows, 12 Postmasters, 15 commoners, 29 poor scholars, 2 chaplains, and 12 servants.

We have a description of Elizabeth's second visit from the pen of an eye-witness, William Stringer, who came in attendance on Lord Burghley; and in Nicholl's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* is preserved the Latin oration delivered by Sir Henry, then Mr., Savile, in summing up the first disputation provided for the amusement of that much-enduring Princess. On the 25th of September, all the Members of the Privy Council then in Oxford, with the French Ambassador, and most of the Court, about sixty in all, were sumptuously feasted by the College in the Hall; after which followed a public discussion on the question, *An dissensiones civium sint utiles Reipublicæ*, in which all the parts were sustained by Cuffe and other Fellows of Merton. On the following day, Dr. Dochyn, Linacre Lecturer on Physics, opened another discussion, on the question whether food or air had most effect in changing the human body, when Dr. Ratcliff, a late Fellow of Merton and Principal of St. Alban Hall, entertained the company by exhibiting his own portly frame, and defying any man to show a change so great produced by the operation of air. After the Queen's departure, Thomas Savile, the Warden's brother, one of the Proctors, who had been a prominent actor in the festivities, died in office, and was honoured with a public funeral. In the assessment of Colleges for the expenses of this reception, Merton and St. John's were rated at £400 each, Christ Church being rated at £2,000, Magdalen at £1,200, New College at £1,000, All Souls and Corpus at £500 each.

It is remarkable how often the University was scourged by pestilence in the sixteenth century, and Merton College was by no means exempt from its ravages. The most appalling outbreak was that which took place during the Black Assizes, as they were afterwards

called, in the year 1577, when some five hundred persons are said to have perished of gaol-fever, including the Judge, the High Sheriff, most of the jurors, and a hundred members of the University. No Fellows of Merton are mentioned among the victims, but Anthony Wood says that fatal cases occurred in every College and Hall. It is pleasant to relate that Dr. Bickley, then Warden, earned public gratitude by his devotion to the sick, when even the doctors had deserted their posts. But this was only one of many similar visitations. In 1489, a terrible pestilence in Merton College had carried off Thomas Kent, a Fellow, and a famous astronomer. In 1493, another plague drove the Merton Fellows into retirement at Islip. In August, 1503, the plague broke out again in the University, and the Principal of St. Alban Hall, with most of the students, fled to Islip. In October it attacked Merton, and one Fellow who died of it was buried in the chapel. Others took refuge at Stow Wood, or Wootton, near Cumner. Two more Fellows of Merton carried off by the plague were buried in the chapel in 1507, and another in 1509. In 1544 the plague raged so fiercely in Oxford that Merton excused its Bachelors from attendance in the schools. In 1571 almost all University proceedings were interrupted by the same cause during most of the year. In 1575 another visitation of plague, noticed in the Merton Register, obliged the Vice-Chancellor to postpone the commencement of October Term. In 1578, and again in 1582, it broke out afresh; the Vice-Chancellor suspended all University lectures, and Merton College gave its Masters a dispensation from their statutable exercises. In 1603 it spread from London to Oxford; all University business was suspended during Michaelmas Term, and the Colleges, before dispersing, made weekly contributions for the relief of the plague-stricken citizens. Such were the sanitary difficulties under which academical studies were carried on in what posterity has been taught to regard as the golden age of Elizabeth.

The death of the great Queen, following upon the close of the sixteenth century, bisects almost equally the memorable interval which elapsed between the struggles of the Reformation and the struggles of the Civil War. During this period, embracing two whole generations, and crowded with events famous in English history, the University was permitted to enjoy a season of salutary repose. But a subtle change was insensibly passing over it of which the effects are not yet exhausted. In outgrowing the narrow circle of mediæval science, in casting off the chains of ecclesiastical authority, and in freely admitting the study of heathen literature, it had become at once more truly catholic and more truly national. It was no longer a seminary of the clergy, either regular or secular, but a training school for the professional classes, as well as for the governing classes and statesmen of the realm. On the other hand, the rise of public schools and grammar schools, under the impulse of the Reformation movement, had relieved it from the duty of teaching

boys in rudimentary subjects, and the decay of Halls may well have checked the influx of those humbler and poorer scholars who had peopled the back streets of Oxford in the Middle Ages. A provision in the Statute regulating college leases was gradually increasing the wealth of Colleges, and encouraging a system of money allowances to Fellows and Scholars which by no means conduced to frugal living. We may distrust the statement of Casaubon that in 1613 the Colleges maintained above 2,000 students, "generally of respectable parentage, and some even of the first nobility;" but he assuredly spoke from personal experience of Savile's hospitality at Merton, when he added that "the Heads of Houses lived handsomely, even splendidly, like men of rank." In the meantime, the new test of subscription to the Articles, introduced under the Chancellorship of Leicester, had converted the University into an exclusively Church of England institution, and the future battle-ground of Anglican controversy. Thenceforth it developed more and more that special character of its own, at once both worldly and clerical, which it shares with Cambridge alone among the Universities of Europe.

All these influences are faithfully reflected in the domestic chronicles of Merton College. Three at least of its Wardens in the sixteenth century were laymen, one being a Doctor of Medicine, and one a Doctor of Laws. The old scholastic exercises, prescribed by the Statutes, were varied by the performances of comedies, both Latin and English, in the Hall or the Warden's lodgings. Commoners were gradually admitted, and poor scholars were exempted, by a special rule, from the obligation of waiting upon the Fellows in the Buttery. The comfortable rooms of the new Quadrangle, with its spacious common-room—the first established in Oxford—must have contrasted strangely with the monastic austerity of social habits typified by "Mob-Quadrangle," and by the still more ancient sets of chambers which probably occupied the site of Savile's new building in Merton Street. Yet the corporate life of the College remained unbroken; and its traditions were as religiously treasured up by generations of Protestant Fellows as they had been in the orthodox age which preceded Wyclif. The brief Latin entries in the College Register, like the monotonous series of cases in the Law Reports, betray no change of style or conscious spirit of innovation; the maintenance of that severe discipline for which Merton had long been famed is there attested by frequent sentences of expulsion or suspension; and the original Statutes of 1274, enforced and interpreted by successive Visitors, continued to govern the internal economy of Merton in several of its important branches, until they were finally repealed in the present year by the Statutes of the latest,—but perhaps not the last,—Oxford University Commission.

GEORGE C. BRODRICK,
Warden of Merton College, Oxford.

RECONSTRUCTION IN EGYPT.

I HAVE been from the very first stoutly opposed to over-interference in Egypt. The success of the late military operations has in no degree changed my view. Still it is no use crying over spilt milk, it is better to apply ourselves to see what can be done now. I have all along expressed the belief that military success in Egypt would only land us in a dilemma from which there could be no satisfactory escape, and so I now think. I can see no satisfactory solution of present difficulties. At best we have before us only several forms of Hobson's choice; we can but try to select that which is the least objectionable.

I will only refer to the past so far as is necessary in order to realise the present situation.

The particular act of the Egyptian drama which has just been played out goes back at least to the deposition of Ismael—all that has since taken place has been the immediate sequence of that proceeding. Ismael himself did not fight—but we neither obtained nor compelled the assent of the Egyptian people and army to the substitution of Tewfik—he very soon encountered resistance: he has hitherto reigned solely as the nominee of the English and French Governments, and it has become more and more evident that nothing but the use of force could establish his authority under the conditions which we imposed on him. We had acted as if we could treat Egypt as a subject country without conquering it. We found that if the policy adopted in 1879 was to be continued and followed to its logical conclusion, it was necessary that it should be conquered. No doubt in that view our recent action may be defended.

We must also look a little to the previous act of the piece to see the conditions which Ismael left behind him. Ismael himself had certainly much cleverness of a sort. He was a real ruler, and if he had been left to himself it is quite possible that he might have been as good as Oriental rulers of some personal vigour usually are. But tempted as he was, he ended by combining European with Oriental vices. So long as he enriched financiers and sumptuously entertained Europeans we were content to be very blind to the Oriental abuses of his administration. I visited Egypt in the latter period of his rule for the express purpose of looking into the country from the point of view of an Eastern administrator. The conclusion I came to was that he had wholly failed to improve and govern well, that the reforms introduced under the vigorous rule of Mehemet Ali had not been followed out, and that, as so often

happens under the successor of a successful Oriental ruler, the old abuses had cropped up. But accepting this as the natural course of Oriental affairs, it did not strike me that the state of things was worse than is found in most Oriental countries except in so far as at that time the extreme pressure of the creditors had led to more than ordinary pressure on the Fellahs and to the collection in anticipation of the revenue due from them. The form in which the most excessive demand was made was the arrangement known as that of the Mokabileh, under which the landholders were invited to pay 50 per cent. addition to the Land Revenue for twelve years on condition of a remission of half the impost and a permanent settlement of the remainder at existing rates after that time. This demand was practically extorted from all the smaller cultivators, but the assurances of future reduction and permanency were made in such solemn form of law that they were able to borrow what was required at exorbitant interest. At one time, for an interval, the collection was stopped as being an improvident arrangement on the part of the Government; but after the visit of Messrs. Goschen and Joubert the arrangement was reaffirmed by their advice more solemnly than ever.

At a time when the Khedive was getting near the length of his financial tether, and was much pressed all round, there was made the agreement for international or mixed tribunals, of which something must here be said. As regards the ostensible and primary object of this arrangement, the establishment of mixed courts to which all foreigners of various nationalities should be subject (instead of to their own consuls only), it need only be said that it was an unmitigated good. It is of the incidental effect in subjecting the Egyptian Government and people to these foreign tribunals that explanation is necessary. It has been said that this was a concession in lieu of the capitulations under which they formerly suffered. But the capitulations were not got rid of. What was really agreed to by Nubar Pasha was that the tribunals should have jurisdiction between persons of different nationalities in civil matters, whilst the foreigners still retained their entire exemption in all criminal matters as well as their exemption from taxation and other privileges. And there was thrown in this entirely new provision, that the Khedive and the Egyptian Government should be absolutely subject to the civil jurisdiction of the new tribunals, which administer a sort of cosmopolitan law of their own, and recognise no law made in Egypt without the consent of all the Powers, great and small. This last provision effected a complete political transformation. The Khedive, from being an independent ruler, became completely subject to tribunals practically foreign, for Egypt is only one of fourteen Powers represented on them. Creditors who had lent money on the

usurious terms usually attached to bad security found themselves invested with power to seize all the property of the Khedive and all the revenues of Egypt. Formerly, no doubt, the Khedive was subject to diplomatic bullying on the part of every consul of every claimant, but they could go no farther; he could always meet them with a *non possumus* in the end.

The Control and all that followed are really the necessary outcome of the tribunals. When the Khedive was found to be insolvent and unable to satisfy the decrees of the Courts, they must have appointed Receivers of the Revenue if the Great Powers had not done so.

The arrangement, so far as it went, was also extremely one-sided as between the foreigners and the Egyptians. The former are usually the creditors—the latter the debtors. The former have the tribunals at their own doors, they have there their own lawyers and their own language. Every native sued by a foreigner is liable to be summoned before these tribunals from the most distant part of Egypt, and must defend his case there at very great expense, or failing to do so successfully his lands are seized and sold in satisfaction. In return he gains no protection from violence and insolence—no equality of taxation. As local courts for Cairo and Alexandria, the courts are good and in a sense popular. The only drawback is the expense, the foreign tongue, and the cumbrousness of the arrangements, a dozen judges being employed to do what one county court judge would do in England. But for the people of Egypt generally there is really no *quid pro quo* at all.

Nubar Pasha, who made these arrangements for the Egyptian Government, is a very clever man, an Armenian Christian, who by his talents rose from a petty clerkship to great wealth and power. He is thoroughly acquainted with Western ways, intimate with influential people in Paris, the friend of Europeans in Egypt, and always puffed by their organs as the one man who can save Egypt, and so manage as to make the country discharge all the claims upon it. But why, as representing the Khedive, he could have consented to an arrangement so one-sided, it is difficult to imagine. The late Khedive had much reason, when he said of Nubar, in reference to the effect of this transaction on his own position, "Il a creusé ma tombe." The effects were not long in developing themselves. The creditors of the Khedive and all the people who had claims against him and his Government of every sort, took out decrees against him in the new tribunals, and proceeded to execute them by seizing his property down to his carriage and horses, and attaching all they could lay their hands on. He was manifestly bankrupt and unable to satisfy all the claims, and, driven to extremity, submitted to Control and European ministers and all the rest of it, being himself put on an allowance like any ordinary insolvent. But there

was no comfortable white-washing bankruptcy court for him; his difficulties seemed to be perpetual, he was ever pushed harder and harder. When he had got to the length of his borrowing powers, when no more money was to be had to pay interest by fresh borrowings, to share plunder with financiers, to bribe the Sultan and the Porte, the Khedive began to think that after all he was an Egyptian ruling over Egyptians. He began to talk of the rights and interests of his people, to play at Liberal constitutions and to encourage the national party, for which the oppressive privileges of the Europeans and the spread of ideas among the Egyptians had prepared the ground. Finally, when the Nubar-Wilson Ministry had pushed the claims of the creditors beyond endurance, he dismissed first Nubar, then the Foreign Ministers, he resisted the decrees of the courts, he showed an evident intention of "readjusting" the debt, as more civilised people had done before him. The cup of his iniquities was full, and he was deposed. But he left behind him a national party, an Egyptian Parliament of a sort, and an army which had already discovered its power.

When we (that is we and the French) had become directly responsible for Tewfik as our nominee, we could not avoid the conclusion that it was simply impossible to carry on the Government if the usurious claims of the creditors were to be repaid to the letter. The debt *was* then readjusted, and a new arrangement made under the Dual Control. The European creditors really lost nothing, but on the contrary gained by the operation. Even after the reduction of interest they got all that the country could possibly pay, and under the security of the new arrangement the stock rose in price. But the Makabileh law was abolished, and the pledges given by it set at nought in the most high-handed way, without any provision whatever for repaying the seventeen millions sterling which had been paid on the faith of it. It was said that this would be considered hereafter, and eventually the landholders were put off with the mockery of a settlement, a very small annual sum, not sufficient to pay one per cent. on the amount, being promised, while they were left with the debts incurred to satisfy the great forestalment of the revenue, for which they paid twelve, fifteen, or twenty per cent., or more. Of all the grossly unfair pieces of partiality that ever were perpetrated, even in Egypt, it has always seemed to me that the treatment of the Makabileh in the readjustment of the debt was one of the very worst. And under the circumstances we cannot wonder that the national party were ready to ally themselves with the army, the only body that had any power of resistance.

The story of the military resistance was well told in a blunt way by Sir George Elliot. In the last year of Ismael's reign, when the Nubar-Wilson Ministry was in power, every effort was made to find

money to make in full those payments to the bondholders which have since been admitted to be impossible. Great reductions were made, and it was settled to reduce the army to a minimum. But all classes of public servants having been left unpaid, there were large arrears due to the reduced officers and men, without which they could not be dismissed with the commonest justice. The Ministry having got possession of the domain lands, were forthwith arranging to raise a new loan on them; to float it, it was essential that the coupons on the old loans should be paid in full—the coupons *were* paid, while the Egyptian soldiers were dismissed, unpaid and starving. If ever men were justified in resistance it was they; they did resist and with success. Then it was that they learned their power. A little later under Tewfik an attempt was made treacherously to seize the military leaders by inviting them to a conference, and then Arabi's rebellion assumed form. He seems to be very little of a soldier and very much of a politician. He appealed to the Egyptian masses against foreigners of all sorts, and supported the Assembly of Notables in their claim for the control of that portion of the Egyptian revenues which was not pledged to the bondholders.

Attention has hardly been sufficiently drawn to the fact that, as between the Khedive and the Assembly, a compromise which satisfied both parties was definitely arrived at, a law was regularly promulgated, and there seems no reason to dispute that it is the law of Egypt at this moment. The "organic law of the Chamber of Deputies" was promulgated in the *Moniteur Egyptienne* of 10th February, 1882, and was transmitted by Sir E. Malet with his despatch of February 13th, 1882, published as No. 37 of Blue Book, Egypt No. 7 of 1882. It establishes a regular constitution. By Articles 23 and 24, if the Chamber and the Government disagree, the Government may dissolve the Chamber; but if the new Chamber reaffirms the vote on which the disagreement occurred, that vote definitively prevails. By Article 34, the revenues assigned to the creditors by the law of Liquidation are withdrawn from the cognisance of the Chamber; but by Articles 35, 36, and 37, the remainder of the Budget is submitted to the Chamber, who are to appoint a Committee equal in number to the Ministry to discuss it with them. If in this united body the Government fail to get a majority, and if the Chamber thereupon refuses to sanction the Government proposals, the Government may dissolve the Chamber as provided by Article 23; but if again beaten in the New Chamber they must give in.

The Controllers lost no time in protesting. According to their view, their function was not merely to see that the assigned revenues were properly administered, but to exercise a supervision over the administration generally. They said that as long as the Khedive was entirely responsible, they might expect him to take their advice;

but that if he parted with his power, they had no assurance that the Chamber would do anything of the kind; on that ground they protested against the new constitution altogether. The curious thing, however, is that we have nothing to show whether the two Powers accepted or rejected the Organic Law. The ostensible ground of quarrel on which the final rupture between the Khedive (avowedly acting on the prompting of his Foreign advisers) and his Ministers took place was the very narrow one whether the names of the Circassian Officers, whom it had been agreed to exile, should or should not be retained in the Army list. One cannot help suspecting that the Organic Law had more to do with the rupture than appears. It was, however, under these circumstances that the difference proved irreconcilable, and the war took place. We need not follow out the history farther, but come to the present situation.

The most pressing question is that of the International Courts, which have been above shown to be the *fons et origo* of all the political difficulties. The engagement of the Egyptian Government to accept them was for seven years, a term which expired some time ago, and they are now only maintained by a temporary extension for a year, which will expire on 1st February next. Their origin was prior to the Dual Control, and was an international arrangement in which all the Powers small and great took part. We being only one of fourteen Powers have no power to deal with the matter alone. But then the whole arrangement is coming to an end by mere effluxion of time; there is not the slightest pretence for suggesting that the Khedive is in any way bound to renew any such arrangement; and so he is master of the situation. It is most earnestly to be hoped that he will not be advised to renew any engagements which involve great sacrifices on his side, without, at the same time, settling the abuses and evils which arise out of the capitulations.

In addition to the political effect of the the mixed tribunals on the Khedive's position, there is a view of the matter as affecting the Egyptian people in the near future of which something must be said, with special reference to Indian experience.

In India the rigidity of our laws and the application of our commercial principles to the land have notoriously gone far in native eyes to outweigh all the advantages of our rule. Almost all our domestic troubles have been due to that cause. The most recent instance, and one, in some respects, curiously parallel to the Egyptian situation, was in the Bombay Deccan, where the Ryots, whom we had made complete Peasant Proprietors with every advantage, were tempted, by the facile credit which the system afforded, into the hands of alien money-lenders out of sympathy with the people. The Marwarries acted on strictly commercial principles, and when their debts accumulated,

they seized and sold the lands of the debtors. Then occurred violent outbreaks—murders of Marwarries and wide-spread popular resistance. As too often happens, it needed such things to open our eyes to the drawbacks of our rigid system. It was brought home to us, that after all there is a status-stage in the development of land-tenures, and that our commercial view of matter is not suited to all times and all countries. Even in the United States of America, Homestead Laws, protecting from seizure and sale the land required for actual cultivation and livelihood, have almost universally prevailed. On grounds of necessity and practical expediency, the Indian legislature has intervened to give to the Deccan Ryots something of that protection which had previously been given in the Punjab and other provinces following the Punjab model.

The same state of things which disturbed the Deccan is rapidly maturing in Egypt. But if it comes under the present system who could interfere to protect the Egyptian Fellahs? Nothing could be done without the consent of all the fourteen Powers interested, some of whom would certainly maintain the right of their protegés to exact their full measure of flesh.

I think it is clear that the only way to adjust this matter is to allow the existing agreements to expire, and afterwards, when the Egyptian constitution is settled, to make arrangements for the administration of justice which shall avoid the evils involved in the present system. If not, the present course will inevitably lead to the expropriation of the smaller proprietors, and will probably involve a real popular rebellion, compared to which Arabi's little game will count as nothing.

We have been told that the present system is evidently beneficial because native creditors fraudulently avail themselves of the mixed courts against their own countrymen. It might just as well be said that the capitulations are good because many natives fraudulently avail themselves of foreign protection. Both systems must be revised together.

The abolition of the Dual Control seems to be a foregone conclusion. It has been tried and failed. Both for the sake of Egypt and for our own sake it is most desirable that it should not be tried again. Such an arrangement with the French is the old story of two in one bed, where, sooner or later, one wants to kick the other out. But we must treat the French delicately and fairly in the matter. As they refused to carry out the Control to its logical conclusion, the use of force, they have no right to claim its restoration; but they may well appeal to the self-denying promises which we volunteered, and to our frequent protestations that we only went to restore the order which Arabi had disturbed. If it was to be that we were to act as we did, we were singularly fortunate in the political con-

juncture in France, which enabled us to do so without exciting active and immediate hostility in that country. Recent events have, in fact, shown that a really free and democratic France is one of the least given to aggression and war of all the countries of Europe. But the old Jingo spirit of the Paris journalists and people of that class no doubt survives; and it is singular that the very Minister who came into office because (in the Egyptian affair) his pacific predecessor was not peaceful enough, seems to think it necessary to guard against the accusation of want of trans-marine enterprise. Not only have the French officials been sent back to claim their posts in Egypt, but we have a sudden outbreak of French activity in the East—an attempt (apparently) to get a location on the Red Sea—a strong assertion of claims in Madagascar—a Bill to sanction a protectorate in Tonquin—and so on. It really does look as if these things coming together were a sort of counter-move to our present domination in Egypt. Be that as it may, it seems to be patent that on every ground of good faith and international fair-dealing, the French have irresistible grounds for claiming that the new Egyptian settlement shall not be an aggrandisement of our position in Egypt at their expense. Anything we could gain would be very dear at the cost of the hatred of France.

Still more objectionable than the Dual Control would be a Control of all the Powers. We have already experience of the inconveniences of such a system. We find (as has been said) that we cannot deal with the international courts without the unanimous consent of fourteen Powers. And in another matter we have still more palpably felt the inconvenience. There has been established a Sanitary Board in which all these same Powers are represented. Some of them have but an infinitesimal interest in the commerce of the Suez Canal. But most foreigners are terribly subject to panic-fear of infectious disease, and dreadfully fussy about quarantine regulations. We have several times had to resist attempts to stop our whole Canal commerce because there always are diseases in one quarter of India or another, and we have in fact been subjected to very serious detentions. We have been obliged to put our foot down and say that we will not submit to have such great interests left at the mercy of such a board in Egypt.

I have been throughout very much in favour of the reference of Egyptian difficulties to the European Conference, and would still follow that course; but then I would have it, not that such a body should control Egypt, but only that no one Power should interfere without the consent of the great Powers as a body, which is a very different thing. In that case the Egyptians might hope to enjoy a very considerable measure of independence free from foreign interference.

Not only right, but the difficulty of finding any other tolerable arrangement seem to point to the plan of Egypt for the Egyptians, and to that plan Her Majesty's Government, acting on their own true and good principles, seem to have seriously inclined. The course would be to say to Tewfik, We have started you fair, we have relieved you from the military opposition; now you must manage for yourself. Arrange fairly with your own people, and stand or fall by the result; we cannot help you again. You have already conceded a reasonable constitution, we will help you out in starting it fairly or amending it if need be, but you must depend on yourself and the Egyptians and not on foreign aid of any kind. That seems the best course, but it is not to be concealed that there are serious difficulties about it. Personally Tewfik seems to have some good qualities, but it is to be remembered that he has heretofore been so absolutely a puppet in foreign hands that as a real ruler he is quite untried; he is the result of no process of Darwinian selection, but of hereditary legitimacy, and we must not expect too much of him. We might hope that the vindictiveness towards the defeated party which has recently been apparent may be more the work of his Ministers than his own. Situated as he is, it is perhaps not unnatural that he should have wished to get over his internal difficulties by entertaining Baker Pasha and a body of foreign mercenaries, by whose aid he might be secured against resistance and enabled to govern as he thinks right; but we may hope and believe that our Government have firmly put down their foot and forbidden any arrangement of that kind.

The truth is, that Tewfik might have a fair chance of succeeding as an Egyptian ruler of Egyptians, if he was not too much weighted with debt and obligations towards Europeans. After all it comes to the old difficulty—to reconcile a native rule in Egypt with security for the debt. Let us see what the Khedive's revenues and obligations are. It is admitted that former estimates of revenue were exaggerated, and the interest of the debt was never met from revenue before the law of liquidation. In the very last year of Ismael's reign the Domain Loan was raised, and in part applied to paying interest on the old loans: it always has been so. The real revenue has now been ascertained to be about £8,500,000 gross, including the income of the railways and canals and some revenues which would elsewhere be treated as municipal. Under the law of liquidation, as nearly as possible half of this revenue is assigned to foreign creditors. If we include the Domain lands, the proceeds of which really are crown revenues wholly assigned to the foreigners, there would be a good deal more than half so pledged. Then there is the Turkish tribute, nearly three-quarters of a million, in return for which Egypt gets absolutely nothing, and the English claim for

the Canal money, £200,000 per annum. Already it may be said that nearly two-thirds of the gross revenue is assigned away; and out of the remainder the expenses of collecting the whole (railways excepted) and administering the whole country have to be paid. It has been only just possible by extreme economy in time of prosperity and avoiding all external complications to make the two ends meet. But the Egyptian administration has been greatly starved, and dissatisfaction has culminated in rebellion. After the lesson that has been given it is just possible that the best ruler under the most favourable circumstances might meet the requirements of the law of liquidation. But now we have further claims. I look on it as quite impossible that the Egyptians should settle down contented if the native claims under the Makabileh law are not as fairly treated as the European claims—that would add some seventeen millions to the obligations of the Government. In addition we have the claims to compensation for damages caused by the war, to which the Khedive is in some sort pledged, and the claim for the expenses of the English army of occupation. I have no hesitation in saying that it is wholly impossible that all these claims should be met in full by a fairly constituted Egyptian Government. You cannot add further burdens unless you *pro rata* diminish the old ones. More than that, though it may be possible, it is really very improbable that an average native ruler, left to himself, will succeed in discharging the obligations already imposed; and it is useless to blink the real question, that you cannot secure the due and full payment of the debt unless you are prepared to use force in case of default. In that case force means a foreign administration—a Control backed by foreign armies.

It has always seemed to me that in dealing with the debt of weak countries, and especially Egypt, we salve our consciences by the consideration that we are saving our poor friends from that terrible misfortune, bankruptcy! The Control was "saving Egypt from bankruptcy"—that was an answer to all criticisms. Well, it is very natural that we, a nation of money-lenders, should look on national bankruptcy as the most deplorable of all things. But is it really so overwhelming a misfortune to an independent State, which can say to its creditors, "We are very sorry, but we can't pay in full"? True their credit might be destroyed, and they might be unable to borrow any more though even that does not hold, *e.g.* even Turkey. If it were so, it may be doubtful if that is a misfortune in these over-borrowing days. Not only Turkey and Spain, but several of the States of the American Union, and Austria, Russia, Italy—all the States which have used inconvertible paper money—are, or were, in the position of not meeting their obligations, and yet they have managed to survive nevertheless. Sometimes I have thought that in some countries,

so situated, expensive public improvements go on all the more merrily. Why then should Egypt be deprived of the common privilege of adjusting as she best can with her creditors?

Unless the debt is eventually to be exacted at all hazards, our interference only makes matters worse, and raising the price of "Egyptians" is no advantage, but the contrary. When they fall, timid people—the parsons and widows and the rest—go out, and speculators come in; when we intervene and they rise, the timid people come back and the speculators go out with their plunder. Above all things we must beware of giving any sort of guarantee on our own part that, in consideration of our being permitted to interfere, we will secure the debt—that would involve us in endless difficulties. Apart from considerations of good faith and good policy, one very substantial reason for our not taking Egypt is that, in our hands, it could not possibly pay, overloaded with debt as it is. An expensive European administration and army, fitted to meet European exigencies, most certainly could not be maintained on the balance of the revenues. It would be Crete on a larger scale over again. The most we can do is to assist the Khedive now in such an adjustment that his total payments shall not exceed that imposed by the law of liquidation. And then say, "You must honestly try to pay." If he fails, then again, if something is to be done, United Europe must decide on the action to be taken, if any.

I confess to some apprehension on studying the Queen's Prorogation speech. "International engagements" may be only a proper platitude, but "upholding privileges" seems an unfortunate expression. Certain it is that next day "Egyptians" were "buoyant" in the City. I still hope and believe that the Government will not and cannot in any degree yield to any combination of Imperial Jingoes, Commercial Jingoes (including "religion and commerce" men), and European Powers seeking to present us with an apple of discord with France as our share of the plunder of the East. I trust that they will have none of Egypt in any shape or form. Certainly there is only one thing worse than directly taking the country, and that is taking it under the form of an open or disguised protectorate. We should then have all the responsibility without the power of doing good; we should maintain the Government while we deprive the people of the "sacred right of rebellion," which, after all, is the only security for the masses. The principal evil of a native rule is that, when bolstered up either by financiers, diplomats, or soldiers, privileged classes of all sorts flourish at the expense of the people. The advantage of the Control, as a direct European administration, was that surveys and settlements tended to equalise burdens. Under a purely native *regime* the security is that if the agricultural worms are pressed too hard they will turn, especially if the ruler

has no army but his own Fellahs. It seems to me, I repeat, that our duty is to say to Tewfik the Khedive, "We will not allow you to establish a foreign domination of any kind under the protection of our armies. You must come to terms with your people, and then you must sink or swim." No doubt there is the fear of renewed difficulty if the restored Government should be again upset. To that, still, I can only say, let the only interference be when United Europe agree on a plan of interference. Not improbably, if we leave things alone, they may right themselves by the principle of natural selection, which, after all, is generally the best solution of Oriental imbroglios.

I admit that, at best, any such settlement must be attended with difficulties and dangers; but Tewfik independent seems the only plan at all feasible, and I think it should be tried. Just see the many plans put forth by able writers in all the Monthlies—one feels intuitively that none of them are possible. One wants us to take not only Egypt but Africa too. Another thinks we should reconcile Europe by ourselves guaranteeing the Egyptian debt. The Frenchman, M. Reinach, is all for re-establishing the Dual Control. My plan, I admit, is for the most part negative; it mainly consists in advising that we should do nothing, that is, we should avoid difficulties by withdrawing and leaving Egypt to itself, till at least the great Powers of Europe agree together for any joint intervention. After all the maxim, "When in doubt do nothing," has its advantages.

At all events, whatever we do or do not do, let us at all hazards avoid the fatal gift of Egypt for ourselves, either directly or protected. We are strong (or hope we are) in an island at home, in an Empire in India, and on the ocean between. In Egypt we should take up a vulnerable position, where we should be pecked at by every one, and attacked if ever we are attacked anywhere; where the debt-pledged revenue could not possibly pay our expenses, and where an army would be required which we can ill spare. Though I differ in other respects from the views of M. Reinach, I most heartily concur in what he says of the folly of incurring the jealousy and hatred of France for the sake of anything to be got in Egypt. "Compensation" to France would be a most dangerous game. No, the only safe arrangement with France is mutual retrocession and abstention from Egypt. We must not attempt to shove out France while we remain.

I have said nothing of the Suez Canal because I think it has almost nothing to do with the matter. Nobody threatened the Canal; it has no part in the transactions which led to the late war. For fifty years a succession of Egyptian Governments, including that of Arabi, have never impeded our road to India; on the contrary,

they have faciliated it at great loss and sacrifice to themselves. The money and lives of the Egyptians have been sunk in the Canal; why should they impede it? They have no object to do so; on the contrary they know, as Arabi knew, that any interference with the Canal was the sure way of bringing all Europe down on them. The Canal is really an arm of the sea, separated from Egypt proper by a great desert, and accessible, as we have found, to our gunboats and fleets. In the very improbable event of the Canal being threatened by a revolutionary party in Egypt, its protection is the easiest thing in the world. So far from there being difficulty in finding Powers willing to act for that purpose, the only embarrassment is, as we know, that so many are anxious to join; not only the recognised Great Powers, but Spain and Holland and others interested in the East. Possibly it might be as well to settle beforehand the contingents to make up a small force of gunboats and marines to protect the Canal in case of danger.

I have also scarcely alluded to a most serious question, both politically and financially, the extra-Egyptian possessions of Egypt in the Soudan; that will almost certainly involve embarrassment, perhaps ruin, of the Egyptian finances, but to go into that would involve much larger questions than I can now enter on. I have confined myself here to the administration of Egypt proper.

GEORGE CAMPBELL.

SECRET SOCIETIES IN FRANCE.

THE events which have recently taken place in the coal-mining districts of the Department of Saône-et-Loire—the destruction of chapels and crucifixes, followed immediately by other attacks upon property and persons, and more especially the explosions at Lyons and Montpellier—have revived a question that has long been unasked in France. Are there really in existence secret societies, in which preparations for the destruction of the established order of things are silently and furtively carried on under a deceptive appearance of public security? It may be at once answered that there are no secret societies in France, according to the traditional definition of the term—none such as those which existed under the Restoration, or at Naples under the Bourbon Monarchy. There are non-authorised societies, perfectly well known though not recognised, acting in broad daylight, their meeting-places unconcealed, and their assemblies and proceedings duly and regularly chronicled in the third page of the newspapers. There may, it is fair to add, also exist a conspiracy, more or less extensive, and formed of widely varying elements, whose object is pillage and incendiarism; but that is a phenomenon in France totally new in itself, and of which no clear idea has yet been formed, if indeed such an idea can ever be attainable. Certainly it bears no relation to secret societies hitherto so called.

If we suppose this conspiracy, which certain persons claim to have discovered, to have an actual corporeal existence, not to be merely a sort of moral and social epidemic, a vague and indefinite evil, but a coalition of wills and interests directed against the existing order of things, the fact still remains that it has neither a settled plan nor definite rules of conduct. It is not known to possess chiefs, a flag, or a watchword. It does not propose to seize upon political power and the government of the country, in order to modify the form or the progress of the latter. It does not threaten the life of the politicians at the head of our national affairs. The Russian Nihilists have an immediate and distinctly defined object, the suppression of the Czar. When they blow up a railway train, it is with the intention of blowing up Alexander III.

The Irish and American Fenians also, have a perfectly well known social and political object to gain by the crimes and outrages which they perpetrate. They have an organization, funds, and chiefs. Up to the present time there is nothing in France which resembles either the Nihilists or the Fenians. In the

heat of discussion, some of our newspapers, even those of the serious and responsible kind, have said that France has both her Nihilists and her Fenians; but when a more discerning spirit of criticism is brought to bear upon the facts, it becomes evident that a great and singular difference exists between the Fenians, or the Nihilists, and that conspiracy which is supposed to have revealed itself in certain districts of France. At several points, and at about the same time, explosions took place, threats were addressed to the magistrates and the jury who were sitting at the assize court at Châlons, a number of incendiary placards and proclamations were posted on the walls of the towns, or sown broadcast among the public; but in these insensate productions, and in those outrages, which were more stupid than criminal—for up to the present moment no man's life has been taken—not a single feature of organization, not a trace of any chief, or of any definite or definable political object has been discovered.

On the 18th March, 1871, the case was very different. The Central Committee was a real society, organized for the conquest of political power and for the occupation of Paris by force. The committee had its political and military chiefs, its soldiers, its flag, and even its newspapers. The first object of its revolutionary action was to seize upon the Hotel de Ville, the Prefecture of Police, and the forts with which Paris is surrounded. In this there was a course of action calculated beforehand, and a well-studied aim. That M. Thiers did not go more skilfully to work about laying hands on the Central Committee, that he did not from the first employ all the forces which were needed for such an enterprise in the midst of a general disorganization of the country, no doubt precipitated the explosion of the 18th of March, and gave it intensity which it would not have attained under less deplorable circumstances; but it is certain that the Central Committee was a veritable secret society, which had its watchword, and held itself in readiness to act at the first signal.

Lord Beaconsfield said in *Lothair* that the world's future would be divided between the papacy and the secret societies. Thus far there are no signs of the future or the present of the French Republic belonging to the latter. Whether we consider the occurrences that have taken place in the coal-mining basins of the Saône and the Rhône, or whether we study the numerous democratic societies which are in action in Paris and the Departments, it is plain that it is not with secret societies we have to deal, and if social and political perils still threaten France more or less—for under every régime there are always some perils for the people—we must acknowledge that their nature and aspect are changed.

Instead of secret societies there must be substituted the expres-

sive societies which are non-authorised—known, if not recognised. The most numerous and powerful group of those which have developed in our Democratic Republic within the last ten years, under favour of the general liberty, is that constituted by the Syndical, Patronal, and Workmen's Chambers.[1] To attempt the suppression of them at present would be an extremely dangerous enterprise, contrary, not indeed to the text, but to the very principle of our constitution, and to the spirit of Republican government. We are still under the empire of the law of 1791, which laid our economic system in the dust, by destroying the organization of the old *régime*. According to Clause 2 of that law, citizens of the same condition or profession, contractors, keepers of open shops, workmen and journeymen in any craft whatsoever, could not, when they met together, nominate a president, or a secretary, or syndics, keep registers, take resolutions, hold discussions, or form any rules concerning their alleged common interests. This law, therefore, laid it down as a principle that workmen in one and the same trade have not common interests, that their claim to possess common interests ought to be rejected as factious, and tyrannical towards the other sections of French society, and that those interests could not be made a cause for meeting and deliberation in common. Clause 3 added, "it is forbidden to all administrative municipal bodies to receive any address or petition under the denomination of a state or profession, and to make answer to such address or petition. They are enjoined to declare the nullity of deliberations which shall have been made in any such manner, and to take special care that no effect or execution shall be given to them." The ensuing clauses were designed to give final sanctions of an extremely rigorous kind to the law.

Such is the *régime* under which we have been living for more than eighty years. The Syndical Workmen's Chambers, which are simply professional associations of which workmen and employers of the same trade form part, and whose object is the defence of the common interest of their members, the discussion of contracts, and the fixing of tariffs, are, then, absolutely contrary to French Law. Nevertheless, since the later years of the empire, 1864, 1865, they have assumed such dimensions, and, especially since 1871, have developed so rapidly, that it has become impossible to contemplate their suppression. It is a matter of importance, on the contrary, to secure a legal existence for them, and a project of law, already adopted by the Chamber and rejected by the Senate, will certainly be voted in a definitive manner without delay.

The services rendered to the workmen by the Syndical Chambers

(1) *Chambres syndicales, ouvrières et patronales.*

are very considerable. They offer them means of finding work more easily without losing their day in fatiguing and vain efforts to obtain it; they inculcate the spirit of order, organization, and saving; several of these Syndical Workmen's Chambers have stores of tools and supplies of all kinds, which they can sell to members and their families at 20, 30, or even 50 per cent. below the shop prices; they have also superannuation and out-of-work funds. They annex mutual aid societies to themselves, and have "cours" and "conférences" on all parts, theoretical or practical, of the trade with which they are concerned. Some have a newspaper of their own, as, for example, the "Alliance of Stokers, Enginemen, and Guards." This is a very important Syndical Chamber, and it is even something more, as it proposes, according to its own statutes, "to group under the ægis of education" the various societies or Syndical Chambers of the stokers of France. Each chamber preserves its autonomy, its own particular organization, and its statutes, but they strive in concert to promote education among their members, and they organize competitive trials of skill, at which medals and certificates of merit are distributed to the best workmen.

The principal Syndical Workmen's Chambers at present are those of the hat makers, the tailors, and the cabinet makers. These are the most wealthy and the most numerous. The Syndical Chambers of employers (*patrons*) are useful in the first place to the employers personally, and then to the development of industry and general commerce. They form centres of business where the employers exchange their ideas, discuss the conditions of home commerce and of export trade, and they keep progress, emulation, and activity of mind constantly up to the mark. The Chambers of employers and those of workmen maintain mutual relations. They have adopted the custom of nominating mixed commissions, composed of employers and workmen in equal numbers, in order to settle, by common consent the conditions of labour, contracts, and tariffs. These committees have prevented several strikes, and have, generally speaking, been beneficial; at present, however, grave difficulties have arisen from the system, and Parisian industry is in one of the most severely strained positions in which it has found itself for twenty years.

The conflict now in progress between employers and workmen in the cabinet-making and wood-carving trades had its origin in this institution of mixed commissions. The employers, occupied with various cares, and deceived by the security of long possession, had abandoned the habit of attending the meetings of the mixed commission of cabinet-makers; the workmen, on the contrary, attended them with indefatigable assiduity, and on a day when they

found themselves almost alone and masters of the situation, they changed the conditions of work. The employers then woke up, declared that they would not submit to the law of the mixed commission, and carried out a sort of economic *coup d'état* by closing their workshops. Instead of a workman's strike there was an employer's strike, or lock-out. It seems to be clearly demonstrated that the employers could not accept the new conditions imposed by the workmen without exposing their industry, which is one of the most considerable in Paris, to irremediable ruin. Competition with foreign trade, already difficult, would have been impossible, and already Paris, instead of sending furniture to all parts of the world, was beginning to attract furniture from Belgium, Germany, and Austria. This occurrence may probably bring about important changes in the constitution of the Syndical Chambers, and in their reciprocal positions. The institution of mixed commissions has received a heavy blow, and many employers are of opinion that another mode of mutual relations must be found, the mixed commissions being an instrument over which the workmen would, from various causes, too often acquire the sole power.

Apart, however, from this incident, it has been shown that the Syndical Chambers of every kind in action in Paris, and in the Departments, are extra-legal societies, not recognised, not authorised, but acting nevertheless in broad daylight, and perfectly well known. The daily occupation of these societies is entirely economic and social; it is none the less true that they also exercise an active but intermittent influence, when, for instance, an election is in question, or a political revolutionary movement, like that of the 16th of May, when Marshal MacMahon and the Duc de Broglie had conceived the hope of bringing the country once more into the path of Parliamentary Monarchy. On these occasions the Syndical Chambers, especially those of the workmen, exercise a far-reaching influence which penetrates to the very depth of the nation. That influence may be decisive at a given moment in a country like ours where universal suffrage exists. In fact, the Chambers are very sound and very extensive *Cadres*, and the workmen whose intelligence and activity have enabled them to assume the leadership of those associations have under their orders numerous troops who march to the electoral urns with perfect steadiness and discipline.

In these societies there are always certain smouldering embers of politics, and, either in periods of repose, when the yoke of the painful necessities of existence is for a while forgotten or shifted off, or in national crises, when liberty or the country is in danger, a smouldering ember may, in the twinkling of an eye, become a great fire, and emit devouring flames. But, for all that, it may safely be

affirmed that there is a promise of safety in the fact, and not a menace or a danger to France and society. The anarchical theories which have made a noise in these latter times do not find their way into our Syndical Chambers. These are composed of the *élite* of our working men, a little harsh perhaps—there is nothing surprising in that—obstinate in dispute over the conditions of their toil, but intelligent and industrious, opposed to anarchy, and hearty haters of disorder. Thus the workmen's associations of Lyons have loudly testified their indignation at the explosions that have terrified that city, and if, on the day of those outrages, their authors had fallen into the hands of the workmen, there would probably have been no need of either gendarmes or judges.

There exists in Paris another species of "groups." These, exclusively addicted to politics, they approach perhaps a little more nearly to so-called "Secret Societies;" but they are not, nevertheless, mysterious. The nomenclature, the character, and the customs of all of them are well known; they convoke their adherents by the plain and simple medium of the newspapers; and any one may go into and come out of their meetings with extreme facility, provided with an introduction from one or two friends or "companions." These associations may be divided into two principal categories—the Societies of Free Thought and the Studying Clubs (*Cercles d'Etudes*). The former are in action chiefly in the *banlieue*, or suburbs, of Paris, and the latter in the interior of the capital. They are of widely varying shades of opinion, and they correspond to all the notes of the political gamut, from the most moderate to the most violent. The oldest associations of Free Thought, which are, so to speak, free branches of Freemasonry, occupy themselves wholly in making sure that their members shall have civil funerals; and the formal acts of association are only two—one is made when a member accompanies the corpse of a friend to the cemetery, wearing a red immortelle at his button-hole, the other when he is carried thither himself. Other associations of Free Thought, founded within the last ten years in the *banlieue* of Paris, are composed of more active men—more "advanced," as the saying is—whose politics are of a militant order, and who display considerable energy in electoral contests.

In each of the twenty arrondissements of Paris several *Cercles d'Etudes* exist. These are social, or political and social, clubs or *cercles*, and a complete list of them would be as easily supplied as it would be uninteresting. Some among them have hardly any members, others are more numerous and make a little more noise. They bear various names, some very strange, and invented to strike the imagination of young people, as, for instance, the Equals, the Equality, the Socialist-Atheists, the Young Toilers of the Centre and of the

Awakening (this reminds us of the strangely complex signs of certain taverns, for instance, the "Jean Bart and the Low Countries", the Revolutionary Sentinel, &c., &c.[1]) These pretentious names do not indicate very alarming associations; they are chiefly composed of youths, or idle workmen who like to declaim and excite themselves among themselves, but who exercise no serious influence in the workshops. This must not be taken to mean that really dangerous men may not slip into those associations, and that the groups may not make themselves masters of certain district elections in low neighbourhoods, like our municipal elections. But in the whole of Paris, or even in the whole of an arrondissement, they do not count; yet they are known and heed is taken of their sayings and doings.

But, it is said, the Government could dissolve these *cercles*, which are, like the Syndical Chambers, *outside legality*, but, unlike the Chambers, do not render any public services and have nothing correct or regular in their organization. No doubt it would be within the right of the Government to dissolve them; but it should be understood that their dissolution would be absolutely illusory. Our law of the 30th of June, 1881, upon the right of holding meetings, did not subject private meetings to any kind of restriction, and it imposed upon public meetings only one single condition, or, rather, a purely formal preliminary—the declaration that, on a given day, a meeting should be held at a given place. The Prefect of Police can only register the declaration—that is his sole part in the matter; he has not to grant any authorisation. The utmost he has the right to do is to intervene in the case of any violence being resorted to at the meeting. Under this *régime* of complete liberty, what would be the use of dissolving the *cercles?* The groups dispersed to-day would be re-formed to-morrow without hindrance, and might hold a meeting on a fixed day in each week, or, indeed, on all the days in succession. This would be equivalent to the permanence of the *cercle* itself.

The enumeration of the various Republican or democratic associations of Paris would not be complete without the mention of the small "Blanquist" group, which has survived its chief. A short time ago a Parisian newspaper published a long list of Blanquist groups, arranged by arrondissements, with initials of names and addresses given. It has been proved that this organization, which had, during the life of Blanqui, a purely electoral object, has long since ceased to exist. Several streets named in the newspaper which states that the meeting of the committees are held there, no longer bear the names inscribed upon the famous list. It is, however, a fact that a nucleus

(1) *Le Cercle des Égaux, le Cercle de l'Egalité, le Cercle des Athées Socialistes, les Jeunes Travailleurs du Centre et du Réveil, la Sentinelle Révolutionnaire.*

of Blanquists still exists, and that the newspaper entitled *La Tenaille* is directed by some of those who form it. These men have true political qualities; they are reserved of speech; they do not frequent meetings and congresses; they dislike and despise blusterers. The aspirations of anarchists, collectivists, revolutionary socialists, all those people who have been making so much noise of late, are diametrically opposed to the spirit and traditions of the Blanquists. The dogmas of the faith of that group are unity and authority; decentralization is contrary to their doctrine. If, indeed, it could be said that there still exists a secret society in Paris, it would be this one; that is to say, it approaches most nearly in temperament to the secret societies of the past; but not only does it consist of only a few members, powerless because they are so few, its faith is enfeebled by want of success, its traditions are broken, and its discipline is in process of dissolution. It is a memory rather than a hope, and, as it were, a last spark of the soul of Blanqui preserved by some devoted friends.

Blanqui himself died in 1879, in a state of profound depression. M. Baur, who knew his system, and considered it an ineffective one, wrote of him as follows: "Blanqui remains a problem to many men of good faith. From the period of his leaving his prison at Clairvaux it was impossible to form a fair judgment of him. Weighed down with age, broken by thirty-five years passed in prison, with the eye of death fixed upon him, he was no longer himself. The enmity, the calumny, the moral ostracism of which he was the victim, had a most fatal influence upon his life, his destiny, and his mind. Being repulsed, he shrank back more and more into his isolation; he exaggerated his revolutionary system, which in the end proved to be powerless; he believed in the possibility of bringing about a serious action secretly by the aid of a little group of devoted friends. In a word, he refined and sharpened his talent for conspiracy, while he allowed his incomparable faculties as a politician and a statesman to remain inactive."

After the Syndical Chambers, the *Cercles d'Etudes*, and the Blanquist group, what remains? Nothing, unless we take into account a certain shapeless amalgamation of revolutionary collectivism and socialist anarchy. This does not constitute a party, or even parties; it is not a secret society, nor secret societies; it is a vague, indeterminate element, formed of dreams, passions, vices, and simplicity, of ignorance and anger, and also, to some extent, of sincerity and noble aspirations towards an ideal justice. This element is to be found in all countries, and its presence in a great free democracy like the French is very natural. Collectivism, communism, anarchism, are rather current ideas, confused tendencies towards a better future, which naturally must manifest themselves

among populations overburdened with toil, eager for comfort, as they behold the luxury of modern industry, and acquiring ever-increasing liberty and instruction, although they are still very far from the true intellectual light. Mingled in this current men from all the groups and all the *cercles* are to be found, pure and ardent imaginations side by side with gloomy and malignant minds. It is a characteristic of this thing to be confused, shapeless, and without self-consciousness. It is a sort of non-organized, chaotic matter, formed of heterogeneous molecules, and each time that one of these molecules becomes conscious, and acquires will and defined intelligence, it goes off elsewhere, and takes its place amid the organized parties and groups.

Collectivism, if we want to define it in a few words, in so far as these vague theories are definable, means the placing of capital in the hands of a "collectivity" of working men. Collectivists contend that capital is nothing else than the product, the accumulated toil, of the hands of former generations; or, to use the words of Karl Marx, "of unpaid labour." Capital is, therefore, to return to the whole of the workers; the mine, the works, the factory are to be the property of the working "collectivity" which produces the profits of the mine, the works, and the factory. This collective property is to pass on from the present generation of workers to the next, and so on, being always possessed and exploited in common. The collectivist system does not include personal property, which may be acquired by the economy of the workman, while communism, of which we never hear anything nowadays, excludes every form of personal property.

The French anarchists do not want any electoral power to exist under any form whatsoever; nor, according to their own expression, any capitalist or governmental authority. They believe in living in the bosom of a federation of personal forces spontaneously associated. Admitting neither government, nor property, nor laws, they are necessarily brought back to the most primitive and the most childish expression of communism. An anarchist group (11th arrondissement) published a programme some weeks ago. It contains the following statement of what they want:—"1. In the political order, the abolition of the State, that of governmental authority, whatever may be its form, its name, and its defenders; its replacement by the free federation of free producers, spontaneously associated; that is to say, anarchy. 2. In the economical order, the abolition of individual property and capitalist authority, and the placing of the social wealth at the disposal of all, in such manner that each person, working according to his faculty, may freely consume according to his needs; that is to say, communism."

The anarchists are internationalists, just as they are communists.

There is for them no "country," as there is no State and no property. It was they who recently interrupted M. Clémenceau at the meeting at the Cirque Fernando, by exclaiming, "There is no nation! There is no party!" They do not admit the republic any more than the monarchy, nor do they grant any authority to the principle of univeral suffrage.

The anarchists, the collectivists, and others, with their different degrees and their multiplied shades, have troubled our recent meetings, and especially the congress of Saint Etienne, with their quarrels. M. Jules Guesde, one of the most active representatives of collectivism, published the first collectivist manifesto in 1878, on the occasion of the Socialist Congress which was to have met in Paris during the Exhibition, but was prevented by M. Dufaure, at that time Minister. This manifesto says: "The foundation of production is given up to the despotism of individual interests; to require that it should be otherwise, that *disindividualised* capital should be placed entirely and in perpetuity at the disposal of the *producing activity* of all, is to require that social production be carried to its maximum." M. Jules Guesde does not, then, admit either individual property or savings under any form, but neither does he appear to admit violent revolution. He does not make common cause with the revolutionary anarchists.

There is another collectivism, besides that of M. Jules Guesde, and its principal representative is M. Malon. The latter, who is of a more moderate and reflecting turn of mind, includes the principle of individual saving in his scheme of collectivism, which we have already defined. In his system, collective property and personal property have their respective places. He believes in universal suffrage, in the Republic, and in the country. Now this is what occurred at the Congress of Saint Etienne. Against him M. Jules Guesde had the anarchists on one side, and on the other the mode rate collectivists who follow M. Malon. There was, just as there is in Parliament, a sort of coalition of the right with the extreme left. M. Jules Guesde, who was in the middle, was crushed. It was he who, if we are not mistaken, founded, about two years ago, what he called "The Federation of the Centre." Seeing that this device did not succeed in Paris, he went to Rheims and Lyons and Saint-Etienne to hold "conférences" and preach his collectivism. He passed through those central Departments in which education is by no means advanced, and where great masses of working people whose lives are particularly hard, congregate. After this propaganda the Federation of the Centre began to be talked of. It is a good name, and looks well in the socialist journals, but it is only a name. No Federation of the Centre exists, and no association is organized under the direction of M. Jules Guesde. His melancholy adven-

ture at Saint-Etienne, on his own stage, demonstrated both his own weakness and that of all the others, collectivists or anarchists.

In the course of this analysis we have passed in review the Syndical Chambers, the *cercles* or clubs, and various manifestations of a socialism which is a prey to internal divisions; but we have not ascertained the existence of any force secretly organized against the actual state of things in France. We may look in all directions for the secret society, we shall not find it. There remains, then, only one source to which we may refer for an explanation of the outrages that have excited the public mind. We can only hold them to be the effect of a sort of moral contagion, kept up by the passions of some, by the sufferings of others, and by the violent prompting of evil counsellors; and as the public mind in France has been extremely impressionable since the war of 1870 and the Commune of 1871, this contagion has been invested with an importance which would not have been assigned to it at any other time.

"But," it has been said, "where does the dynamite, which was used at Montceau-les-Mines, and which exploded in the café on the Place Bellecour at Lyons, come from?" It is not very difficult to answer that question. Gunpowder is a monopoly of the State, it is manufactured in Government workshops, by licensed and brigaded workmen, who are entitled to a pension, and are, in reality, agents of the Government, placed under its constant supervision and inspection. The administration and the manufacture of gunpowder are organized in almost the same way as the manipulation of tobacco, and are national industries. This is not the case with dynamite; that explosive is freely manufactured by private individvals, in private workshops, and may be bought and sold without let or hindrance. The greater portion of the dynamite consumed in France comes from the factory of M. Lemoine at Honfleur.

It is true that the manufacture is subjected to daily inspection by an officer in the service of "indirect contributions," but this is purely a fiscal measure, and its object is to secure the regular payment of the duties to the State. The agents gauge the dynamite which they find in the workshops of the factories, calculate the quantity that has been issued, and settle the amount of tax to be collected. For each issue they hand over a permit, which is detached from a register with a counterfoil. This is the system by which the circulation of our wines and spirits is regulated. The dynamite that comes out of the factory at Honfleur has four different and clearly defined distinctions. It is purchased by the State for the purpose of experiments; by the shipowners of Havre and Dunkerque, who charter vessels for the cod-fisheries; it is bought for great mining operations, like those at Montceau, and also for the smaller enterprises of the quarrymen who remove the rocks from the Jura and other

mountains; poachers also have begun to use dynamite to kill fish in rivers and ponds.

No other modes of employing dynamite than those given above have hitherto been known. A plausible explanation of the manner in which the miners at Montceau contrived to procure the dynamite that they used has been given. It is this: the explosible matter, having arrived at the mine, is distributed each morning by the foremen to the miners about to go down the shaft. In the dark depths of the mine supervision must be difficult, and the nature of the work to be done, that of explosion and destruction, render it still more difficult. The head men assert that it is very easy, for instance, for a workman to save one capsule per day, to put it aside, and take it away with him when he comes up out of the mine. It is evident that if a number of workmen have each been able to secrete a capsule per day for several months, a considerable quantity of dynamite must be in criminal hands. Some of the workmen may themselves have used them in the explosions that have occurred; others, weak rather than guilty, may have sold them to add to their pay. The coal districts generally comprise glass-works and foundries; there, also, it is extremely easy to abstract a glass capsule, or to prepare a metal capsule to hold the dynamite. Workmen who mean mischief have, therefore, every facility for carrying out their own notions or acting on the evil suggestions of others.

There is, however, another means by which dynamite may get into the hands of certain persons. The "kilo" of dynamite at Honfleur costs the manufacture about 12 francs; the transport-permit costs him 24. This is an enormous charge, it must be acknowledged, being double the price of the fabric. Thus every kilo of dynamite bought at Honfleur costs the purchaser, with the manufacturer's profit, 40 francs. The quarrymen of the Jura are not rich; they are for the most part in a small way of business, and find it hard to live. It is thought that they supply themselves with dynamite fraudulently brought into the country from Switzerland; and this supposition is supported by the fact that the quantity of dynamite regularly employed in France for industrial purposes seems to exceed the quantity taken note of by the agents of the "contributions indirectes" in the factories. If dynamite be fraudulently imported for industrial purposes, it is easy to perceive that miscreants may procure it for their own ends by the same means. Since the occurrences at Montceau and Lyons, a decree, dated 28th October, has subjected the employment and the sale of dynamite to stricter conditions. Henceforth all persons who require to make use of dynamite, or of any explosive whose basis is nitro-glycerine, must previously address to the Prefect of his Department a written declaration countersigned by the Mayor of the Commune, or if in Paris by the Commissary of

Police of his quarter. In addition to this, he must, within eight days after he has received the dynamite, render an account to the authorities of the use which he has made of it.

We are acquainted with several great typical Secret Societies—the Fenians, the Nihilists, the Carbonari, and the Tugendbund (Society of Virtue), which was founded at Kœnigsberg after the taking of Tilsit, to deliver Prussia from foreign rule, and for the material and moral reconstruction of the country, which seemed to be falling into utter ruin. There is no need to dwell upon Freemasonry; it is a universal association of such breadth and flexibility that it adapts itself to all places and all peoples, and it has now been for a long time plunged in a sort of lethargy. The others have always had one of two aims, and sometimes both together—to deliver the country from an interior despotism and elevate the people towards an ideal of liberty, happiness, and justice, or to deliver the country from a foreign despotism and reconquer the national independence lost or lessened by the fate of war. France enjoys within itself almost unlimited liberty, and, though the country has been mutilated by war, it knows that the armed conflicts of nations are neither prepared nor settled in these days by the aid of that blunted instrument, Secret Societies. Our "League of Patriots," presided over by the eminent historian M. Henri Martin, bears no more resemblance to a Secret Society than the League of Education presided over by M. Jean Macé.

France has not its Tugendbund, and it has no longer Carbonari of any degree. All the Secret Societies of the Restoration and the Empire, modelled more or less upon the Italian Carbonari, proposed to themselves to take up the interrupted task of the French Revotion, to realise the great principles of 1787, to prepare a future of "liberty and bread" for the nation. All the chiefs of the Liberal parties of that time, such as Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, Benjamin Constant, and others, who did honour to the press, to literature, and to the tribune, hastened to enrol themselves in these societies, and became the soul of them. Now, the national sovereignty is wielded in all its plenitude, the Republic is based upon Universal Suffrage, the rights of meeting, association, and freedom of publicity are exercised upon an almost unlimited field. As war is made at the present day in Europe with entire peoples, so in France politics are conducted by the whole nation. These immense displays of force, whether it acts within or without, render the organization of Secret Societies henceforth absolutely useless, and, indeed, their impotence has been made evident in France by the whole history of events for eighty years.

JEHAN DE PARIS.

HOME RULE, SOCIALISM, AND SECESSION.

Two policies are possible for Ireland: the Imperial policy, which aims at the assimilation of Celtic Ireland into the body of the United Kingdom, and the "Nationalist" policy, which designs the creation of a separate, alien, and hostile Irish State. *Via media* there is none, for Federalism and Home Rule are fancy constitutions of a clearly unworkable kind. Practical politicians on both sides are agreed as to the real issue. The Irish Executive have made a determined attempt to use the Coercion Act with effect. After a long interval, convictions have been obtained for agrarian murder. Extraordinary crime has diminished in amount, if not in gravity. Rent, it is said, has in some places been fairly paid. The efforts of the Executive have been met with promptitude and decision. The Land League has been revived under a new name. The "No-rent" manifesto has been conditionally re-issued, and, with irresistible logic, extended to "judicial" rents. The Government of the Queen has been publicly described as "an organization of pirates and brigands,[1]" and a well-planned series of outrages has reminded judges, jurors, and policemen that "the unwritten law" has sanctions of its own. Two remarkable articles have recently appeared on the question thus raised practically in Ireland, the one by Mr. Healy, the other by Mr. John Morley. Both take the "Nationalist," or, as it is perhaps better named, the "Secessionist" point of view. Both limit their present demand to "some form of local self-government," but they do so "without prejudice" to further claims. The nature and extent of the "self-government" to be conceded are left conveniently vague, but in both papers the Home Rule of Mr. Shaw is defended by arguments expressly devised to cover the Home Rule of Michael Davitt. The premisses laid down involve the erection of Ireland into an independent state. There is barely a hint of the inevitable conclusion. It is at most a distant and well-nigh impossible danger, a mere "Conservative reason," for delay, which should not hinder "modern Liberals" from hastening to "the next step." The traditions of that party are relied on with justice. If Liberals can be cajoled into granting "a large and liberal measure of local self-government" now, electioneering necessities and the fostering care of the American Irish will assuredly do the rest. The "germs" will develop in their season, and a peal of the "Chapel Bell" will awaken great statesmen to the fact that, "whether they intended it or not," they have created a nation, whose *de facto* independence it would be foolish and illogical to deny. Like "the First Whig,"

(1) Speech of Mr. Healy at St. Mullins, Co. Carlow.—*Freeman*, Nov. 27th.

in Milton, they may be something startled at the sight of their own progeny, but they will quickly school their disgust under the sense of common interests, acknowledge their paternity, and offer terms for the political support of the new power.[1]

Four principal reasons are put forward by both writers for the concession of Home Rule. They are: (1) The utter weariness of Englishmen at the prospect of an eternal wrangle; (2) Fear of the American Irish; (3) Fear of the Terrorists; and (4) The iniquities of the landlords. The first three are clearly as forcible arguments for Secession as for Home Rule. If utter weariness or fear can drive modern Liberals to federalism, it may well be argued that a little extra fatigue, or a few more assassinations, will extort absolute independence. This idea of an imperial race worried out of their empire is new in history. Perhaps, after all, it is not very likely to be first realised by the countrymen of Marlborough, and Wellington, and Clive. But it will always be precious, as illustrating the conception of public duty entertained by thinkers, who are scandalised at our Irish incapacity to discern the value of general principles.[2] "England expects every man to do his duty,"—if he is not "utterly weary," *bien entendu!* It is a strange version of the famous watchword, and has scarcely the charm or the promise of the old.

The second ground for concession, the fear of the American Irish,[3] reveals such an estimate of English courage, as might be expected from those who advise Englishmen to abandon their duty for their ease. It will be an evil day for the popular party in Ireland, if ever America should interfere on their behalf. All English opinion, more especially the opinion of the democracy, draws a sharp line between concession to domestic agitation, and submission to foreign menace. Threats of the kind could only result in the estrangement of that good will, which Mr. Healy admits is felt towards Ireland, and possibly in the denial of civil and political rights to subjects who were leagued with a foreign power.

The third reason stands upon a somewhat different footing. The existence of a revolutionary party of the ultra-Jacobin type in Ireland cannot be denied. They have given us too recent tokens of their activity and their strength. If the Nationalists could prove their policy capable of disarming the terrorists, they would solve the problem of the day. But this is just the point in which their argument is weakest. Beyond a few commonplaces about "giving public spirit an outlet," and "letting off the steam," they do not attempt

(1) *Paradise Lost*, ii. 744.

(2) "One is inclined," writes Mr. Morley, "to put down the whole of Ireland as a nation of casuists. The value of a general principle or a strict construction is unknown."

(3) The American argument is, in one form or other, rather popular just now. Mr. A. M. Sullivan fairly threatens us with the active interposition of the United States through their "established government."—*Observer*, Dec. 4th.

to show how Home Rule would lessen the power of the anarchists, or strive to meet the reasoning of those who maintain, that such a measure would increase the forces of socialism.

The conclusive answer to these first three reasons is, that there is no finality in the policy proposed, and that it can satisfy neither the obstructionists, nor the American Irish, nor the terrorists. The admission of the one writer, that "any effectual form of Home Rule" involves the absolute control of such subjects as land-tenure, religion, and trade, by the Irish democracy, and that English opinion is not yet ripe for such concessions, coupled with the assurance of the other, that the attainment of minor reforms will mean "an additional strength to the popular party in Ireland, and an additional leverage in the carrying of greater ones," sums up the argument against them. Local self-government would, in fact, arm the Parnellites in a day, with the very weapon the Liberals are laboriously forging for themselves—a real working caucus of the American pattern, with "pickings" complete, the great fly-wheel, whose absence mars the Birmingham article so sadly. English Radicals hope to perfect their own machine by giving its members the control of county government and county patronage in England. It does not lie in their mouths to contend, that this very endowment, which is to make them irresistible, will enfeeble the caucus of the Land League. The Irish county boards would be, like the corporations before them, "normal schools of agitation."[1]

The denunciations of the landlords are scarcely worth answering. They are irrelevant, unless the "form of local self-government" asked for is "Home Rule in Mr. Davitt's sense;" that is, Home Rule *plus* spoliation. It is, however, amusing to find the English writer declaring the landlords "convicted" by the judgments of the Land Court,[2] and his Irish colleague describing that august tribunal as "a Land League Court," with one of its members "in a wig and gown

(1) "Even now," says Mr. T. D. Sullivan, "the people are working out the principle of self-government. Wherever there is a representative body, little or great, in whose election the people have a voice, there the people are obtaining for themselves a real representation, *and are leading up to Home Rule*" (cheers).—Speech at Navan, *Freeman*, Nov. 27th. A conference of the elected guardians of the entire county of Cork has been lately held, to consider the effect of recent legislation on the land question, and "to protest against the administration of the Land Act."—*Times*, Nov. 18th.

(2) It must be remembered, when estimating the value of this testimony, that Mr. Gladstone has publicly declared all Conservatives disqualified for sitting in the Land Court, because the Land Law has to be administered in a partisan spirit; that the sub-commissioners are exposed to the political pressure from which other judges are scrupulously guarded; and that this pressure has at times been freely applied.—See, for example, the Prime Minister's reply to Mr. Healy's questions on "Adams *v.* Dunseath." The only other witness against the landlords whom Mr. Morley names, is Sir Walter Scott. All the rest of his evidence is anonymous. He confidently accuses landlords and agents of sending up "proscription lists" to the Castle, under the Coercion Act, containing the names of "thousands" of "independent and vigorous

to make him look respectable—*put to lower rents.*"[1] I have said that both writers evidently regard secession as the ultimate solution of the Irish question, and that their reasoning is directed quite as much to further that policy, as to promote Home Rule. Here the objection of want of finality does not, at first sight, apply. Secession must be opposed on somewhat broader grounds.

The authority of the dead has not much weight with the left wing of the Liberal party. They think, like Urban VIII., that the lightest word of their living Pope overrules the political decrees of a hundred who are gone. But most educated men will acknowledge, that a long and continuous tradition is entitled to respect. And through all the line of statesmen who have governed these kingdoms, from Mr. Pitt to Lord Hartington, there has never been, till yesterday, one moment's paltering, one adroit ambiguity, or pretence at hesitation, on this question of Repeal. Men of all parties have hitherto declined to tamper with a design, which they "felt and knew must make Great Britain a fourth-rate power in Europe, and Ireland a savage wilderness."[2] It is needless to establish the continuity of this belief by a pile of quotations. For eighty years the necessity of the Union has been held "a truth too deep for argument." The burden of proof lies on those who would question this cardinal principle of our national life.

That a novel policy should be defended by novel reasoning is not strange, but it is certainly remarkable that the very symptoms which convinced Pitt and Canning that a Union was imperative, should be the Home Rulers' chosen argument for Repeal. The dread that Ireland "would receive and cherish and mature the principles of the French Revolution," impelled Canning to force on the Union.[3] The prospect of "a violent political revolution, like the Jacobin Revolution that saved France," impels certain "modern English Liberals" to demand Repeal. The premisses of the statesman and of the philosophers are identical, and must be admitted. The "principles which go to array the physical force of the lower orders of the people against the educated and governing parts of the community, to arm poverty against property, labour against privilege, and each class of

characters." This is a very cruel charge. It is easily made, it increases hatred of a defenceless class, it is utterly untrue, and it is utterly impossible for us to disprove. There are, indeed, only one or two men in England in a position to contradict it. Happily one of them has spoken out. "No arrests," Mr. Foster assured his constituents (*Times*, Dec. 8th), "absolutely none, were made at the instigation of landlords or agents. *Very rarely did the landlords make representations at all.*" The Act, he went on to say, was used to lock up boycotters, and actual and intending murderers. So much for the "vigorous and independent characters," and for Mr. Morley's accurate knowledge of Irish gentlemen. Mr. Healy says the landlords intimidate electors.

(1) Speech at St. Mullins.

(2) Sir Robert Peel, *Hansard*, xxiii. 3rd Series, p. 69.

(3) Canning, *Parliamentary Hist.*, xxxiv. 236

life against its superior," are at least as widespread now as in 1799. Which conclusion shall we adopt, the philosophers' or the statesman's? I have said that the premisses are the same, but in fact Repeal would be a greater evil now, than when it meant merely the "Restoration of the Heptarchy." The kingdom of Ireland, as it existed between 1782 and 1800, was an English plantation, governed despotically by those who were one in race, religion, and education with the rulers of England. The peril of Jacobinism was imminent, when the resources of Ireland were in the hands of a loyal aristocracy. Will the risk be lessened by placing those resources at the disposal of Michael Davitt? These "modern Liberals," it is true, propose to train our future Chaumettes and Héberts, "in the practice of civil virtue and political responsibility," by the immediate grant of local self-government. But we have had some costly experiments in political education lately in Ireland; Lord O'Hagan's Jury Act, for example; and we are not altogether satisfied with the "civil virtue and political responsibility" developed.[1] That such a scheme would accelerate a Jacobin purification of Ireland is certain. That it would mitigate the catastrophe, is an assumption credible only on the merest "Liberal principles." Repeal of the Union

(1) The working of the Poor Law is another good instance. Both writers complain of the *ex officio* guardians. Under the original Irish Poor Law (1 & 2 Vict. c. 56), only a third of the guardians were *ex officio*. The jobbery and incapacity of the elected members forced Lord John Russell to increase the proportion of *ex officios* to one-half in 1847. Recent facts seem to show that Lord John Russell was not altogether wrong. "There were methods," said Mr. Sexton last year, "of increasing the expenditure of the landlords; for example, he knew of one or two cases in which tenants had been turned out by the action of the Property Defence Association, and he knew that the local boards of guardians were about to act upon another of the practical and suggestive notes of the hon. member for Wexford, for they were about to make liberal grants out of the poor rates for the maintenance of those families; and half of those grants would fall upon the gentlemen who were maintaining this association. The other half would not fall upon the ratepayers to the fullest extent, because arrangements would be made by which the ratepayers would be protected from the full portion of their own moiety of the poor rates" (hear, hear). The following table from the *Times* of Sept. 30th will show that this was no empty threat:—

TRALEE UNION.

Suspects' Households.			Ordinary Recipients.		
Name.	In Family.	Amount per week.	Name.	In Family.	Amount per week.
		£ s. d.			s. d.
Stack	7	1 0 0	Sheehy	3	3 6
Nolan	5	15 0	Connellan	3	1 6
Sullivan	6	15 0	Lyne	7	5 0
Pott	3	15 0	M'Enery	4	5 0
Driscoll	2	15 0	Sullivan	2	2 6
Williams	3	1 0 0	M'Quin	4	2 6
			Egan	2	2 6

The whole letter is well worth study, and gives a very pretty picture of the "civil virtue and political responsibility" of the elective guardians, when the *ex officios* are got rid of. See also Mr. T. P. O'Connor's speech at Cork (*Times*, Dec. 18th).

would not now mean, "the Restoration of the Heptarchy," but the official installation of Hobbes's "State of Nature" in Ireland. There is, indeed, nothing more remarkable in Irish politics than the increasing degradation of each successive disturbance.[1] A comparison of the hireling assassins, and the hireling champions of assassination, who work the movement of to-day, with the men of education and position who headed the rebellions of 1798 and 1803, is the best proof that the Imperial policy has not been barren. The rebellion of 1798 was led by a Fitzgerald. The rebellion of 1803 was the dream of an accomplished gentleman. Even the "Young Ireland" of 1848 could produce the *Nation* of Davis and Ingram. The *Irish World* embodies the intelligence and the cultivation of the Land League.

The reason of such a rapid degeneration is not obscure. Nearly a hundred years ago, the wisest and greatest of all Irishmen, told his countrymen how they should set themselves to secure the Catholics from the seductive vision of a "frantick democracy," and win them to the cause of constitutional rule. "If," said he, "the disorder you speak of, be real and considerable, you ought to raise an aristocratick interest, that is an interest of property and education amongst them, and to strengthen by every prudent means the authority and influence of men of that description."[2]

Unhappily, the Irish Legislature took a different way. They admitted a shoal of Catholic peasants to the franchise, and continued the exclusion of Catholic gentlemen from Parliament. Men like Plunket and Canning[3] were not slow to see the mischiefs of such a course, but the bigotry of Parliament was immoveable. By a strange irony, the admission of Catholic gentlemen to Parliament was at last achieved by that very agitation and menace, against which Burke had desired to rear their "authority and influence" as a bulwark. The lesson of agitation had been taught. The people had learned to look for guidance and for victory, not to "the interest of property and education" amongst themselves, but to the delegates of a democratic convention.

The complete and rapid success of emancipation in conciliating the Catholic gentry, shows the deep wisdom of Burke's policy. Had it been wrought out as a whole, influence and authority must have lodged in the hands of those who have long been perfectly loyal to the

(1) See an able speech of Lord Malmesbury's, *Hansard*, cxc. 3rd Series, 1054. Feb. 24th, 1868.

(2) Burke, "Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe," 1792.

(3) See the speeches of Canning on the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1821 (*Hansard*, iv. N.S. 1310), and the Unlawful Societies (Ireland) Bill of 1825 (*Hansard*, xii. N.S. 480), and that of Plunket on the Elective Franchise (Ireland) Bill of the same year (*Hansard*, xiii. N.S. 220). The last-named measure carried the principle into the region of practical politics, by disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders from the date of emancipation.

Crown. The delay of a generation between the grant of the franchise and the grant of the right to sit in Parliament, fatally impaired the power of that order, through which alone, as Burke foresaw, the people could be reached. But in spite of all, the cause of loyalty has not failed in Celtic Ireland. "There is," in the words of a noble Irishman who is dead,[1] "a class in Ireland—a daily increasing class—which comprises within its limits men of all creeds, and of all shades of political and religious belief. It includes within its ranks all those who possess the land, who direct the industry, and who, by their intelligence, character, and education, can pretend to guide anything that is sound in the public opinion of the country. The spirit of patriotism and love of country, as pure, and as ardent, as is to be found among any people in the world, animates their breasts. Their faces are not turned towards the west, for in their consciences they believe, that every hope for their country or her advancement, for her welfare, her prosperity, and her liberty, is indissolubly bound up in British connection. They desire, and, what is more, they intend, that their sons should be, as they themselves and their fathers have been, sharers in your greatness and your glory, your freedom and your power. Their best and dearest hope for their country is, that the day may not be far distant, when . . . . the whole mass of their countrymen may be brought to acknowledge, and in acknowledging to appreciate, the countless blessings that a free constitution pours on the heads of a loyal and united people."

This is the spirit with which the Union has filled the gentlemen of Ireland. They do not think themselves worse Irishmen for the love they bear to England. They estimate the abilities of the old race to which they belong, at least as highly as the patriots who would confine Irish talent to Ireland. But they do not wish to see these powers wasted. They are not eager to be the citizens of a Switzerland without a history, of a new and impoverished Belgium. They do not desire that the genius and the valour of Ireland should be again driven to choose between insignificance and banishment, between the parochial politics of College Green and a perpetual exile. They covet honour for their country, but the laurels they would have are to be won on "the arena of the world." Are we to be told that the policy which has gained over all educated Irishmen has failed? Lord Palmerston spoke of "the open and undisguised discontent of the Catholic gentry" in 1829.[2] Forty years later Lord Mayo found them "to a man, thoroughly well affected towards British rule." Why should we doubt that as education spreads,

(1) Lord Mayo, *Hansard*, cxc. 3rd Series, p. 1392 *seq.* March 10th, 1868.
(2) *Hansard*, xx. p. 1248.
(3) *Ibid.* cxc. 3rd Series, p. 1745.

loyalty will spread too? Why should not the Catholic peasantry abandon their discontent, as well as the Catholic gentry? But there is even evidence, and very remarkable evidence, that at the date of Lord Mayo's speech, the constitutional spirit had made no inconsiderable progress amongst the people. "In the classes above the want of the immediate necessities of life," said Mr. Gladstone,[1] in the same debate, "there has grown up within the last generation, a sentiment of attachment to law and order, greater, more substantial, more lively, and more effectual with a view to the administration of justice, than has ever perhaps been known in former times." In 1868 the "interest of property and education" was at last beginning to tell upon the people. What evil principles have since paralyzed the "influence and authority" of that interest, it is for "Modern Liberals" to explain. Mr. Healy irreverently suggests the Ballot and the land movement. But the Ballot and the Land Acts, we know, were "messages of peace," which have knit society together, and trained the democracy "in the practice of civil virtue and political responsibility," not causes of a cruel social war.

The great and progressive results of Burke's policy up to the time of Mr. Gladstone's first administration, seem to show that we who maintain, "that it will all come out right after a while," have had considerable grounds for our belief hitherto. We are even prepared, as the Secessionists complain, to "go on writing and speaking the same things into the next century, if we are allowed." But we are beginning to feel that we may not be allowed. We have come to what we know is a crisis in the relations of the two kingdoms. England must now determine either definitively to abandon the Union, and enter upon the path which leads step by step to Secession, or to revert to the policy of Pitt and Canning and Peel, and Disraeli, of Grey, of Russell, and of Palmerston, by resolutely turning her back on all schemes great and small, which throw power into Secessionist hands. "The peril is instant; the decision must be instant too." Should that decision be favourable to Home Rule, the Secessionists will go on their way, undisturbed for the future, by assurances that "it will all come out right after a while."

I have said that even if we believed Secession would turn Ireland into a Switzerland or a Belgium, we should regret the change. But what are the prospects of such a growth? Undoubtedly there is a hearty sentiment of nationality amongst our race, but it takes something more than sentiment to make a nation. It is, we are very truly told, a delusion "to believe in a whole community being given over for ever to the reprobation of social madness." But where is this community, this organised fellowship of classes, which is the very essence of a nation? Is it to spring full-armed from Mr. Healy's head? Or do "modern English Liberals," like the philo-

(1) *Hansard*, cxc. 3rd Series, p. 1746.

sophers of the *Encyclopédie*, really fancy that they can make a "body politic," the slowest and the stateliest growth of time, by entrusting four millions of "men in the abstract," as M. Taine calls them, with the destinies of their country? They might as well expect a nest of jelly-fishes suddenly to develop a backbone. Our Irish race is no more a nation than a hundred thousand recruits are an army, or five hundred able-bodied seamen a ship's company. The natural growth of our people has been distorted and turned awry. The very success of Burke's policy amongst Catholic gentlemen has but served to complete the disintegration he deplored. A great "interest of property and education" has grown up and thriven amongst them. But it has not the "authority and influence" to dash "the wild and senseless projects of those who do not belong to their body, who have no interest in their well-being, and only wish to make them the dupes of their turbulent ambition." The fact that Catholic gentlemen feel the spell of English thought and English sympathies, has uprooted whatever power over their countrymen they possessed. They are mere "West Britons," to be driven out with the rest. The aristocracy is powerless. There is not, there has never been, a Celtic *bourgeoisie*. It is idle to talk of the "whole host of people in a middling condition of life, the shopkeepers, the men of business, the larger farmers." There are many thousands of such men, steady, active, more than commonly intelligent. But there is no historic middle class, with its own vigorous tradition of respect for law, reverence for social order, contempt of menace, and resistance to oppression. The middling rank is no status in Ireland; it is a stage through which men travel, as they advance or recede in the social scale. It is a body eminently of waverers, of those who are sure to gravitate to the winning side. In the beginning of the agitation they resisted the League. When the Government abdicated, they transferred their allegiance. Now that the law is restored, they will support the law. They are the persons whom, of all others, a prudent ruler would strive to win, and whom Government has of late done very much to lose. They are the men on whom modern Liberals rely to sweeten "local self-government!"[1] Have they sweetened the House of Commons? Is it the meek citizens who direct the Home Rule vote, or the avowed allies of "Rory?" And if the "Moderates" are bullied into excesses of which they are ashamed, where self-assertion would meet with the

(1) "Day after day," says Mr. Foster in the speech already quoted, "as I went to my office and took details of crime, I found out how utterly impossible it was to detect outrages. Then would come to me, not landlords, but respectable farmers, shopkeepers, and others, with cases, not of personal injury, but of pecuniary and commercial ruin, in consequence of Mr. Parnell's speech at Ennis. That speech began the boycotting system. The Irish Executive felt the reins of power falling from their hands."—*Times*, Dec. 8th.

moral support of both the great parties in the state, what may they not be coerced to, on the County Boards of Munster or of Connaught?

We have then to deal with a population of peasants; a population, too, which has been of set purpose unfitted for the exercise of all political functions. The declared object of the penal laws, was "to reduce the Catholics of Ireland to a miserable populace, without property, without estimation, without education. . . . . to deprive the few men who, in spite of those laws, might hold or retain any property amongst them, of all sort of influence or authority over the rest. Are we to be astonished . . . . that whenever they came to act at all, many of them would act exactly like a mob, without temper, measure, or foresight?" Certainly we should not be astonished. But we may well be astonished to hear responsible men talk seriously of purchasing a respite from worry for themselves, by making this mob the rulers of Ireland.

Many fear the English democracy. But they at least have received a long and wholesome education. They have worked their way to sovereignty by degrees, and in the process they have learned something of the perils of liberty. As power has gradually shifted from the privy council to the peers, from the peers to the squires, from the squires to the cotton-lords, the electors of '32, the electors of '67, each class has taught moderation and restraint to its successor. The Irish electors have never known this discipline in the ways of freedom. They were serfs fifty years ago. They will be despots with Home Rule. They are no fitter to play the part of sovereign people now, than the originals of Mouldy and Bullcalf in the days of the Armada.

But will England so surely find that ease for which she is bidden to barter away her Empire? Will "a vestry for the parish of Ireland" satisfy Mr. Healy's aspirations for "the management of his own affairs? Will Home Rule slake the hatred that glows in Mr. Sexton's fine speeches? Will independence itself, sate the lust of vengeance displayed in every column of the "National" press? When we have heaped all this scattered enmity together, when we have suffered "self-government" to harry every West Briton out of Ireland, and Home Rule to fuse the new democracy together, what pledge shall we hold of the enduring amity of the new state? Political gratitude? The resources of civilisation will be, *ex hypothesi*, exhausted. There will be nothing to give. The fair promises of Mr. Healy? I do not like the security. There is no better to offer. Do the Radicals counsel their "utterly weary" countrymen to rely at last upon their big guns?

Was there ever a more desperate policy? We are warned not to "expect too much from any expedient whatever," and an expedient is straightway pressed upon us, which is admittedly ineffectual,

unless it involves, (1) the expulsion of all landowners from Ireland; (2) the imminent risk of a degraded copy of the most degrading religious war in history;[1] and (3) Protection—an expedient, too, which must almost certainly lead to a collision with this country. Only very modern Liberals can listen patiently to such proposals. And even if they were as safe to true liberty, and to property, as they are perilous to both, there is a reason which should itself alone, determine England to refuse Secession. To sever the Union is not only to destroy every prospect of the ultimate fulfilment of Burke's policy, by the natural increase of the authority and influence of "the interest of education," but to ruin the great work already accomplished, in the growth of that interest itself. The silent, healthy formation of a cultivated Celtic opinion, has been the noblest result of the Imperial rule. It binds us to England as no other tie could bind. She is to us the interpreter of the great thoughts that move the world. We have made her learning our own. We have enriched it with immortal names. Through her literature, our genius "has come upon the arena of the world." It is our ambition to spread this wholesome light amongst our countrymen. Here lies our ideal of a true Irish nation. We hope to see it grow—as all real nations do grow—a living, organised community, with leaders, and thinkers, and workers of its own, not a Caucus-ridden proletariate of peasants "exploité'd" by professional politicians. And we think that, like the English and Scotch, such a nation will find ardent devotion to their own land, perfectly compatible with pride in the great Empire they have helped to rear and to adorn. But with the advent of "a frantick democracy" all this must end. Where the Jacobins cannot level up, they will trample down. They will "root up the laurels to plant potatoes;" and the wisdom of Silas P. Radcliffe—of those to whom loyalty is self-interest, and patriotism a trade—will reign supreme in the country of Edmund Burke.

J. Woulfe Flanagan.

(1) "A reduced and squalid version of the Thirty Years' War," in Mr. Morley's own words.

THE IMPRESSIONISTS.

In a long and narrow street that pierces its dull way through a second-rate quarter of Florence, rather remote and unfrequented, the passer-by may see a work of art that brings the past and the present together. It is sculptor's work—a bas-relief placed over a common house door, near to a stone-mason's, where business seems to be slack, and exactly opposite a draper's shop, that is turned into now and again by careful, serious-faced folk who buy their merceries economically and seldom. The subject of the bas-relief, in glazed terra-cotta, white with a pale blue background, such as all sojourners in Florence know very well, is the eternal subject, Our Lady and the Holy Child. The child may be everything a child should be, but, as Luca della Robbia shows them to us, perhaps it is the lady that we look at the most. Of course it is his old type, seen in the Bargello and at San Miniato, and everywhere where Luca della Robbia is—the low, broad forehead, the calm eyes wide apart and a little upraised, the pure young curve of the cheek, the *nez retroussé* (if a *nez retroussé* may be allowed to a Madonna), the mouth smiling more with the happiness of happy character than with passing amusement or fortunate circumstance. It is all very youthful and fresh. And the slim thing, so erect and flexible, so nonchalante yet affable to all the world, she is a person with the first of all the virtues, a person pleasant to live with. That is how Luca della Robbia saw the Virgin and represented her, without austerity, without idealisation; just such a candid and engaging person as you may see to-day taking the afternoon drive under the trees of the Cascine, or to-night, plying her fan with a slow to-and-fro in the best front corner of a box at the Pergola.

But what has Luca della Robbia got to do with the Impressionists? Well, he has this to do with them; he has this in common with them: he knew at all events—what they believe—that the art that has the chance of living is generally the art that is inspired by the life of its own day. Exceptions there may be, but they are rare. Luca represented what he saw and what he enjoyed.

And that is the first plea one must put forward in justification of the work of the best among a group of latter-day Frenchmen, whose efforts have thus far been a good deal disregarded by the English amateur, partly because the English amateur has failed to understand the position these artists have assumed. He has looked at their work with memories, with traditions—it may be (though I will dare to doubt its probability), even with too heavy a burden of mere learning. But at least he has looked at it prejudiced; and

they are without prejudice. He has noticed, therefore, all their deficiencies, while their qualities have escaped him. But indeed his opportunities of noticing or of omitting to notice have not been very frequent. Only one or two of the true Impressionists have exhibited at the Salon. They are unheard of at the Royal Academy. In the main, both in London and in Paris, they have had to rely on the good offices of a man of enterprise, of a man of initiative, M. Durand Ruel, a picture-dealer, who has liked to lead fashions rather than to follow them. M. Durand Ruel it was who held a little exhibition of the works of these artists last summer in a small room near St. James's Street, but the gallery was not ample enough, and the representation of the men, though interesting, was inadequate, nor was it properly proportioned. The labours of one or two inferior men were presented in abundance, apparently on the ground that the English love of landscape is so very pronounced that it is better to furnish English picture seers with landscape of the third rank than with figure painting of the first. That was a mistake, and it ought before long to be atoned for. Degas, Renoir, and Claude Monet, the really powerful men of the new movement, since Daumier and Manet, should be brought before the English public with something more of completeness than was possible last summer.

To me the study of these men is particularly interesting, because it helps towards the solution of a problem always important and continually debated—the question how far modern art may reflect modern life. It may be said, perhaps, that a good deal of English work helps to the solution of the same problem, but in truth—and for a reason that shall at once be given—there is much less of such English work than we are accustomed to think. Too many of our own exponents of contemporary life express contemporary life without artistic power. In England, high taste and artistic sensibility, and the power to draw, and the power to colour, are too much ranged on the side of those who hold that modern life holds no themes for Art. On the other side—on the true side, I hold it, but on the true side unwittingly—are too many painters who, with the best intentions, have little capacity; whose draughtsmanship is feeble and inexpressive, whose hues are chalk and magenta, and whose observation of life is the observation of the *Family Herald*. In England, then, the experiment is not fairly made. England offers, only now and again, some contribution to the solution of the matter. Too much of what she gives us from her painters of modern life is familiar, tawdry, *banal*. If that is all that can be done in modern genre, then, indeed, modern genre is just as stupid as the painters of Prometheus, and the painters of Youth and of Death are apt to declare it to be. Now and again Mr. Tissot, and he better in his etchings than in his oil pictures, looks with freshness of observation on an artificial

society; or Mr. Gregory, with a more complete combination of natural gifts and artistic attainments, paints such a picture as the *Rehearsal*, in the last Grosvenor. And, of course, there are other men who, selecting modern life, treat it in a fashion that shows their remembrance that they are artists. One is not obliged to name them now; their existence is taken for granted. But in the main it is true that the adaptability of modern life to the purposes of Art has not been fairly tried in England. Against it there has been the force of traditions, in a country of tradition; the force, until lately, of academical influences in criticism—a criticism that has not perceived the artist's need of vivid and of personal impression. Against it, too, as ill-luck would have it, there has been the very fact that it is through the treatment of modern life alone that the vulgar can be successfully appealed to, and so the pocket of the avaricious quickly filled. High taste and the artistic instinct have held aloof, and it is the common spirit that has rushed eagerly in.

One does not think that the adaptability of modern life to the purposes of Art has been tried perfectly in France, but one may think it has been tried more fairly than in London; and, so far as it has been tried, it has been tried best by the Impressionists. Modern life has spoken to them. They have heard something, at least, of that which it has got to say. But they have heard but partially. Their best painters of figure subjects, Degas and Renoir, have each of them their own deficiencies; but they have one deficiency in common, and Monet, too, shares it with them—they are without appreciation of the finer forms of nature in human life. Claude Monet, their comrade, is not concerned with human life, and to the finer forms of nature in landscape he is certainly not insensitive. In the revolt from an art of petty prettiness, ugliness has not become attractive to him; but the fact that landscape, and not the figure, is the object of his study lessens the bearing of his work on the question of how far the world of our day can offer itself to the painter. He has touched that question very little. Even a landscape painter might have touched it more. Turner touched it thirty years ago in *Rain, Steam, and Speed.* Turner saw that Man's work with Nature has to be accepted, and, sooner or later, the mill chimney and the railway bridge brought into the picture as frankly as ever was the Grecian temple or the Roman aqueduct. But the *modernité* of Monet—what he has in common with his brother Impressionists—is his method of actual painting, rather than his way of looking at his theme; and yet he, too, is unfettered. He sees with fresh eyes his autumn foliage, his shadows of the clouds and cliffs on brilliant summer waters. His impression is his own, and it is recorded while it is still vivid, and recorded fearlessly. In such audacity there is sometimes failure, but sometimes high success.

Chiefly, then, against Degas and Renoir—and, of course, against Monet, of the *Bon Bock*, if we were occupied with him to-day—is to be urged that blind or wilful indifference to the finer forms of humanity, which is by no means of necessity to be associated with the selection of contemporary life. Against them, also, there is to be, I do not say urged, but at all events remembered, this not entirely welcome fact—that hardly once in their work is there any chance indication of a noble or dignified sentiment, of any appreciation of moral force or moral beauty—physical beauty, in all that it has at least of most delicate and exalted, having been abandoned to begin with. I do not want to make too much of this—a painter is a painter; he is not a moralist. But the great men, with scarcely an exception—and Franz Hals and Velasquez just as notably as Rembrandt and Titian—have shown in one place or another in their work, and have shown it whether they wished to or no, some deep understanding of characters of endurance, resignation, tenderness, reverie. From the art that is concerned with loveliness of line and colour alone—from the art, for example, of Albert Moore or of Henner—one does not expect that order of sentiment, because one does not expect any sentiment at all. Sentiment is no part of its business. But the moment a pure beauty of line is voluntarily abandoned, and it is the actual world, the world of 1882, that is portrayed, even in its queerest corners, then the continuous selection of a society without dignity, the unwavering preference for a type that is possibly vicious, and at all events cheeky, does become a fair matter for remark. The jockey and the ballet-girl are important figures in modern life—everybody knows that they are—but even the ballet-girl and the jockey do not monopolise attention; our interests are varied and our sympathies wide. But then, again, Mr. Degas has never posed himself as the painter of all the modern world. He *is* the painter of the race-course and the painter of the dance. He has seen that these are subjects, and he has justified his choice of them, and so far, seriously, he has done a thing that is valuable—his foot is on new ground.

New ground, I said. But, to be accurate entirely, ground that had been possessed, and abandoned, and is now again won back. For this treatment of contemporary life, the work-a-day existence, often of very unromantic people, this artistic dealing with common and familiar things, was, of course, the characteristic of the seventeenth-century Dutchmen in their genre painting, and is a reason for the continued vitality of the Little Masters of eighteenth-century France. Their methods were different indeed from those of the Impressionists. Metsu and Jan Steen in their paintings, Lavreince and Moreau in the designs that bring before us so completely the social life of Paris a hundred years since, worked with infinite finish,

with a precision that showed itself. It is a *parti pris* with the Impressionists that work shall seem hurried and slight. They want not detail, but general effect; not definite form, but the sense of movement. Hard study there must have been with masters like Degas and Renoir; but it is a study of preparation, a study that hides itself, and they would hold with George Sand, that the first of qualities is the capacity *de faire bien et court.* Their way may be their own, though some of us may fail to find it quite so peculiar and original as it must seem to the most uncompromising of their advocates. Nor can we give so extreme an importance to the mere novelty of their name. As there were sensational romances before Miss Braddon, though nobody knew it, for the name was wanting (as she has somewhere complained), so it may be there were Impressionists before Degas. Velasquez now was a little bit of an Impressionist; Franz Hals now and again; and so was David Cox.

Degas, however, is too clever a man—too keen and thoughtful an observer by far—to imagine that his own work, interesting, brilliant, and vivacious as we know it to be, is so entirely without precedent as his supporters may declare. He knows, too, that, however piquant may be the attraction of his themes to-day, because to-day his themes seem novel, the final basis of artistic reputation is not the subject that is treated, but the capacity to treat it. A penetrating notice of the hundred little facts that the common eye misses, as well as of the one that it observes, has to be joined to a science of draughtsmanship that shall sit lightly upon its possessor, that shall not be too apparent. These are conditions upon which is dependent all permanent success in the design or painting of genre subjects. And Degas fulfils these conditions.

Monsieur Faure, the singer, owns what is, I suppose, a *chef-d'œuvre* of Degas in oil painting. It was done a few years ago, and since then the artist has a good deal abandoned that first and most accepted medium, and has taken enthusiastically to the medium of pastel, of which a fellow-countryman of La Tour has indeed a right to be hopeful. *La Leçon de Danse* is unlike very much of the artist's later work, in that its composition is not only happy but elaborate. It is a picture of many figures—of many groups even. The scene is a now destroyed *foyer de la danse*—that of the old Opera House. Realistic art was rarely wrought with greater sharpness of observation; the thing has both the humour and the entertaining veracity which Ludovic Halévy has since known how to bestow upon a literary picture of much the same world—his astonishing chronicle of *Les Petites Cardinals.* It is without vulgarity of thought, where vulgarity of thought would have been easy. But it is somewhat needlessly without beauty in the types of its choice. Often, from mere lack of comeliness, Degas's figurantes would in actual life be

deprived of a success. He paints ballet-girls, but he paints them in the third row. Extraordinary vivacity of movement and truth of gesture, as they strain or scutter, or now at last pause. They have seemed to Degas interesting because of their movement; not because of their form. The colour, too, leaves a colourist's wishes somewhat unrealised; it is neither false nor offensive, but it is not beautiful.

It is in his pastels, however—sometimes even in the very slightest of them—a jockey in the saddle, a model dashing into her pose—that Degas, retaining his genius for gesture, proves himself a colourist. In pastel, too, in spite of the brevity of his process, the rapidity of his work, he attains a success in the indication of texture, which is not only high in its degree, but of quite the finest and most dignified kind. Here, indeed, his work is so dignified that he makes his subject dignified, and the confused pile of hurriedly rejected finery on the milliner's counter has been seen by an eye that is essentially an artist's, and is brought by him into the regions of Art. There is the new ground again, or the old ground reconquered, if we will; nothing of a modern or finicking pettiness in the treatment of texture, an imitative touch by touch, but a free rendering, a capable and suggestive translation, the whole broad and large. It is by execution such as this—which, in its swift success and rich effectiveness, recalls Chardin's when he painted a big pear, a peach, or a copper-pan—that Degas puts it out of the power of the tame imitators of a dead style to deny that he has at all events serious attainments and a brilliant skill. One may wish, at the same time, that the human life behind his satins and his feathers were a little more exalted, and that the refinement of sentiment were now and then as visible as the refinement of vision and the magic of touch.

Once, in a pastel from which the figure has been banished, or in which it takes refuge insignificantly in the corner, like an attendant cherub in a Murillo or a Raphael, who has no part in the performance,—once in such a pastel, Degas carried to full completion an entirely faultless work. It is a vision of the theatre. The spectator, placed low in the front of the house, in a stall close under the boxes, sees, in violent perspective, parts of two boxes, and nothing in the world besides. The front of the upper box, ornamented with the trivial yet engaging adornments of the playhouse—the arabesque in modelled plaster work—is seen in the vivid illumination and in the emphasized shadow of the gas and lime-light of the stage. Below it comes the deep recess of the pit-tier box, a mass of sober red, whose quiet half-light is sheltered from the crude illumination of the float. The cosy quietude and seclusion of the dimly-lighted box, with its diffused and tranquil glow, as calm as lamplight in a corner of a study at home, is broken by no figure; but a couple of chairbacks, brighter red against the mass of deeper colour behind,

suggest all that there is of a story. The place will be occupied to-night. But it is not painted for its occupants; it is painted for the poetry of light and of colour, and for whatever associations that may suggest.

But the colourist of the party is generally Renoir. It is he who is most occupied with the problems of the palette. Except in occasional portraits and in the *Noces à Bougival*—of which we must say a word later—his interest in the life of the body, and in its energy of expression, seems less dominant than does Degas's, and he is freer, it seems, to go quietly upon his painter's ways happily busy with the arrangement of hues, the pattering, so to say, of his canvas, the assembling of his brilliant flower show. Thus his remarkable picture, now at Durand Ruel's, of a Turkish child carrying a small bird of the parrot tribe in one hand, and with the other making to push aside the curtain that excludes her from the adjoining room, is not interesting for character in the head nor for especial reality of gesture, but it is painter's work, peculiarly, admirable for delicate indication of texture, and enjoyable for its flood of colour and light. Colour too is the great virtue of the scene in the ring of the circus, where two little girls in pages' dress stand with their arms full of oranges, some business in which they have taken part just ended and another about to begin. In his rare landscape, too, Renoir is a colourist: at Venice, in an occasional visit, a colourist too violent. In his portraiture he is mindful of character, and it would be needlessly hard upon him, remembering whom he has painted satisfactorily, to say that the character he understands the best is the character he has rendered in his *Noces*. His *Noces à Bougival*—"La Grenouillère," it is otherwise called, in reference to the spot which is the locality of the banquet—is devoted to a festivity in a world of riotous living. Under the riverside greenery, pierced by sunshine, complete is the abandonment to the joys of the air, the company, and the collation. Animal spirits in plenty, but it is devoid of grossness; nor has the subject seemed attractive to the painter from any other motive than because it afforded an exceptional union of light and colour and line. Some of the Venetians painted the feasts of the well-to-do in no very different spirit, but the passage of three hundred years has consecrated their art.

Renoir's excursions into landscape, even into landscape as a background, are not very frequent. Among the Impressionists the landscape painter of settled purpose and of exquisite talent is Claude Monet. Pissaro is an Impressionist of less certain achievements and less distinct individuality; agreeable often; meaningless, I think, sometimes; and when agreeable, Millet may have suggested this, or the living water-colour painters at the Hague may have suggested that, and the artist never have known it. Sisley again, happy and

delightful now and then, is yet apt to be disappointing—the *parti pris*, the contented reliance on a particular method, as if mere method were a specific—and withal not the talent to excuse it. His especial admirers talk of him with Corot, and he is sometimes delicate, but *n'est pas Corot qui veût*. Then there is Madame Berthe Morisot, and Miss Mary Cassatt, the last a pupil of Degas, both adroit and refined. But these ladies deal much with the figure: Claude Monet does not deal with it at all; his reliance is placed on his interpretation of the landscape of the woodland and of the coast, an unpeopled solitude. He too, like Renoir, is a colourist.

One of the best of his pictures, *Marée basse, à Varengeville*, was seen in that room hired last summer, out of St. James's Square. The richness of hue and depth of tone, which in certain lights belong to the exposed coast and its weed-covered rocks, was the truth that was sought for and reached in this instance. Two pictures, now in Paris, are both excellent in themselves and interesting because they reveal the preoccupation of the artist. I have said already, it is for colour. One of these pictures is known as *La Maison du Pêcheur*; the other as *La Gorge*. But the scene in both is the same, and the subject the same, if it is by the permanent forms of a landscape that we pronounce upon its subject; but to Monet the subjects were different, because the effects were different; in the one a veil of greyness lay over the cottage, in the other it was rose colour. Then there is a *Petit bras de la Seine*—it may be at Argenteuil—which shows M. Monet to be not only skilled in colour, as the others do, but to be a colourist apart, a man of originality, whom we rank in fairness with men of the brilliancy of Degas and Renoir, because his vision of the world is his own. The last landscape is of palpitating light and glowing hue. The whole of one side of the canvas is filled with flame-coloured autumn trees which throw their bright reflections of a rosier flame-colour upon a broad river-water otherwise turquoise and opal. Monet has not always painted as finely and as truly as that; not always has the vision been as fresh, the remembrance as untarnished and the hand as sure. Sometimes the violet and the opal are overdone and superfluous: Monet, like others of the Impressionists, insists too much on certain hues that are difficult. At one with his brethren in this respect, it is fortunate that he is at one with them in other ways—in the new and quickened observation of the worlds they care about, in a flexibility that is not only changefulness of purpose, and in a freedom that is not only revolt.

FREDERICK WEDMORE.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS.

IV.

WE have now come down to the beginning of this century, a date from which the development of political speculation becomes too vast and multifarious to be dealt with on a uniform scale in such a summary sketch as the present. A choice must of necessity be made among the various branches of the subject. An attempt to exhibit their general character is made in the accompanying tables. In one group we have the oldest branch of political science, the general theory of the State and its possible forms. This has received much additional definition at the hands of modern authors, and in England in particular the doctrine of sovereignty has been found capable of further discussion and working out than its founders imagined. In a second group comes the study of particular institutions and the action of the State for particular purposes, which may be called as a whole the theory of Government. Here seems to be the fittest place for the question of what things ought to be dealt with by the State and what left alone, a question associated with sundry terms and phrases such as *laissez faire*, limits of the State, individual liberty. Then a more technical branch of the subject has to do with the State in its legal aspect, in other words with the method, form, and application of positive law. This may be named the theory of legislation in a wide sense, and legal science as specially understood by lawyers may be regarded in the logical order as an offshoot from it, though the shoot is considerably larger than the parent stem, and, in the historical order, much older. Lastly, the State is personified for the purpose of external action, and regarded as having duties towards other States and claims upon them. A systematic doctrine of these duties and rights is given by the law of nations and the speculative theories which profess to support or account for it. This division, except as to the last branch, is to a great extent not really a division of different subjects, but a distinction of the forms and relations under which the same subjects are presented; neither does it attempt exact analysis, which indeed the nature of the matter hardly admits. But it may serve to show the range and variety of modern political science.

THEORETICAL POLITICS.	APPLIED POLITICS.
A. THEORY OF THE STATE. Origin of Polity. *a.* Historical. *b.* Rational. Constitution. Classification of forms of government. Political Sovereignty.	A. THE STATE. Existing forms of government. Confederations and Federal States. Independence.
B. THEORY OF GOVERNMENT. Forms of institutions. Representative and Ministerial Government. Executive Departments. Defence and Order. Revenue and Taxation. Wealth of Nations. Province and Limits of Positive Law.	B. GOVERNMENT. Constitutional Law and Usage. Parliamentary Systems. Cabinet and Ministerial Responsibility. Administrative Constitutions. Army, Navy, Police. Currency, Budget, Trade. State regulation or non-interference.
C. THEORY OF LEGISLATION. Objects of Legislation. General Character and Divisions of Positive Law (Philosophy of Law or General Jurisprudence). Method and Sanction of Laws. Interpretation and Administration. Language and Style (Nomopoetic or Mechanics of Law-making).	C. LAWS AND LEGISLATION. Legislative Procedure. (Embodiment of theory in legislative forms: memorandum, *exposé des motifs*, &c.) Jurisprudence of particular States. Courts of Justice and their machinery. Judicial precedents and authority.
D. THEORY OF THE STATE AS ARTIFICIAL PERSON. Relations to other States and bodies of men. International Law.	D. THE STATE PERSONIFIED. Diplomacy, Peace and War. Treaties and Conventions. International agreements for furtherance of justice, commerce, communications, &c.

It seems natural to choose for closer inspection such topics as, being in themselves important, have been more than others handled by English writers and connected with practical questions of legislation and policy. Dismissing international law, which otherwise answers this description, as too technical and standing too much apart, we find political sovereignty and the limits of State intervention to be topics of the desired kind. On these English literature, if not abundant, can make a fair show, and on one or other of them a great part of modern English political discussion has turned, so far as it has involved speculative ideas at all. It will therefore be convenient to mention particularly what has been done by English writers on these subjects, marking in other directions only the most general characters of the different modern schools of political theory.

There is no doubt who has the first claim upon us. It was Bentham who, after the interval of a century, took up the theory of

sovereignty where Hobbes had left it, and showed it to be capable of a reasonable interpretation, and fruitful of practical consequences. His *Fragment on Government*, a short book, but containing all his leading ideas, appeared in 1776. Not only the ideas are there, but they are much better expressed than in Bentham's own later versions of them. No man ever laboured more assiduously than Bentham in his old age to make the outward form of his thoughts repulsive or ridiculous to the public. Happily the thoughts have now become common property, and the later volumes of Bentham's collected works may repose undisturbed, save by any curious student of the follies of great men who may have the patience to see what violence can be done to the English language by a philosopher under the dominion of his own inventions. The *Fragment* is a merciless criticism on the introductory part of Blackstone's Commentaries, then in the height of their first renown. Bentham was stirred to indignation by the tone of comfortable optimism that pervaded Blackstone's classical treatise. He denounced Blackstone as an enemy of reform whose sophistry was so perverse as to be almost a crime, an official defender of abuses with a "sinister bias of the affections." It does not now concern us to adjust the merits of the controversy as between Blackstone and his critics. It should be remembered, however, that while much of Bentham's animadversion is captious and unfair in detail, he was quite right in attacking the people who maintained that English law as it stood in 1776 was the perfection of reason, and in taking Blackstone as their best representative. And to Blackstone's merits as an expounder he does full justice, declaring that "he it is who, first of all institutional writers, has taught jurisprudence to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman." But we must pass on to Bentham's own doctrine.

The foundation of the modern English theory of the State is laid in Bentham's definition of political society. "When a number of persons (whom we may style subjects) are supposed to be in the habit of paying obedience to a person, or an assemblage of persons, of a known and certain description (whom we may call governor or governors), such persons altogether (subjects and governors) are said to be in a state of political society."[1] It is worth noting, in the light of Sir H. Maine's later criticism, that Bentham explicitly admits the difficulty there may be in deciding whether in a particular society a known and certain governor is habitually obeyed, and consequently whether the society should be reckoned political or natural; a natural society being defined as one where this habitual obedience does not exist. He is quite aware that there is in the facts of human society nothing corresponding to the definition with perfect accuracy. "Few, in fact, if any, are the instances of this habit being perfectly *absent*, certainly none at all of its being per-

(1) I spare the reader Bentham's profuse italics and capitals.

fectly *present.*" Practically the mark of a political society is "the establishment of names of office," the existence of people set apart for the business of governing and issuing commands.

Laws are the commands of the supreme governor, or, to use the term now adopted, the sovereign. And the field of the supreme governor's authority is indefinite. In practice, indeed, it is limited by the possibility of resistance, and there are conditions under which resistance is morally justifiable or proper. But these conditions are not capable of general or precise definition. For the purpose of scientific analysis the power of the sovereign must be treated as unlimited. The difference between free and despotic governments is in the constitution of the sovereign authority, not in its power; in the securities for the responsibility of the particular persons who exercise it, and for free criticism of the manner of its exercise, not in any nominal restriction of its scope. To say that a supreme legislature cannot do this or that, or that any act of such a body is illegal, is an abuse of language.[1] "Why cannot? What is there that should hinder them?" Those who profess to discuss the power of the sovereign are really discussing, in a confused and obscure way, whether the acts of that power are useful or mischievous; in the last resort, whether they are so mischievous that resistance appears better than submission.

This alone is a considerable advance. Bentham, like Hobbes, exposes the fallacy of a limited supremacy; but, unlike Hobbes, he distinguishes between the legal duty of obedience (the supreme power itself being supposed unchallenged) and the political doctrine of non-resistance. The sovereign prince or assembly governs without any assigned superior or formal check, but always at the peril of being in fact overthrown, if it appears to a competent number of the subjects that the evils of submission are greater than those of resistance. Hobbes, if called on to state his real position in Bentham's language, would no doubt have said that the evils of resistance are always greater; but Bentham would have declined either to accept this as evident, or to accept Hobbes's forcible description of the miseries of a state of war as amounting to proof. In short, to be legally supreme governor is one thing, and to govern as you please is another. Political duty is one thing, moral duty is another. In the political sense (which at the present time we rather call legal) supreme governors cannot have any duties. Bentham is particularly severe on Blackstone for speaking of the duty of the sovereign to make laws.

Yet we may say in another sense that the duty of the sovereign

(1) Bentham excepts the case where the authority of a supreme body is "limited by express convention" with some other State or States. Here, however, the supreme body in the particular State is not the true sovereign, or is not so for all purposes. This is the case, as Bentham hints, in all federal governments. In federal affairs the ultimate sovereign is the power, whatever it be, which can alter the federal constitution.

to make laws is Bentham's capital discovery in political science. For Bentham has, besides and beyond the formal theory of sovereignty, a decided and confident theory as to the purpose for which governments exist. They exist for the common advantage of the governed; or, in terms which to Bentham appeared more accurate, in order to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Only one standard can be found by which their acts can be judged, that of general utility. Here Bentham found the rule both of private morals and of public expedience; and the practical inference from combining this with his theory of sovereignty is that the State has no excuse for being backward in well-doing. The greatest happiness is the end of human action; abuses and grievances exist; let then the supremacy of the State, the most powerful form of human action, be set to work to abolish them. Let the machinery of government and justice be simplified; let irrational and anomalous rules be swept away; let the motives of abuse and corruption be removed, and political duties made plain and easy of comprehension. Let there be no superstition about old rules being inviolable merely because they are old. Let no prescriptive privilege stand in the way of the general good. Above all, let none pretend a want of power to do these things. The State bears not sovereignty in vain. *Non est potestas super terram quae comparetur ei*, says Hobbes: therefore fear the sovereign and obey. True, says Bentham, obedience is good; but while I "obey punctually" I will "censure freely." What is sovereignty for, if it is not to be directed by every light of reason towards the attainment of the common happiness? The formula of the greatest happiness is made a hook to put in the nostrils of Leviathan, that he may be tamed and harnessed to the chariot of utility. Such is the connection between Bentham's theory of the State and his theory of legislation. Taken together, they give us the ideal of modern legislation, in which the State is active, not merely in providing remedies for new mischiefs, but in the systematic reform and improvement of its own institutions. Down to the last century legislation was considered as an exceptional instrument of policy, and in England at all events regarded with a certain jealousy. The mysterious authority of custom which to this day rules the Eastern world was still in the air of Europe. The change which has come over the spirit and methods of law-making in the last few generations is almost entirely due to Bentham.

We have nothing to do here with the ethical value of Bentham's doctrine. It is enough to say that it had to be seriously modified even by his immediate followers. But there is no doubt of its power in the political field. Had it been more subtle, it might have been less successful. It had exactly that amount of generality and apparent reasonableness which even in England will make speculative conceptions operative in practice. Everybody thinks he knows

what happiness means; and for practical purposes, indeed, it matters little whether it is precisely known or not. A public judgment of happiness, expediency, well-being, or whatever else we call it, is in the nature of human affairs a rough thing at best; and there is plenty of work to be done which ought to be done on any possible view of the nature of duty. The main point was to rouse the State to consciousness of its power and its proper business; and by persistent and confident iteration Bentham did this effectually.

We cannot, again, say anything here either of the many actual reforms which may be traced to Bentham, or, on the other hand, of that part of his proposals, by no means an inconsiderable one, which was hopelessly out of relation to the feelings and habits of mankind. There is an extraordinary mixture in his work of practical good sense on some topics with impracticable extravagance and obstinacy in others.[1] But there is no leisure to discuss this, nor would there be much profit. Bentham's eccentricities have passed away harmlessly, save so far as they prejudiced the reception of his really valuable ideas. It remained to complete the separation of the theory of political sovereignty from that of the ethical and historical foundations of political society. This was done by Austin, who finally cleared the way, with labour which now seems uncouth and excessive, to the conception of a pure science of positive law. The worker in this field assumes the sovereign authority of the State as for his purposes the ultimate source of laws and legal institutions as they exist, and he analyses and classifies them without regard to the moral, social, or historical reasons which may have moved the sovereign to approve them. Of course this can be done only by a process of highly formal abstraction, and the abstraction cannot be maintained in its ideal purity when we come to dealing with even the simplest facts. This, however, is really the case with all scientific and philosophical abstractions; and if Austin's manner had been less dogmatic, and I fear we must say pedantic, a great deal of misunderstanding might have been saved. As it was, further criticism became indispensable, and has been supplied by Sir Henry Maine in the two last chapters of his *Early History of Institutions*, and later by Mr. Frederic Harrison in this Review. Still more lately Professor Holland has exhibited the results of the English school in a form wholly freed from the old controversial encumbrances, and thereby freed also from the extreme insularity which has prevented Austin's work entirely, and Bentham's to a great extent, from being appreciated by Continental thinkers. Bentham's importance in the science of politics and legislation is ignored even

(1) Bentham's want of touch of public feeling and its tendencies comes out in startling ways in his doctrine of penalties. Utilitarianism is, in common understanding, associated with rational philanthropy, and justly so on the whole. Yet Bentham seems to have thought it practicable and rather desirable to burn incendiaries alive, and several of his other suggestions are both cruel and otherwise absurd.

by the minority of foreign critics who in psychology and ethics are fairly in sympathy with the English school; and I am not aware of anything tending to qualify Sir H. Maine's statement that Austin is entirely unknown out of this country. After all, the contemporaries and followers of Savigny could hardly be expected to take much interest in authors of whom one was ostentatiously ignorant of Roman law and the philosophy of law that has grown out of its modern study, and the other, knowing it mechanically but not intelligently, seldom cites its literature but in a tone of perverse depreciation. Perhaps we may now hope for better things.

Meanwhile the doctrine of sovereignty has opened up another field of search at the back, so to speak, of the domain of positive law. We have separated the actual existence and authority of government from the foundations and reasons of government. The voice of the sovereign is the command of the State, and the State acknowledges no superior. But the sovereign may be an artificial and composite body. Such is now the case in every civilised country in the world, with the doubtful exceptions of Russia and Turkey.[1] This raises a new distinction between formal and substantial, or if we substitute *legal* for Bentham's *political*, and set free the latter term for a new special use, we may say between legal and political sovereignty. Where does the supreme power of a corporate or compound sovereign in practice reside? Even in the simplest case of a single assembly, say the Athenian Demos, the whole assembly is formally sovereign, but practically the whole are not sovereign unless they are unanimous. The power of the whole is exercised by a majority; whoever wishes it exercised in a particular way must persuade a majority to think with him, and if he can do this it is enough. What then of him who persuades the majority, Pericles for example? Is he sovereign too? Or if Aspasia persuades Pericles? Is not this the vain and infinite search for causes of causes? The answer is plain. Successful persuasion is not sovereignty. Pericles persuades the majority of Athenian citizens, but that majority has no need to persuade any one: it commands. And a majority one way or the other will always be found. We may conceive, indeed, though not believe, that a sovereign assembly should be equally divided, and there should be nobody with authority to give a casting vote. In this practically impossible case the form of sovereignty would be unimpaired, but the State would be at a dead-lock. From this we may proceed to imagine the more complex cases of assemblies voting not collectively, but by sections or estates; of several bodies meeting and deliberating separately, but acting only by the concurrent decision of all; and finally to apply these ideas to the peculiar system of the British

(1) Neither the Czar nor the Sultan, I believe, has absolute legal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.

constitution, which appears to us by long habit familiar and natural, and has been copied, with variations partly designed and partly undesigned, all over the world. We have seen what confusion arose among the earlier publicists from unwillingness to carry out the separation of politics from ethics. A similar confusion long prevailed in the thought of British publicists, because they could not or would not distinguish legal supremacy from the practical power of guiding its exercise. Parliament is the supreme power in England, or, in our technical terms, is the sovereign. Everybody since Hobbes, who vainly strove to deny it (though even he admitted a corporate sovereign to be theoretically possible), has admitted and asserted so much. But what is Parliament? Who is the wielder of sovereign power? Let us open the last volume of statutes. "Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows." Here are, to all appearance, three distinct powers; they might have been, and as matter of history were near being, four. It is part of the positive law of the land, the law by which courts of justice are governed, that to make a new law they must all agree. The Crown cannot legislate without the estates of the realm, nor with one House of Parliament against the other, nor can the Houses of Parliament jointly or severally legislate without the Crown. But what is to make them agree? What security is there that they shall not constantly disagree? Why do Englishmen go about their business in confidence that this complicated machine, with apparently independent parts, will work smoothly and all together? As far as the purely legal constitution goes, it is like a clock with three distinct sets of works for the hour and minute hands and the striking part, and no provision for their keeping the same time. The publicists of the last century were content to say, in effect, that the component parts of Parliament were really independent, and (to use the language of their own time) in a state of nature with regard to one another. The risk of a dead-lock, so far from being unreal, was regarded as the peculiar virtue of the British Constitution, and as exercising a moderating influence on all parties. It was argued with great ingenuity that the powers of King, Lords, and Commons were not only different in kind, but that they had been kept apart by the wisdom of our ancestors because the conjunction of them in the hands of any one man or assembly would be fatal to liberty. De Lolme proved that the balance could not subsist if the executive power were not one, or the legislative were not divided. The doctrine of sovereignty, even in its barely legal aspect, is a complete solvent of this theory. No one who has assimilated Hobbes can go on believ-

ing in the balance of constitutional powers. It has been shown by the late Mr. Bagehot (as thinking people must have felt before his time, but did not plainly say) that the British Constitution in its modern form gives the practical sovereignty to the majority of the House of Commons, and gives it in a most effectual manner. The machine works as well as it does, not because the powers are balanced, but because in the last resort there is only one power. The ultimate unity of sovereignty is disguised by the very means which secure it; for those means do not appear at all on the legal face of our institutions. Government is carried on by a system of understandings, which for the most part have never been authentically defined, much less acquired the force of positive law. The study of these informal conventions, as distinct from the positive constitutional law which in the United States and in most Continental countries is to be found in some one solemn act of state, and in our country in such statutes as Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement, is really a new branch of political science. I am not aware that any special study of it has been made on the Continent, and I think its rise here is a sufficient proof that the doctrine of the English school is not the mean and barren empiricism which its enemies accuse it of being.

It is good, however, to know one's enemies, especially when they are both honourable and formidable. And something must be said, before we pass to our other specially chosen subject, of the drift of political speculation on the Continent. It has been hinted that in the main it is hostile to our school; and so it is. Yet it is possible to exaggerate the opposition between English and Continental publicists, and to treat as fundamental differences of method what are really differences of definition and handling. Thus Bentham's ethical theory is opposed to those of modern Continental philosophers or their English adherents, say Kant or Coleridge, as a system founded on experience, the others being derived from transcendental ideas. And it is assumed that the like opposition holds between the respective political theories. For my part I do not think it holds, at least not without much qualification, even on the ethical ground. The principle of utility seems to me no whit less dogmatic than the principle of the Practical Reason. Whatever validity either of them has depends on its correctness as an interpretation of human experience, and they both appeal to experience to justify them. But on the political ground it is abundantly clear that Bentham is as much a dogmatist as any propounder of *Naturrecht*. He assigns a final cause to the State by abstract considerations of human motives in general, such as they appear to him, and without taking the slightest trouble to consult history or specific facts, and he constructs an universal theory of legislation

accordingly. Still more dogmatic is Austin's method, which, if it could be perfectly carried out, would lead to a formal analysis entirely indifferent to any practical end, or to the actual historical contents of any legal system. Let us not make too much haste to flatter ourselves that we are not as these dogmatizing Germans.

The Continental schools, or the two branches of the Continental school, may be described as ethical and historical. By the ethical school I mean (leaving apart for the present all minor differences, which, indeed, we have no time to consider) those authors who throw their main strength on investigating the universal moral and social conditions of government and laws, or at any rate civilised government and laws, and expounding what such government and laws are or ought to be, so far as determined by conformity to those conditions. This is the nearest account I can give in few words of what is implied in modern usage by the terms law of nature, *droit naturel*, or *Naturrecht*: in modern usage, I say, for it would be only confusing the matter to trouble ourselves just now with all the meanings which have been given to the law of nature by different schools of philosophy from the Stoics downwards. Obviously this is a legitimate branch of political science in itself; how much we can get out of it is, until we have tried, another matter, but nobody can be blamed for trying. And the study has not in itself any necessary connection with any particular doctrine of ethics. The construction of pattern institutions and rules of law which abounds in Bentham's works comes for the most part under the description of *Naturrecht*, not being limited in terms or intention to the circumstances of England or any other particular country. His chapter on "Title by Succession," in "Principles of the Civil Code," is as much *Naturrecht* as anything one can find in Germany, for it lays down rules purporting to be justified by the universal nature of human relations, and qualified by no respect of time or place. And Bentham's *Naturrecht* is really no more congenial to the positive law which lawyers discuss and administer than that of Ahrens or Kant. An English lawyer may come upon a bit of land in one parish which descends to all the tenant's sons equally, and a bit in the next parish which descends to the youngest son alone. It concerns him not for the matter in hand which rule looks more like an expression of the rational will of the community, or better fitted to promote the greatest happiness. Each rule will be enforced as to the land subject to it, and without discussion of its being reasonable or otherwise, and his client's title will depend on the correct ascertainment and application of the rule as it exists. Again, if there is any work of political reasoning which belongs purely and simply to the English school, it is the collection of notes appended to the first draft of the Indian Penal Code, a most interesting and instructive document, which, to

the great loss of English students, is still accessible only in the cumbrous form of a Parliamentary Paper. But the substance of these notes, except so far as they relate to provisions specially adapted to the circumstances of British India, and except so far as the framers of the Code may have been influenced, without knowing it, by any peculiarities of English positive law, is no less pure and simple *Naturrecht.*

Still there is no doubt that there is a certain mutual repulsion between the English and the Continental mode of treating these inquiries. We must not say British, for Scotland goes with the Continent. What is the explanation of this? The German or Germanizing philosopher is ready with an easy one. "It just means," he would say, "that you English have not taken the pains to understand modern philosophy. You are still in the darkness of the præ-Kantian epoch, and you will never get a real theory of the State or of law till you come out of it. When you show signs of doing that, we may attend to what you have to say." There are Englishmen on the other hand who would be no less ready with their answer. "We confess," they would say, "that we know very little of your transcendental philosophies, and care less. It appears to us that you get nothing out of them but interminable vague talk about *Persönlichkeit* and *Menschenwürde*, or *le bien* and *l'idéal*, as the case may be, and that when it comes to distinct questions of policy you have to deal with them really by the same empirical methods as we do, and in much more cumbrous language." In each of these charges there is some truth and much exaggeration. Continental critics ignore the English school because they suppose it to be tied down to Bentham's form of utilitarianism, whereas the true character of English political science is to be found in the series of distinctions by which our publicists have assigned separate fields to political ethics, constitutional politics, and positive law. The process was begun by Hobbes and virtually completed by Hume. Hobbes began it unconsciously by trying to make legal supremacy the final and conclusive standard of political ethics. The Whigs, with Locke's aid, strove to restore the ethical element by working the law of nature, through the machinery of the original contract, into the technical conception of political supremacy itself. The original contract was slain by Hume and trampled upon by Burke, and the separation of the ethical part of politics, as the theory of legislation and government, from the analytical part, as the theory of the State and of positive law, was forced upon Bentham and his successors. The theory of legislation must to some extent involve a theory of ethics, though it need not involve, in my opinion, any decision upon the ultimate metaphysical questions of ethics. But the analytical branch of political science, including the pure science of positive laws, is

altogether independent of ethical theories. And that is the definite scientific result which we in England say that the work of the past century has given us. The precision and abstraction which we have succeeded in giving to our technical terms is still mistaken by foreign students, and even by able Scottish followers of the Continental methods like Professor Lorimer of Edinburgh, for crudeness and narrowness of thought.

The English student, in turn, is naturally repelled by this misunderstanding, and is prone to assume that no solid good is to be expected of philosophers who have not yet clearly separated in their minds the notion of things as they are from that of things as they ought to be. The German school seems to him to mix up the analytical with the practical aspect of politics, and politics in general with ethics, in a bewildering manner. When he reads that there are "natural laws" which are "necessary inferences from the facts of nature," and "fix the principles of jurisprudence as a whole," and that nevertheless "positive laws never have been, and probably never will be, perfectly discovered,"—and these dicta from Professor Lorimer's book are favourable specimens—he is not unlikely to give up further pursuit in despair. But he is not justified in despairing. Let him not assume that we and the Germans are talking about the same things when we use corresponding terms, or even an Englishman and a Scotsman when they use the same terms. Let him allow for the necessary difference in point of view between those who have the two words *law* and *right*, and those for whom *Recht* or *droit* covers both, so that our "law" and "right" (even when "right" means the particular right of an individual) appear as aspects of one and the same thing, "Recht im objectiven Sinne" and "Recht in subjectiver Hinsicht." Probably the Germans think this a difference to their advantage. We do not; but the difference must be remembered in any case. And when we take the thing as we find it, not expecting it to be something else, we may discover this mysterious and terrible *Naturrecht* to be no worse than a theory of government and legislation; or, to preserve better the wide generality given to it by its authors, a kind of teleology of the State and its institutions, differing much, indeed, from anything of the kind in English literature, and as much involved with ethical philosophy of Kantian or post-Kantian schools as Bentham's theory of legislation is involved with his utilitarianism. But we shall make out, held in solution as it were in this unfamiliar vehicle, much subtle discrimination and sound political thought, and we shall hope that the two methods may come, if not as yet to an alliance or *modus vivendi*, at least to intelligent and useful criticism of one another. Take Professor Ahrens' definition of law. He says (to translate his words freely) that it is the rule or standard governing as a whole the conditions for the

orderly attainment of whatever is good, or assures good, for the individual and society, so far as those conditions depend on voluntary action.[1] This, the Englishman will say at once, tells me (if I can understand it) what law *is for;* but it fails to tell me what it *is.* Very well, but we have made up our mind to that. The Germans do not care about the pure analysis or anatomy of political ideas; we only have to regard the definition as applying to the scope of law, not its positive character. But then the definition assumes that we know what is good. What does Professor Ahrens mean by *good?* Well, Professor Ahrens has a perfectly explicit answer to that. "Good is whatever we recognise as fitted to satisfy the needs of man," meaning, it appears from the context, a normal or reasonable man, and including the need of culture and improvement. Therefore law has for its object in a general way, it would seem, the provision of security for the proper and reasonable satisfaction of the desires of men living in society. But satisfied desires are the elements of happiness. Happiness is the sum of satisfied desires, whatever test we adopt as to the kind of desires that shall be admitted to make up the sum, and their relative value. Happiness, therefore, in some sense, is the aim of laws and government, and the deduction of law from the rational nature of man brings us out for practical purposes not so very far from Bentham. Neither is the difference between the two points of view to be attributed to any essential difference between the English and the German mind. It appears to me to be much more probably accounted for by the difference of historical conditions. In England the positive law of the land has for centuries been single, strong, and conspicuous in all public life, and therefore positive law presented itself as an adequate object for distinct scientific study. In Germany there were down to our own time a great number of independent States, many of them very small, and each with its own local law, but all having their laws framed more or less on the same sort of pattern, and looking for authority, in the absence of specific enactment or custom, to a common stock of Roman or Romanized German tradition. In this state of things it was impossible that theory should not busy itself with the common stock of ideas to the neglect of the multitude of their varying applications in actual use. And it is significant that in the United States, where a number of independent municipal jurisdictions (with the exception of the few States not settled from England) find their general source of authority in the common law, much as the German States found theirs in the Roman law, and share the common stock of English legal ideas, exactly the same thing is now happening. In spite of English tradition and communications, the bent of modern American publicists appears to be decidedly towards the Continental habit of thought.

(1) Introduction to Holtzendorff's *Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft.*

They believe in the Common Law like English judges of the seventeenth century, and in the Law of Nature like German philosophers.

The historical method in politics, as understood on the Continent, is not opposed to what I have called the deductive, but apart from it. Publicists of the historical school seek an explanation of what institutions are, and are tending to be, more in the knowledge of what they have been and how they came to be what they are, than in the analysis of them as they stand. Savigny, the greatest master of jurisprudence in modern times, is the chief representative of the historical school in Germany, though the application of the method to the general theory of politics fills but a small proportion of his admirable work. In England Burke is recognised by the Germans themselves as his forerunner, and Coleridge's political writings, which, though less practical, are similar in their spirit and influence, must be assigned to the same class. The general idea of the historical method may be summed up in the aphorism, now familiar enough, that institutions are not made, but grow. Thus Savigny, instead of giving a formal definition of law, describes it as an aspect of the total common life of a nation; not something made by the nation as matter of choice or convention, but, like its manners and language, bound up with its existence, and indeed helping to make the nation what it is; so that (as we have already noted) he says, in almost the same words as Burke, that the people is always the true legislator: *Das Gesetz ist das Organ des Volksrechts.* Thus Coleridge, in his essay on Church and State, considers the Church of England not as he actually finds it, nor yet as somebody might wish the Church to be if he were devising an ideal commonwealth, but in what he calls its idea; that is, what the English Church, from its place and conditions in the English commonwealth, seemed to him fitted to be, and but for disturbing causes might be. This method leads to a certain optimism which is its danger; not the rationalist optimism of the eighteenth century which makes out that whatever is is best, but a speculative optimism which tries to see that whatever is becoming, or is continuously in a way to be, is best. I have elsewhere indicated the affinity between the historical method and the modern scientific doctrine of evolution, and we may call this the optimism of historical evolution. For the rest, the historical method is many-sided, and for that reason I have avoided as much as possible the word school. It is needless to dwell on the power with which Sir Henry Maine has used it among ourselves to throw light on legal and political ideas. And if we seek the application of it to the field of the English Constitution, it is excellently represented by Mr. Freeman. Cornewall Lewis's book on the *Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, though more properly belonging, in the terminology I should adopt, to the philosophy of history,

is likewise a good English example of the method in a more general way.

Want of space must be the excuse for omitting to follow out or even indicate other modern developments of political speculation. It would be tempting to trace in Bluntschli's work the results of a philosophical temper combined with technical training and a wide command of historical knowledge; to endeavour to fix the place of Positivism among other recent theories, or to assign the relation to previous English thought of the system even now being unfolded by Mr. Herbert Spencer, a much more important one in my opinion than Auguste Comte's. But not one of these topics could be dealt with to any good purpose in the room we have left. A few words on the question of the "limits of the State" may however be allowed; the more so as, having been already handled in a popular manner by three of our best modern essayists, J. S. Mill, Mr. H. Spencer, and Mr. Huxley, it is more or less familiar to all educated readers. This question may be said to arise out of the doctrine of sovereignty. For when it becomes clear that it is futile, and indeed contradictory, to limit the supreme power in a State by any formal or positive ordinance, one is led to consider whether any general rules of policy may be laid down as to what the State may wisely attempt and what it will do more wisely to leave alone. In the field of political economy we have already got fairly definite principles of this kind, though their application is still widely disputed. But there is a larger inquiry as to the general control of the State over the private action of its citizens, whether severally or in association; and this is what we shall now glance at. It was definitely stated in its modern form by Wilhelm von Humboldt in a little book written in 1791, but not published till after the writer's death, sixty years later. Meanwhile a good many things had happened. Among others, Wilhelm von Humboldt himself, who in this book had proved that public instruction was one of the things the State ought on no account to meddle with, had been the Prussian Minister of Education. I do not know that he ever retracted his former opinion; he had no occasion to do so, not having published it; but deeds are more eloquent than words in such a case. His earlier essay was, in fact, the most natural protest of an active mind against the fussy paternal government of the little German States in the latter half of the eighteenth century. No doubt it was expressed in general terms. Equally general in terms, as we saw the other day, was Locke's plea for the Revolution of 1688. How far Humboldt's arguments remained applicable to Prussia or other German States in 1851, it is not our business to inquire. It seems, however, a curious and at first sight a gratuitous proceeding to adopt them as at that time applicable to the state of government and public opinion in England. But we have a way

of infelicitous borrowing from our neighbours. In metaphysics Sir William Hamilton had some little time before, invented, by a wonderful misunderstanding of Kant, the spectre called the Unconditioned, which was gravely taken by himself and a few disciples for a hopeful foundation of systematic philosophy. Somewhat after the same fashion the English publicist who was afterwards Hamilton's most brilliant opponent was pleased to take up the cry of the over-regulated Prussian, and the result was the essay which we all know as *Mill on Liberty*. The same line was taken up by Eötös, in Hungary (the Hungary of thirty years ago), and M. Edouard Laboulaye in France, a few years later, summed up and adopted the arguments of all these writers; with what provocation, any one who knows even slightly what French administration has been any time this century, and particularly during the Second Empire, may easily guess. It must not be overlooked that the tradition of Bentham and political utilitarianism contributed something to the minimizing view of the State's function. For law, being viewed exclusively as command and restraint, came to be thought of as in its nature an evil; and of course it followed that there ought to be as little of it as was compatible with the preservation of society. More lately Mr. Spencer has followed on the same side (though he declared himself in his earliest work, *Social Statics*, some years before J. S. Mill's essay was published),[1] and has been encountered by Mr. Huxley, who has called the minimizing doctrine by the ingenious name of "Administrative Nihilism." This is not acceptable to Mr. Spencer, and he proposes the more neutral but less striking term, "Specialized Administration." Mill's particular exposition has also been vigorously criticized by Mr. Justice Stephen in his book named *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*. English citizens may thus, at the cost, or rather with the gain, of reading a volume or two of the best English writing of our time, easily put themselves in possession of the arguments on one important question of theoretical politics.

The only remark of my own I have to add is this: that the minimizers appear not to distinguish sufficiently the action of the State in general from its centralized action. There are many things which the State cannot do in the way of central government, or not effectually, but which can be very well done by the action of local governing bodies. But this is a question between the direct and the delegated activity of the State, not between State action and individual enterprise. It is just as much against the pure principles of Humboldt and Mr. Spencer for the Town Council of Birmingham or

(1) There are things in *Social Statics* which Mr. Spencer would now hardly defend, such as the supposed "right of the individual to ignore the State," which is the very *reductio ad absurdum* of individualism. In the natural organism a member that attempts to ignore the body is taught its mistake swiftly and sharply enough.

Manchester to regulate the gas and water supply of its own town as it would be for the Board of Trade to regulate it.

As to the question in its general bearing, I do not think it can be fully dealt with except by going back to the older question, "What does the State exist for?" And although I have no space to justify myself, I will bear witness that for my own part I think this a point at which we may well say, "Back to Aristotle." The minimizers tell us that the State exists only for protection. Aristotle tells us that it was founded on the need for protection, but exists for more than protection—*γινομένη μὲν οὖν τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν.* Not only material security, but the perfection of human and social life, is what we aim at in that organized co-operation of many men's lives and works which is called the State. I fail to see good warrant of either reason or experience for limiting the corporate activity of a nation by hard and fast rules. We must fix the limit by self-protection, says Mill; by negative as opposed to positive regulation, says Mr. Spencer. But where does protection leave off and interference begin? If it is negative and proper regulation to say a man shall be punished for building his house in a city so that it falls into the street, is it positive and improper regulation to say that he shall so build it, if he builds at all, as to appear to competent persons not likely to fall into the street? It is purely negative regulation, and may therefore be proper, to punish a man for communicating an infectious disease by neglect of common precautions. Why is it improper to compel those precautions, where the danger is known to exist, without waiting for somebody to be actually infected? Mr. Spencer would have the State protect both property and contracts. I have heard a zealous maintainer of Mr. Spencer's views on this point outdo his master by arguing, and not inaptly, that the State should protect only property in the strict sense, and leave contracts to take care of themselves. Perhaps somebody else may say that law is restraint, and restraint is force, and the State ought to use its force only against actual force; in other words, to protect persons directly, and property not otherwise than indirectly through persons; from which it would be but one step more to the triumphant establishment of the perfect "liberty of the subject" in Hobbes's state of nature, which is a state of universal war. I prefer to say with Professor Huxley, who is no dealer in empty phrases, that government is the corporate reason of the community; with Burke, philosopher and statesman, that a State "is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature," but "a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection;" and with Hobbes, but in a higher and deeper sense than he enforced, *Non est super terram potestas quae comparetur ei.*

FREDERICK POLLOCK.

A STUDY OF LONGFELLOW.

There will be held, in the first month of the new year, at the Lyceum Theatre, by the permission of Mr. Henry Irving, a meeting of the Longfellow Memorial Committee, when the sub-committee will present a report on the best use to be made of the large sum of money that has been already subscribed for perpetuating in some visible shape the memory of the most popular of American poets.

When George Ticknor wrote to recommend Longfellow to Dean Milman he said of him: "He is a most amiable and agreeable person, of whom we are all very fond." When Mr. Matthew Arnold has occasion to mention *Evangeline*, he speaks of it as "Mr. Longfellow's pleasing and popular poem." When Longfellow visited the Queen—he himself is authority for this statement—she actually said as he was taking his leave, "We shall not forget you. Why, all my servants read your poetry." These three quotations express the general mental attitude toward Longfellow and his poetry; in each case the words are kind enough and—with one possible exception—the speaker meant to be complimentary; but there is an undertone of depreciation, and a distant suggestion of the unpleasant significance of faint praise. In short, and in spite of the present remarkable display of public good-will in high places, there can be no doubt that the tendency of cultured English opinion has long been to class him with the poets of mediocrity—a race unpleasing alike to gods, men, and publishers.

At the present moment it is interesting to inquire what are the special reasons that have led to this classification of Longfellow with the mediocre poets, and before his personality is lost in the "remarkable retirement of the grave," to consider him from the standpoint of a criticism midway between cultured disdain and popular eulogy. The literary notice which his works have received has been of such a superficial or one-sided character that an attempt to estimate them with some knowledge of the circumstances of their origin, and on their merits, is much to be desired. The brilliant composition of the Memorial Committee must not be allowed to conceal the fact that it, too, is a popular movement, and therefore without influence upon dispassionate criticism. The striking inequality of Longfellow's work renders the thankless task of discrimination the duty of some one who has honoured him as a man, for it is the best service towards securing the just appreciation of him as a poet.

The first of the special reasons, then, for the low rank of Longfellow's poetry is that much of it is didactic. The circumstances of

his life made this tendency unavoidable: his Puritan birth and education gave him the moral fibre for which the New England character is noted, his direct ancestors being among those early pilgrims of whom Emerson has said that they were so righteous they had to hold on to the huckleberry bushes for fear of being translated. Then his Puritan temperament was fertilised by several years of residence in Germany at the time when the rabid naturalism of the *Sturm und Drang* had crystallized into a firm and enthusiastic humanism. A tender-hearted man, in comfortable and easy surroundings, following, like all the young American writers of his time, in the footsteps of Bryant, with this fertilised Puritanism, how could his verses be anything but didactic? And didactic verse, as such, was heartily welcomed; we find the delighted critics declaring that his poems "are of a nature to encourage the best and purest sentiments," that his lines "are as happy in their expression as they are correct in their moral tendency;" and as late as 1844, E. P. Whipple writing that Longfellow's great characteristic is "addressing the moral nature through the imagination, of linking moral truth to intellectual beauty." So, being applauded, he went on, perfectly conscious of what he was doing, and of the audience he was addressing,—"Maiden, who read'st this simple rhyme," for instance. His life and all his writings show that he was profoundly in earnest; he was not preaching merely because preaching was popular. His prose works, in particular, are permeated with the simple doctrines of the *Psalm of Life*. "Therefore should every man wait;—should bide his time. Not in listless idleness,—not in useless pastime,—not in querulous dejection, but in constant, steady, cheerful endeavours, always willing and fulfilling, and accomplishing his task." Similar sentiments furnish mottoes for two of his books, and occur again and again in their pages. Now, waiving any discussion of the theory of didactic poetry, the fact is clear that this age professes to believe in art for art's sake; the artist must not be conscious of any purpose; his function is to depict; truth "to be loved, needs only to be seen." Mr. Buchanan, for instance, is so well aware of this fact that he feels compelled to preface his latest novels, which show nothing much worse than what the Germans call a *Tendenz*, with a kind of defiant apology. So it is not to be expected that the critical public which patronises the modern school of poetry will tolerate the crudeness of such rhymed exhortation as "Be resolute and calm." Longfellow's natural bent and circumstances made him didactic, and he secured his first laurels by following this bent; we belong to an age which is horrified at what has been wittily called "the illicit conveyance of useful knowledge," and which looks upon preaching out of church as savouring of impertinence; so we have handed his poems over to that class of readers

upon whose shelves they stand by the side of the Bible and the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

In the second place, Longfellow has been judged by his early poems. It was a misfortune for a man destined to a long and gradual development that his first efforts should attract so much attention, for people have continued to bear them in mind long after he has ceased to be fairly reflected in them. The poetry by which Longfellow is known to-day to the majority of his readers thus consists of verses written while he was still uncertain whether he was singing or preaching, and long before he had any conception of poetry as distinct from verse-writing. Take, for instance, the two pieces which are indissolubly connected with his name—the *Psalm of Life* and *Excelsior*. The first of these is so familiar to us that we can hardly bring ourselves to consider the thought of it apart from the form.

We can escape this difficulty, however, by taking it in a foreign tongue. "La vie des grands hommes nous apprend que nous pouvons rendre nos existences sublimes." The language of the translation is at least as fine as that of the original, and how extremely commonplace—or worse—the thought is! So, too, is the whole poem when we have once escaped from the youthful and pulpit associations which cling to it. Yet the above translation is by M. Emile Montégut, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and is not, as might be thought, one made for the present occasion. No wonder he declares that the *jolis détails* in Longfellow's poetry are *trop souvent noyés dans de mélancoliques puérilités*.

Excelsior is no better. Mr. M. W. Rossetti has aptly described it as *ad captandum* poetry, *i.e.* depending for its effect, like some of Mr. Aldrich's stories, upon a kind of trick—in this case the recurrence of the catch-word "Excelsior!" Making all allowance for allegory, the imagery is preposterous. It is impossible to sympathize with a young man who commits suicide by climbing an Alpine mountain at night with no other object than to keep getting higher. As some one has said, it was a foregone conclusion that he would be frozen to death. And when, in addition, he refuses all shelter and even declines advice as to the precautions to be observed by any one who wishes to get as high as possible, and carries in his hand a banner with "Excelsior"—which, by the way, is the motto of the State of New York—upon it, the poem becomes ridiculous, and even, as Mr. Rossetti suggests, irritating. We are told that it symbolizes the man of genius in his struggle to attain his ideal, ever striving to climb higher and higher, and scorning everything that might distract him. But it is hardly necessary to stop to point out that the metaphor breaks down at almost every point.

Besides early poems which are unworthy of his subsequent attain-

ments, Longfellow is known by other early poems of considerable merit which have become wearisome by dint of constant repetition. They have been subjected to a barrel-organ treatment, and like many good sayings and stirring songs have become at last intolerable. It is only the greatest works that can be constantly repeated without palling. Thus in the fact that Longfellow is known to the majority of his readers by his early poems, and that these were either originally commonplace or have become commonplace by an unfortunate popularity, we find a further reason for the comparatively low estimate in which he is held.

In any estimate of his genius Longfellow deserves attention first for his prose, and all the more because it is probable that of five hundred persons who are fairly familiar with all his poetry, there is not more than one that has read his prose works. Without counting contributions to the *North American Review*, which are no longer of any special value, Longfellow's prose consists of three works, *Outre-Mer*, a "pilgrimage;" *Hyperion*, a "romance;" and *Kavanagh*, a "tale." The two thin octavo volumes of the original edition of *Hyperion* recall a couple of interesting incidents of Longfellow's life. The publisher, Colman, of New York, became bankrupt immediately after their appearance, and all the copies, except the few that were already sold, were seized by the creditors and kept for nearly eighteen months. This was a cruel blow for a young author, and Longfellow said, when he told me the story, "Of course I was in despair, for I supposed the book was entirely ruined," adding with a quiet chuckle, "but it managed to survive." Paul Fleming, the hero, represents Longfellow himself (he once acknowledged the portrait so far as to say, "He was what I thought I might have been"), and Mary Ashburton, the heroine, is the Miss Appleton whom the poet afterwards married, and to win whose love by a faithful picture of his own feelings before and after her refusal of him, the book was written. So, at least, the story runs, and if it is true, the romance was no less successful in private than in public.

Longfellow's prose has four distinct characteristics: clearness and originality of style, remarkable erudition, humour, and an unbounded fertility of imagination. It is sufficient to mention the first two of these, but the second two have been generally overlooked, and they throw so much light upon Longfellow's temperament and therefore upon his poetry, that they call for special notice. He has never received due credit for his humour, which has been pronounced indifferent by the critics, who were probably among the majority who have not read the poet's prose, and it will remain indifferent to people who roar over "Josh Billings" and the *Danbury News*; but if space permitted it would be easy to show that Longfellow was a humourist

of much originality and merit. One example may be given: the old servant, he tells us in *Kavanagh*, was about to retire from the family, "being engaged to a travelling dentist, who, in filling her teeth with amalgam, had seized the opportunity to fill a soft place in her heart with something still more dangerous and mercurial." This is a perfectly characteristic specimen, and it would be difficult to find in the pages of professed wits anything neater and lighter. Among his friends Longfellow was famous for his wit and as a capital *raconteur*.

In one of his essays, Emerson says, "I had rather have a good symbol of my thought, or a good analogy, than the suffrage of Kant or Plato." If this is a reasonable preference, Longfellow's unbounded fertility of imagination is an important testimony to the merit of his work. I called it the fourth characteristic of his prose, but it would be more accurately described as the most prominent of his mental traits. His style is charming, his humour is "choicely good," and his scholarship is extensive; but the play of his imagination is beyond all question the greatest of his powers. It is perfectly described in the following account of one of his heroes: "Imagination was the ruling power of his mind. His thoughts were twin-born; the thought itself, and its figurative semblance in the outer world. Thus, through the quiet, still waters of his soul each image floated double, swan and shadow." This is literally true of Longfellow; almost every thought came to him clothed in some simile, it seems as if he could grasp his own ideas only through some material presentation of them; he was indeed what he called himself in his last poem,

> "A dreamer of dreams,
> To whom what is and what seems
> Are often the same."

For instance, describing the village schoolmaster, he says: "They saw him daily moiling and delving in the common path like a beetle, and little thought that underneath that hard and cold exterior lay folded delicate golden wings, wherewith, when the heat of the day was over, he soared and revelled in the evening air." A beautiful peasant-girl offered to tell him the story of the Liebenstein, "but before she began, she rested a moment on her oars, and taking the crucifix which hung suspended from her neck, kissed it, and then let it sink into her bosom, as if it were an anchor she was letting down into her heart." What could be prettier? And here is an original one: The old professor "loved solitude, and silence, and candle-light, and the deep midnight. 'For,' said he, 'if the morning hours are the wings of the day, I only fold them about me to sleep more sweetly, knowing that, at its other extremity, the day, like the fowls of the air, has an epicurean morsel—a parson's nose;

and on this oily midnight my spirit revels and is glad.'" It would be difficult to match this delightful and racy comparison. This double sight, however, sometimes betrayed its possessor, as in the following instance: "The passing years had drunk a portion of the light from her eyes, and left their traces on her cheeks, as birds that drink at lakes leave their footprints on the margin." This is too good, it is hardly credible that such a thought and simile "floated double" into any one's mind.

Had Longfellow written nothing but his three prose works, he would have deserved a name in American letters, as much for the literary excellence of his books as for his services in breaking the way for an American knowledge of German authors. Upon the heels of this supposition naturally comes the wish that he had given us more prose; most people would willingly exchange the *New England Tragedies* for another *Hyperion*, and would give the *Divine Tragedy* to boot. But after 1849 he never turned his pen to prose.

Longfellow's poetry is very varied in character, he has tried his wine in every kind of vessel, and, as has been said, it is very unequal in quality. Leigh Hunt said that authors must sift their own works to save posterity the trouble of choice—"posterity is so rich and idle"—but Longfellow constantly added to his volumes and never subtracted from them. The selected poems of Byron, Wordsworth, and Shelley have lately appeared, to present their authors in a fair light; but each of these was more independent of the critic's selective art than was the author of *Excelsior* and the *Saga of King Olaf.* With all deference to the great popularity of many of his poems, and after due consideration of the subtleties of American eulogy, it seems clear enough that much of Longfellow's poetry has little or no permanent value. An occasional nod may be forgiven even to Homer, but Longfellow nods too often. Versification was so easy to him, and his sympathy was so much more prompt than discriminating—as shown, for instance, in his toleration of bores and the ridiculous apology he once gave for it—"Who would be kind to them if I were not?"—that he seldom refused an invitation to write, or checked his own impulse to do so. The latest illustration of this is afforded by his action when the children of Cambridge presented him on his birthday with a chair made from the wood of the "spreading chestnut-tree." It was a pretty gift, and might have been fittingly acknowledged, one would think, in a simple letter. Longfellow, however, composed a string of verses, and caused a thousand copies to be printed and distributed to the children. It is all very well to say that he thus gave pleasure to the children of Cambridge, and that they would treasure the lines addressed to them by the great poet; but there is a good sense, as well as a bad one, in which a man may write with a view to his

biographers, and even if we admit that "this splendid ebon throne" is an appropriate epithet for an ordinary black arm-chair, it is still difficult to understand how a man of Longfellow's good taste could so far forget himself as to go out of his way to demand in pompous verse "by what right divine" he could claim a thing that had just been given to him.

With epic poetry properly so called, Longfellow had, of course, nothing to do. He wrote, however, two long poems which have been termed miniature epics. These are *Evangeline* and the *Song of Hiawatha*. The first is a middle member of an interesting literary pedigree. J. H. Voss was the creator of the modern idyllic epic, his *Luise* appearing in 1795. Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* was published in 1797, and its relation to the preceding work may be determined from what Goethe said of Voss some time afterwards. "There are few who have had such an influence as he upon the higher German culture. One who is so permeated with his worth as I am scarcely knows how to honour his memory too much." In 1847 *Evangeline* appeared, and although I know of no direct evidence to connect it with Goethe's poem, Longfellow's extensive acquaintance with German literature, and the similarity of the two works, make the source of his inspiration reasonably certain. In 1848 the *Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich* was published, and we have Clough's own testimony concerning its origin. He wrote to Emerson, "Will you convey to Mr. Longfellow the fact that it was a reading of his *Evangeline* aloud to my mother and sister which, coming after a reperusal of the Iliad, occasioned this outbreak of hexameters." So we have a direct line of descent, *Luise, Hermann und Dorothea, Evangeline, The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich.*

Evangeline was Longfellow's favourite of his own poems, and yet he was indebted for the story almost as it stands, to Hawthorne, with whom it was not original. Under the date of October 24th, 1838, the story is sketched out in Hawthorne's note-book, with the statement that it was given to him by "H. L. C——" (Conolly), who had it from a French Canadian. James T. Fields tells how Hawthorne made it over to Longfellow for a poem, not caring much for it himself for a story, and finding that it struck Longfellow's fancy. The groundwork of the poem Longfellow got, he once said, from a visit to the poor-house in Philadelphia. Strange to say, he was never in Nova Scotia, where the scene is laid, but drew his information about the life of the people from the Abbé Raynal, and his history from Haliburton. This work did more to establish Longfellow's reputation than any of his previous ones, and if, as has been said by one of the profoundest of critics, poems are to be judged by the state of mind in which they leave the reader, the high place which *Evangeline* occupies in popular esteem is justly awarded to it; for its chaste

style and homely imagery, with its sympathetic and occasionally dramatic story, produce a refined and elevated impression, and present a beautiful and invigorating picture of "affection that hopes, and endures, and is patient," of "the beauty and strength of woman's devotion."

Longfellow's countrymen were proud of his success with *Evangeline*, but they were still more delighted when the *Song of Hiawatha* appeared, for it seemed to them to herald the advent of the long-looked-for American poet, the messiah of their national literature. At last they found themselves possessed of a poem which owed nothing to previous literature or European tradition, but sang of the prairie, the mountains, the rivers, the races, and the mythology of their own great West. The success of the book was enormous: ten thousand copies were sold in five weeks, and fifty thousand in eighteen months. By many foreign critics, too, *Hiawatha* was enthusiastically received. M. Emile Montégut, for instance, wrote of it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as follows: "Puisse le succès de cette œuvre charmante persuader à M. Longfellow de marcher dans cette voie sans être tenté d'en sortir désormais!" Even Mr. Rossetti said it was "made for posterity and permanence;" Mr. Bright has recently recommended it as a remedy for sickness and loneliness; and at least two of the English reviews in their obituary notices assigned to it the highest place among Longfellow's poems. And in the memorial article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. O. B. Frothingham expresses contemporary American opinion as follows: "*Hiawatha* is, not merely as a work of art, but as a moral achievement, greatly in advance of *Evangeline*. It is, in our opinion, the poet's masterpiece, the fullest expression of his mind. Theme and treatment perfectly correspond; the former calling forth all the poet's peculiar talent; the latter taxing, yet exquisitely illustrating, his literary skill."

Now, we have here either a magnificent poetical work in *Hiawatha*, or else a vast amount of misplaced admiration. I think the latter is the case. At any rate the question will bear examination.

Longfellow believed that he had found in the writings of Schoolcraft, the historian of the Indian tribes of North America, the materials for a new epic, an American saga. It was natural that a poet with sympathetic knowledge of the previous spontaneous epics of the world, and who had just safely accomplished one long poetic flight, should seek eagerly for the legendary material to enable him to make another and longer one. But it is trite to suggest that the *Heimskringla* and the *Nibelungenlied* are as impossible to us as the Doric temple or the Gothic cathedral: both factors in their creation are gone—the spirit which could produce them and the need which they satisfied. Instead of holding, therefore, that the Iroquois

tradition of Hiawatha found its voice in Longfellow as the Sagas found theirs in some unknown minstrel, or as the Hebrew word came to the prophet, I am inclined to think that Longfellow looked about him for material for a poem which should be like the old poems, and thought he had found it in the Iroquois legend, and that, therefore, Mr. Lowell throws out a true hint when he speaks of Longfellow as "driven to take refuge among the red men."

The most striking feature in this "Indian Edda," as its author called it, is the metre. This is simple enough in itself, being nothing but a trochaic dimeter, but it is remarkable as being chosen for an English poem of some five thousand six hundred lines. It is difficult to understand how any one could have thought that the machine-like monotony of over twenty thousand successive trochees would be anything but extremely wearisome; but it is much more difficult to understand how any one can read them without finding out the fact. The beautiful flexibility of Greek, and the opportunities it afforded for the building up of words and sentences delightful in themselves as music and intelligence combined, made such metres beautiful in the hands of Greek writers, but the English language is not sufficiently malleable and musical to warrant us in dropping the "ornaments of rhyme" and confining ourselves to a measure so extremely simple. The monotony of the versification of *Hiawatha* is revealed by the first lines, and is present, with a few exceptions, throughout the whole poem; and even these exceptions are passages which are beautiful, not because of the metre, but in spite of it. In reading them one does not notice the metre, and they would be equally effective if printed as prose. A curious defence of the metre of *Hiawatha* has been made by a French critic: "La mélodie des vers, rapide et monotone, ressemble singulièrement aux voix de la nature, qui ne se fatigue jamais de répéter toujours les mêmes sons." This is ingenious, but inadequate, for the sounds of nature are not monotonous, but infinitely varied; it would be just as true to say that nature's colouring is monotonous because the forest is all green. The forest green is beautiful because of its infinite variety of tints and play of light, and the sounds of nature are entrancing because they are never constant; the noise of the waterfall changes every moment, and even the "burly, dozing humble-bee" sweeps the whole gamut as he approaches or recedes. The cuckoo, too,—an excellent illustration, as his note is not a bad trochee,—understands the rhetorical value of the pause: it is terrible to think of him crying "cuckoo" twenty thousand times.

There is, however, a much graver charge to be brought against *Hiawatha*. The poem, as a whole, is without interest. The character of *Hiawatha* is nothing worth mentioning, and the deeds by which he educates his brethren and frees them from oppression do

not arouse our sympathy in any way; the whole story is little better than an Indian nursery tale. Longfellow has, too, drawn so freely upon the uncouth redskin dialect that he has made much of his work positively ludicrous. Pau-Puk-Keewis, Gitche-Gumee, Sheshebwug, Mudjekeewis, Baimwawa, Sah-sah-je-wun, Kah-gah-gee, the Puk-widjies, the Jeebi,—how could any one write a great poem with such *dramatis personæ* as these? The work contains, of course, occasional quaint and pretty passages, and one or two pieces of really vigorous writing—*e.g.*, the beginning of the nineteenth canto,—but as a whole it seems an example of genuine poetic power and sympathy misapplied, and can hardly have failed, by its immense circulation, to exert a weakening influence on American literature.

Of all forms of poetry the lyric is pre-eminently the one which should rest upon what has been called the "autobiographic basis," and almost every one of Longfellow's lyrics has this characteristic. The autobiographic basis, however, is of two kinds, personal and local. The personal is seen when the lyric has its origin in some deep-rooted emotion in the poet's breast, love, disappointment, jealousy, anger; the local basis is when the lyric is the expression of the poet's emotional relationship to some merely local interest, a view, a house, or even a person. In many cases it is difficult to draw the line between the two, but when the distinction can be clearly made there is no doubt that the former is the higher and greater kind of poetic inspiration; its interest is common to all men, and not half universal and half local. A glance through the index of Longfellow's collected works shows that the autobiographic basis of the majority of his lyrics is the local one. *To the River Charles, The Belfry of Bruges, The Arsenal at Springfield, The Lighthouse, The Fire of Driftwood, The Herons of Elmwood, The Bridge*,—these are specimens of the subjects that attracted his pen. Some concrete interest is necessary to call forth the sympathy of the less cultivated reader, the man who is accustomed to have each of his thoughts linked to a fact, and hence the welcome which these lyrics have received from those who form the majority of our society. They exhibit no sudden transport when a poetic idea reveals itself; none of the insight of great passion; little of the suggestion of an original view. Given a man of healthy temperament, of tender heart, of much cultivation, with a genuine poetic faculty, whose life had been passed in circumstances of comfort and uneventful privacy, and these are just the lyrics that he would naturally write. This is not saying so little as might at first appear, for such a coincidence of man and circumstances is rare in our time. And though there is much of Longfellow's lyrical poetry that is commonplace enough, there is not wanting some that belongs to a high order of verse.

A poet who was the reflection and echo of our common life to such

an extent as Longfellow would naturally find much of his inspiration take the corresponding poetical form, the epic-lyric. *King Witlaf's Drinking Horn* and the *Wreck of the Hesperus* are among the best, as they are the best known of his ballads. *Paul Revere's Ride* suggests and can sustain comparison with Browning's *How they brought the good news from Ghent.* But by far his best single epic-lyric piece is the *Skeleton in Armour*, a splendid and powerful piece of versification. There is nothing in English that has caught the old Norse spirit better than Longfellow's *Saga of King Olaf*, the Musician's tale at the Wayside Inn. It is the single time when Longfellow has been strong, when he has shown real passion. With great variety of style and metre he has wrought the *Heimskringla* into an animated and impulsive English poem. The best of the twenty-two divisions of the Saga are *Thora of Rimol, The Wraith of Odin, Thangbrand the Priest, King Olaf's Christmas*, and *King Olaf and Earl Sigvald.* The *Tales of a Wayside Inn* exhibit all the marked features of Longfellow's poetical work. The following key to the persons who figure in them was given to me by the late Mr. John Owen, Longfellow's first publisher and life-long Bohemian friend: The Landlord, Lyman Howe (the scene is laid in the old Howe Tavern, near Sudbury, Massachusetts); the Student, Henry Ware Wales; the Spanish Jew, Isaac Edraeles; the Sicilian, Luigi Monti; the Musician, Ole Bull; the Poet, Thomas W. Parsons; the Theologian, Samuel Longfellow. Three of these persons are still living. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that their meeting under such circumstances is wholly fictitious; they were not even all mutually acquainted, and their only common ground was in the poet's imagination. It is much to be doubted if most of them—possibly including the author himself—ever stopped at the Wayside Inn at all.

The sonnet was a form of poetical expression well suited to Longfellow's genius. So far as his muse bore him he was accustomed to think clearly; he had great power of imagination, and an accurate aim in literary matters. Besides these he was possessed of a characteristic which is perhaps the one most conspicuous by its absence from the school of poetry prevalent at the present day, viz. a constant self-control. A dithyramb would have been impossible to him; he never lost sight of the artistic quality of the work he had in hand, and the freest of his songs exhibits a complete subordination of the parts. Just as in the *prestissimo* each finger of the pianist falls accurately upon the proper note, so, in the most rapid utterance of which the sonnet-writer is capable, accuracy of accent, syllable, contrasted rhyme, quatrain, and octave, must be strictly secured. To this difficult end self-control is the one indispensable attribute.

As we might expect, most of Longfellow's sonnets are in the legitimate form, and in a majority of cases they preserve the due separation of the quatrains, an observance which is easily, and therefore frequently, neglected. He had, too, the power to make the sonnet sing, one of its primary attributes, and one which is utterly absent from many of the complicated sonnets of the last few years. It is, however, probable that the readers of Longfellow's sonnets will be conscious of missing something to which they are accustomed, and on reflection will find that something to be richness and luxury of imagery and language. The self-control, however, which is demanded by the sonnet gives it necessarily a certain asceticism; it is a finely-chiselled, well-fitted work of art, and we miss a familiar luxuriance in sonnets which answer this description, only because our taste has been vitiated by constant reading of bad examples. Let any one who doubts this compare a couple of sonnets from the earlier English poets—say Ben Jonson, or Shakspere, or even Wordsworth—with any of the sonnets of D. G. Rossetti, for instance, and see if he does not find the latter by comparison cloying, burning, overladen, and tangled. Leigh Hunt's fourth rule for the sonnet was, "It must not have a speck of obscurity." One may almost say that half our contemporary sonnets have not a speck of transparency.

It is questionable whether the English language contains a series of six original sonnets equal in every point to those which are prefixed to Longfellow's translation of the *Divina Commedia.* They are perfect in form, splendid and yet moderate in language, and full of scholarly suggestion; they exhibit a distinct progression of thought, and, though they are of great virility, their singing quality never relaxes. The sonnets on *Giotto's Tower*, *Night*, *President Garfield*, *My Books*, *Possibilities*, the pathetic *Victor and Vanquished*, and several of his earlier ones, exhibit Longfellow's best work, and are surpassed by few modern sonnets, if by any.

If, in addition to a knowledge of many languages, a poet possesses a true gift of song, the same qualities which make him a good sonneteer will make him a good translator. The same clearness, subordination of himself to the style of his model, constant self-control in avoiding unwarranted addition or subtraction—these are the indispensables to good translation. To reproduce the total impression made by the original, with only the slightest possible departure from exact transcription—to turn literalism into realism—should be the translator's ideal. An example of such a translation is furnished by Strodtmann's rendering of Tennyson's "Bugle Song," beginning, *Es fällt der Strahl auf Burg und Thal.* Longfellow, by his extensive linguistic knowledge and skill with rhyme and metres, was exceptionally well fitted for the work of translation, and he employed his gifts to such good purpose that it is

not too much to say of him that, as a translator, he had no living rival.

Every one knows that it is much more difficult to translate a folk-song well than an artistic poem, and every one who is familiar with the rollicking side of German university life remembers the never-failing *Kneiplied* of sweet *Aennchen von Tharau*, and what a really large place it holds in the hearts of the students, each of whom believes in its peculiar applicability to a certain *Aennchen* of his own, present or to come. So a few stanzas from it will serve to show Longfellow's facility. He translated it directly from the Low German of its author, Simon Dach; the following German words are Herder's translation, by which it is generally known in Germany. This will explain the few discrepancies.

> "Aennchen von Tharau hat wieder ihr Herz
> Auf mich gerichtet in Lieb und in Schmerz.
> * * * * *
> Krankheit, Verfolgung, Betrübniss und Pein
> Soll unsrer Liebe Verknotigung sein.
> Würdest du gleich einmal von mir getrennt,
> Lebtest da, wo man die Sonne kaum kennt;
> Ich will dir folgen durch Wälder, durch Meer,
> Eisen und Kerker und feindliches Heer.
> Aennchen von Tharau, mein Licht, meine Sonn',
> Mein Leben schliesst sich um deines herum."

> "Annie of Tharaw her heart once again,
> To me has surrendered in joy and in pain.
> * * * * *
> Oppression and sickness, and sorrow and pain,
> Shall be to our true love as links to the chain.
> Should'st thou be torn from me to wander alone,
> In a desolate land where the sun is scarce known,
> Through forests I'll follow, and where the sea flows,
> Through ice, and through iron, through armies of foes.
> Annie of Tharaw, my light and my sun,
> The threads of our two lives are woven in one."

Longfellow's great work as a translator, however, and perhaps the great work of his life, is his three splendid volumes of the *Divina Commedia.* His election to the position of the first President of the Dante Society at Cambridge—a position in which Mr. James Russell Lowell has succeeded him—was a fitting recognition of this work. As early as 1839, in his *Voices of the Night*, he published translations of a few of the chosen passages of the poem, but it was not until 1863, when in need of some anodyne for the shock caused by the terrible death of his wife, that he determined to attempt a version of the entire *Divine Comedy.* The people of Florence had given notice of their approaching celebration of the sixth centenary of Dante's birth, and had invited the co-operation

of all lovers of the poet, so there was a special appropriateness in the time of his work. The translation of the *Inferno* was completed and sent to the printer. He then invited two of his intimate friends, Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, Professor of the History of Art, at Harvard University—the *chiarissimo signore* and *profondo cognoscitore di Dante* to whom Witte dedicated his *variorum* edition of the *Vita Nuova*—and Mr. Lowell, to assist him in the delicate work of final revision. Mr. Norton has given the following account of their meetings:—"Every Wednesday evening Mr. Lowell and I met in Mr. Longfellow's study to listen while he read a canto of his translation from the proof-sheet. We paused over every doubtful passage, discussed the various readings, considered the true meaning of obscure words and phrases, sought for the most exact equivalent of Dante's expression, objected, criticised, praised, with a freedom that was made perfect by Mr. Longfellow's absolute sweetness, simplicity, and modesty, and by the entire confidence which existed between us." Ten copies of an *édition de luxe* of the translation of the *Inferno* were printed, bearing the special dedication, *In Commemorazione del Secentesimo Anniversario della Nascita di Dante Alighieri*, and five of them were despatched to Florence as a New World contribution to the festival of May, 1865. The two remaining parts were prepared with the same care, and the three volumes of the complete translation appeared early in 1867. With what sympathy Longfellow performed his great task may be learned from the following extract from a private note which he wrote while at work on Dante:—"How different from this gossip is the divine Dante with which I begin the morning! I write a few lines every day before breakfast. It is the first thing I do—the morning prayer, the key-note of the day."

To give anything like an adequate account of this translation, and to cite passages for comparison with the original, would take up far too much space. For the same reason a number of eulogistic reviews which are before me must all be condensed into the statement that the work has received the commendation of almost every famous Dante scholar, and, with very few exceptions, of every literary authority. There can be no doubt that Longfellow's presentation of the "mediaeval miracle of song" is by far the best that we have, and probably the best that we shall have in English, and that it will take final rank among the greatest achievements of American letters.

To raise again here the old question of Longfellow's originality would be to depart widely from the intention of discussing only the unfamiliar aspects of his work. The best thing that has been said upon the subject, and one which contains more truth than do all the pages of literary comparisons, is the following remark of a German

critic :—" Besondere Originalität wird man bei Longfellow vergeblich suchen, wenn man sie nicht in seiner bezaubernden Gemüthstiefe erblicken will." " We shall look in vain for any special originality in Longfellow, if we are not willing to perceive it in his fascinating depth of heart." This is the whole truth in the matter: Longfellow possessed an aboriginal humanity of disposition; his spirit seemed to go back from the modern complication of motives to the sources of human feeling.

Two days after Longfellow's death a friend of mine who knew him very well wrote to me as follows:—" It is surprising how the man has taken hold of the hearts of all. I have never heard him say anything very striking, or very grand or beautiful, yet his face is always associated in my mind with qualities partaking of all three. He had not a majestic presence to stir you into great feeling for himself personally, yet one could not see his face, nor see or know his daily life and ways, without being deeply inspired by the simplicity, purity, and entire unselfishness of his nature." This is an admirable statement of the common experience. The smaller acts and sayings of his life, assumedly the best indexes of a man's character, showed the "invincible sweetness" of the underlying disposition. I remember that he told me once that a Chicago lady had sent him a packet containing two hundred of her visiting-cards, with the request that he would put his autograph upon each of them, as she was about to give a reception to her friends, and wished to present them with some pleasing memento of the occasion. I expressed the hope that the lady's cards had promptly found their way to his waste-basket. "Oh, no!" he said in a tone of surprise, and almost of reproach, and added, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, "I returned them with a note, saying that the many demands upon my time made it quite impossible for me to do as she asked." Mr. William Winter has told us that when he once alluded to Poe's attacks upon Longfellow—mostly contemptible fabrications—the latter only said gravely, "My work seemed to give him much trouble, first and last; but Mr. Poe is dead, and I am alive, and still writing, and that is the end of the matter." Then he picked up a volume of Poe, and particularly commended certain pieces. And one who knew Longfellow intimately all his life has just said, "Nothing human that I ever saw exceeded the tenacity of his friendship." In the light of these anecdotes it is not surprising to learn of the universal affection that was felt for him, or to find one reviewer saying, "How like a benediction on our homes his music falls!"

All this bears testimony to the correctness of the German critic in attributing Longfellow's originality to his *Gemüthstiefe*, or depth of heart; and to those who hold with Lotze and his school that the

choicest parts of our experience are those that come to us from the *Gemüth*, this originality will seem one of no mean order.

In conclusion, setting aside for the moment what it has been the special object of this study to show, namely, that, besides writing a quantity of commonplace verse, Longfellow has done really first-rate work in several fields, and that he is, therefore, entitled to a higher rank than that to which the critics have customarily assigned him; and admitting all that any one wishes about art for its own sake, we must still recognise and honour his position as a teacher of the people. It is certain that multitudes of people have received direct help from Longfellow's poetry—their lives have gained new sentiment, their sorrows have been made less dismal, they have been strengthened in their efforts to live decently.

Longfellow preserved to the end the vigorous and cheery tone of his song; not even such a subject as *Morituri Salutamus* could dampen it. While some men of genius in their worship at what one of their own number has called the "altar to the unknown god of unachieved desire," are writhing in their efforts to parade all the sensuousness of which human nature is capable, this simple man with his sweetness of life—a "sweetness as of home-made bread"—must not be allowed to pass away without our reverent recognition. His was not the gift of "song which shall spur you to soar," but we may be confident that whenever the army of true bards is mustered, the suffrage of future ages will not grudge him the fulfilment of his modest hope—"to have my place preserved among the rest."

HENRY NORMAN.

THE REFORM ACT OF 1832 AND ITS CRITICS.

THE year which has just come to an end witnessed the fiftieth anniversary of the Reform Act of 1832. On the 7th of June, 1832, the Reform Bill became the law of the land. "How will it work?"[1] was half a century since the question of the day. "How it has worked" is now known to every man who can read the annals of the last fifty years. There is some interest, and if the lessons of history so often cited and so rarely studied have any value in politics (which may be doubted) there may be some practical advantage in reviewing the statesmanship of our fathers in the light of our own knowledge. Such a retrospective survey should compare the anticipations of 1832 with the experience of 1883, and should weigh with impartiality the nature and the worth of the criticisms on the Reform Act which have been suggested, confirmed, or refuted by the events of half a century.

Changes of opinion, or of feeling, which themselves are the result of the general movement which gave rise to, and in its turn was promoted by the policy of 1832, make it difficult for Englishmen of to-day to realise the character, and still more the vehemence of the fears and of the hopes excited by the Bill, which drove a man as brave as the Duke of Wellington into something like panic, and roused a nature so calm as Macaulay's to an enthusiasm which gave him, for perhaps the only time in his life, the insight and the foresight of a statesman. The only way by which the difficulty can be overcome is to ponder over two or three typical utterances of the men who opposed and of the men who supported Reform.

Take, for instance, as a specimen of Tory feeling, the Duke of Wellington's once celebrated declaration. "He had never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory than at the present moment. He would go still further and say, that, if at the present moment he had imposed upon him the duty of forming a Legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, he did not mean to assert that he could form such a Legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but his great endeavour would be to form some description of Legislature which would produce the same results."[2]

Put side by side with the Duke's declaration almost any passage

(1) 48 *Quarterly Review*.

(2) Walpole's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 612.

from the reviews in which Croker gave expression to the wrath of genuine Toryism.

"Let no man," he writes, "'lay that flattering unction to his soul' that this, or any other so-called *moderate* scheme of reform which the present Ministry may be rash enough to recommend, could procure for the country even a brief interval of repose, or be permitted to work on, unassailed by any disturbing force, till it reached its natural and fatal crisis. Reform—anything like what is now talked of as reform—once commenced can never stand still. . . . . Equally unreasonable would it be to imagine that the possessions of the rich minority of the nation should remain long at the mercy of the poor majority without exciting their cupidity or becoming their prey. This is indeed the true spirit, the final cause of all the commotion, from which we are now suffering. It is exactly what Sancho Panza talks of as the old feud of 'the House of *Want* against the House of Have.' Reform means revolution. *A war against property is the real principle and the only serious pursuit of radicalism.*" [1]

He is convinced that the whole demand for reform is due to a "paroxysm of popular insanity," [2] fostered by the machinations of the Ministry.

Eldon writes in his private letters much as Croker does in the *Quarterly*. "The members for counties will, some keep silence, many vote against rejecting the reform—they are afraid of losing their seats—they have not the sense to see that, if the measure is carried, they must lose their consequence, their rank, and, most assuredly, their property." [3]

About the same date the representative of the University of Oxford asserted in the House of Commons, according to the *Annual Register*, that "there was no instance upon record of a free press being placed in juxtaposition with a monarchy, and a system of representation such as that which the noble lord had just explained. Before ten years had passed the institutions of the country would sink under the present measure." [4]

Beliefs expressed by Wellington, by Eldon, by Croker, and by Sir Robert Inglis, may fairly be taken to represent the ideas which influenced the whole Tory party. The constitution, they held, was the best in the world; it needed no improvement, it hardly admitted of improvement; reform meant revolution, and revolution meant national ruin. Reform would produce first anarchy and then despotism, just as the convocation of the States General had given rise to the National Assembly, the tyranny of the Jacobin Club, and the despotism of the Empire. These forebodings had to persons who either themselves remembered the Reign of Terror, or knew of its horrors by immediate tradition, a reality which we can now hardly understand. The Tories, it must be added, were assuredly right in

(1) 44 *Quarterly Review*, 1831, pp. 583–588. (The italics are Croker's.)

(2) 45 *Ibid.* 1831, p. 274.

(3) Letter from Eldon to Lord Stowell, April, 1831: *Life of Eldon*, by Twiss, vol. iii. p. 126.

(4) *Annual Register*, vol. lxxiii. pp. 17, 18.

one respect. The attempt to reform the constitution without destroying it was an experiment as novel as it was bold, and the history of the world then contained no precedent of such an experiment having been performed with success. There was, in short, nothing inherently absurd in the dread of Reform felt by men such as Wellington and Peel. As the contest went on the scene darkened. When Bristol was in the hands of a mob, when Nottingham Castle was wrecked by the populace, when moderate men talked about Hampden and the duty of refusing to pay the taxes, when the Bull Ring at Birmingham was crowded with thousands of artisans cheering Lord John Russell's denunciation of that "whisper of a faction" which ought to be overpowered by the voice of the nation, what wonder that the Tory party, from its leaders down to its rank and file, believed that the reformed Parliament would herald in the rule of a revolutionary assembly as reckless and bloodthirsty as any which had ever sat in Paris. Unless you understand the strong apparent grounds in support of the terrors of Toryism you can hardly do justice to the sanguine foresight of the Whigs.

Macaulay and Sydney Smith may well stand as representatives of their party. Let us hear what they said and thought at the crisis of the struggle.

"I do," says Macaulay, 2nd March, 1832, "entertain great apprehension for the fate of my country. I do in my conscience believe that, unless the plan proposed, or some similar plan, be speedily adopted, great and terrible calamities will befall us. Entertaining this opinion, I think myself bound to state it, not as a threat, but as a reason. I support this Bill because it will improve our institutions; but I support it also because it tends to preserve them. That we may exclude those whom it is necessary to exclude, we must admit those whom it may be safe to admit. At present we oppose the schemes of revolutionists with only one half, with only one quarter, of our proper force. We say, and we say justly, that it is not by mere numbers, but by property and intelligence, that the nation ought to be governed. Yet, saying this, we exclude from all share in the government great masses of property and intelligence, great numbers of those who are most interested in preserving tranquillity, and who know best how to preserve it. We do more. We drive over to the side of revolution those whom we shut out from power. Is this a time when the cause of law and order can spare one of its natural allies? We have no miraculous powers, we cannot rain down bread on the multitude from heaven, we cannot smite the rock and give them to drink. We can give them only freedom to employ their industry to the best advantage, and security in the enjoyment of what their industry has acquired. . . . . The diligence and forethought of individuals will then have fair play, and it is only by the diligence and forethought of individuals that the community can become prosperous. I am not aware that any of the supporters of the Bill have encouraged the people to hope that reform will remove distress in any other way than by this indirect process. By this indirect process the Bill will, I feel assured, conduce to the national prosperity. If it had been passed fifteen years ago it would have saved us from our present embarrassments; if we pass it now it will gradually extricate us from them. It will secure us a House of Commons, which, by preserving peace, by destroying monopolies, by taking away unnecessary public burdens, will, in the progress of time, greatly improve our condition.

This it will do, and those who blame it for not doing more, blame it for not doing what no constitution, no code of laws, ever did or ever will do; what no legislator who was not an ignorant or unprincipled quack ever ventured to promise."

"If many are benefited," says Sydney Smith, in 1831, "and the lower orders are not injured, this alone is reason enough for the change. But the hewer of wood and drawer of water *are* benefited by reform. Reform will produce economy and investigation; there will be fewer jobs and a less lavish expenditure; wars will not be persevered in for years after the people are tired of them; taxes will be taken off the poor and laid upon the rich; domestic habits will be more common in a country where the rich are forced to court the poor for political power; cruel and oppressive punishments (such as those for night poaching) will be abolished. If you steal a pheasant you will be punished as you ought to be, but not sent away from your wife and children for seven years. Tobacco will be 2d. per lb. cheaper. Candles will fall in price. These last results of an improved government will be felt. We do not pretend to abolish poverty or to prevent wretchedness: but if peace, economy, and justice are the results of reform, a number of small benefits, or rather of benefits which appear small to us but not to them, will accrue to millions of the people; and the connection between the existence of John Russell and the reduced price of bread and cheese will be as clear as it has been the object of his honest, wise, and useful life to make it."[1]

"I believe the question of reform, or any dangerous agitation of it, is set at rest for thirty or forty years, and this is an eternity in politics."[2]

These were the views of the Whigs. The issue between the party of Conservatism and the party of Progress was, we see, raised in 1832, with a distinctness rare in the annals of English politics. The Anti-Reformers maintained that reform meant a certainly useless and probably ruinous revolution. The Reformers maintained that, to amend the representations of the people, was to lay the foundation for every other improvement and to avert revolutionary perils. On this issue the verdict of experience is decisive. Never were statesmen more wholly in the right than were the Whigs of 1832. They were right in their assertions; they were right in their denials; they were, above all, right in their general estimate of the situation, and their insight into the character of their countrymen. The Whigs were right in their main assertion. Reform did turn out the source of every other improvement for which the time was ripe. The emancipation of the slaves, the reform of the municipal corporations, the Factory Acts, the amendment of the poor law, the mitigation of the criminal code, the gradual foundation of a system of national education, a host of minor improvements, such as the creation of the penny post and the abolition of the press gang, were all more or less direct fruits of Parliamentary Reform. These are the obvious results of reform, but they are as nothing in comparison with the indirect results of the change which identified the sentiment of Parliament with the sentiment of the bulk of the nation. The policy of 1832 was a policy of conciliation. From that day to this English

(1) *The Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, p. 670. (2) *Ibid.* pp. 670, 671.

statesmanship has devoted itself to the task of reconciling every class of the nation to each other by obliterating all distinctions or divisions caused by unjust or impolitic legislation. The accomplishment of this task might have seemed, in 1832 and for many years later, all but hopeless. We hardly can realise the extent to which, during the half century which preceded the Reform Act, discontent, misery, and disloyalty had spread among the people. It is no exaggeration to say that, in almost any year from the outbreak of the great French Revolution to the end of 1848, there existed in one part or other of Great Britain bitter discontents, such as now exist in no part of the United Kingdom except Ireland. On such a matter a short list, which might very easily be lengthened, of facts, vouched for by the statute-book or the records of the law courts, is worth a hundred general statements. In 1793 Muir, Palmer, and their associates are transported for treason; in 1794 the Habeas Corpus Act is suspended, and Horne Tooke, Hardy, and others are tried for treason; in 1795 the Treasonable Practice Bill is passed. The year 1797 is marked by the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore. In 1803 Despard's conspiracy is detected; he is put on his trial and executed. The Burdett Riots and the Luddite Riots are proofs of popular wretchedness in 1810 and 1811. Agricultural riots in the east of England mark the year 1816; in the following year there are Spa Field riots, as well as the trial of Watson, Thistlewood, and others for treason. In 1817 a special commission tries Brandreth, the Nottinghamshire captain, and his associates for undoubted attempts at revolution. But two years later all England is startled by the Peterloo massacre. In 1820 the Cato Street conspiracy proves that there were Englishmen prepared to carry out political revolution by means of assassination. In 1826 there are riots in Lancashire, whilst in 1831 the movement of reform leads to outbreaks in Bristol and Nottingham, which might well recall the early days of the French Revolution. From 1839 down to 1841 the Chartist agitation alarms both the Government and all the well-to-do part of the nation. Even in 1848 it still seemed not incredible that the advocates of the Charter might attempt, on the 10th of April, to re-enact in London the scenes of revolutionary violence which had been witnessed in France two months earlier. If anyone cannot see what these facts mean, he should read with care Carlyle's picture of popular feeling in Edinburgh in 1820, when the yeomanry marched out to put down some imaginary radical riot, whilst "the mass of the people, not the populace alone, cursed the troops who were going out to put down the rioters. They felt," says Carlyle, "as if the danger from those west country Radicals was small or imaginary, and their grievances dreadfully real, which was with emphasis my own private notion also." Let intelligent readers also note that, on this point,

men, like Jeffrey and Cockburn, felt pretty much with Carlyle. If this state of things were now to repeat itself, every one would feel that it was ominous of national ruin. And, in fact, the "condition of England" did, till nearly the middle of this century, fill thoughtful men with profound alarm. Carlyle's *Chartism*, Kingsley's *Yeast*, Disraeli's *Sybil*, Arnold's *Correspondence*, one might almost say every newspaper published up to 1850, bears witness to a prevailing sense of disquiet and foreboding which led Reformers to believe, till after the end of 1848, that the outbreak of revolution was a probability. All this is now changed. We have in Great Britain no large discontented class. The Chartists have vanished. Many of the points of the Charter have been embodied in statutes; but the concession of some of the specific demands made by the Chartists is really due to the death of Chartism. If the sentiment which gave Chartism its power had survived, it would have expressed itself in some new form, say in the shape of Republicanism or Socialism. As it is, the very trades unions have become recognised and respectable portions of English society. Great Britain is now a country at unity with itself, and that this is so is the fruit of the policy of 1832. The Whigs, again, were right in denying that Reform involved constant political change. Lord John's derided "finality" expressed the truth. The Reform Act, by placing power in the hands of the middle classes, made them the supporters of the Government, and gave the country that rest for thirty or forty years, which is an "eternity in politics." The Whigs, lastly, were right in their estimate of English character. Men like Macaulay, who were half Conservatives themselves, instinctively trusted in the Conservatism of the nation. The mistake of the Tories was to underrate the political sagacity of their countrymen. They forgot the difference between Englishmen trained to public life by centuries of freedom, and Frenchmen, so unversed in affairs as to mistake Plutarch and Rousseau for safe guides in the path of practical politics. If you touch Old Sarum, was in effect the argument of Croker, you pull down the House of Lords; if you pull down the House of Lords you overthrow the Throne and establish a Republic; if you establish a Republic you destroy all the rights of property. The practical answer of the ten-pound householder was, "We hate Old Sarum, but we do not dislike the House of Lords. If the Peers, therefore, will disfranchise Old Sarum the House of Lords shall be left untouched." The answer might be illogical, but it was an answer which the Tories ought to have anticipated. The Tories further underrated their own self-control and good sense. Under Peel's guidance Toryism transformed itself into Conservatism, and there was an end of revolution, because there was not even a beginning of reaction. By one of those odd turns of fate of which history

is full, the triumph of Whig statesmanship was the death-blow to the political prosperity of the Whigs. When Peel announced that the Conservatives accepted Reform he justified the policy of the Reformers and secured it from being reversed, but at the same moment he deprived the Whigs of half their popularity and opened the path by which the Conservatives speedily returned to office. The Act had given the people exactly what the people desired. The country wished neither for revolution nor for reaction, and having attained a Parliament which was the fair expression of the national will turned away from leaders who, from want of experience, were deficient in administrative capacity to the one consummate administrator who could make Parliament the instrument of good government. If because the moderation and prudence of the Tories conduced to the success of the Reform Act any modern Conservative is pleased to assert that his political ancestors may claim credit for a measure bitterly opposed by every one of them, from Wellington down to Croker, there is no harm in admitting that this paradoxical statement of a very simple matter has in it a grain of truth. But any Liberal who makes this admission must in fairness claim for the Whigs high praise for knowing the character of their opponents. To know, or rather to feel, that English Tories differ from French Emigrés required as much sagacity as to perceive that Radicals educated by Bentham were very different from Girondins or Jacobins, who drew their political faith from the *Contrat Social.* Turn the matter which way you will, the Whig leaders formed as just a forecast as to the results of Reform as is compatible with human ignorance. Change the passages already cited from Macaulay and Sydney Smith by altering the tense in which they are written, and the predictions of 1832 will read in 1883 as a fair historical retrospect.

Of the strictures on the work of 1832, suggested or confirmed by experience, there are two or three which deserve special consideration.

A Conservative journalist, whose conservatism, by the way, would have sounded to Lord Eldon like downright Jacobinism, thus moralises over the fiftieth anniversary of Reform. "The Act of 1832, and the Acts which followed it have made England happier, more prosperous, more comfortable; better food is hers, more drink, finer clothes, ampler luxury; the only things wanting being the things that are worth all the rest put together—resolution, high courage, muscle, and a steady mind."[1] The writer, whose words give forcible expression to a prevalent feeling, means, of course, not that Englishmen have degenerated into Sybarites or cowards, but that English statesmanship now lacks some of the high qualities which characterised the heroes who built up and maintained the British Empire. Were the charge absolutely true, its importance is perhaps a little

(1) *Standard,* June 7th, 1882.

overrated. The starving weavers of Spitalfields, or the labourers who, between 1820 and 1830, were just kept alive on wages of two shillings a week, supplemented by parish doles, might, were they alive, demur to the statement that "high courage and muscle" on the part of Ministers is worth "all the rest," including sufficient food for workmen to keep body and soul together. But the charge is at best but of partial truth. Neither Parliament nor any other institution was reformed or seriously threatened with reform when George III. came to the throne, yet the early years of his reign are marked by an amount of weakness and incapacity on the part of men in office, which sinks far below the feebleness of the feeblest ministry which has been in power since 1830. Chatham and his son tower like giants among the pygmies by whom they were surrounded. It is a mere delusion to fancy that Chatham, Pitt, Burke, or Fox were fair samples of the generation among whom they moved. Still it is folly to overlook the element of truth contained in a statement made, we may suppose intentionally, in emphatic terms. It may be conceded that there probably is now to be found no statesman, either among the Liberals or the Conservatives, who, if put at the head of affairs, would not often hesitate over acts which would not have perturbed the calmness or tried the nerves of the politicians who surrounded George III. and his son. Increase of knowledge, the general diffusion of sympathy, the humanitarian spirit of the age, the sense of the complexity of politics, lead in the affairs of public life sometimes to the reality and far more frequently to the appearance of weakness. Intrepidity as often springs from ignorance as from firmness of nerve or high courage; there is no real bravery in risking dangers of which you do not perceive the existence. Pitt suppressed the Rebellion of 1798, and passed the Act of Union with a vigour, a decision, a recklessness which could not be rivalled by Mr. Gladstone or any statesman, Whig, Tory, or Radical, who may succeed him; but Pitt did not know that the suppression of the Rebellion left behind it wounds which the lapse of eighty-four years has not cured, and that the masterly stroke which forced union upon a nation, the best and wisest of whose leaders struggled to preserve national independence, would, in the end, make the term, "United" Kingdom, little better than a satire on the futility of statesmanship. We dare less than our fathers because we know more. George III. was (when not in the hands of Dr. Willis) the boldest statesman of his day. There is probably no Tory whose hatred for Mr. Gladstone is so bitter that he would exchange the hesitation of Gladstonian statesmanship for the resolution, high courage, or muscle which undoubtedly distinguished the ruler whose bravery lost England her American colonies. But even though it be thought that, when every allowance be made for the effect of changed circumstances, English

statesmanship has really lost some valuable qualities to be found among the class of men of whom Palmerston was the last representative; there is little reason to turn this fact into a charge against the policy of reform. The amendment of any system of representation can at best do no more than accomplish two objects. It may bring the representative Assembly into harmony with the nation, it may, to a limited extent, enlist talent in the service of the State; it may, in short, create a body which represents the feelings and the capacities of the nation. If England is enfeebled by the growth of luxury and sentimentalism, we may feel sure that the preservation of such boroughs as Fowey and Gatton would not have endowed the present generation with high courage or a steady mind.

Of all the charges brought by Tories against the Bill none was listened to by Reformers in 1832 with so little sympathy or with so much impatience as the assertion that it was a mistake to disfranchise close boroughs; yet, oddly enough, of all the arguments used by anti-reformers during the height of the Parliamentary battle, none has commanded so much sympathetic attention among subsequent thinkers as the argument in favour of the system of nomination. Yet (and this is a matter to which impartial judges should pay great attention) if our fathers erred they erred with their eyes open. The case in favour of close boroughs has never been put better than it was put by Peel in 1831.

"He had," he told the House, "that morning turned over the names of from twenty to twenty-five of the most distinguished men that had graced that House for the last thirty or forty years; and he found that, with three exceptions, they were all returned for boroughs which the present Bill would wholly disfranchise. There was Mr. Dunning, Lord North, J. Townsend, Mr. Burke, Mr. Flood, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Granville, the Marquis of Wellesley, Mr. Percival, Lord Plunkett, Mr. Canning, Mr. Windham, Mr. Horner, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Brougham, Sir S. Romilly, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Tierney, Sir W. Grant, Lord Grey, and the late Lord Liverpool—all first returned for close boroughs, and but three of them ever members for counties. Nor was the mere facility of admission the only benefit. The introduction, by affording them an opportunity of displaying their legislative ability, recommended them, at a more mature age, to places enjoying a more extensive franchise; and when, again, from caprice, from the loss of popularity—a loss so easily and how often most honourably incurred—they were deprived of these latter seats, the close boroughs secured to the country the continuance of their invaluable services. Burke had been repelled from Bristol to take refuge in Malton; when Sheridan was defeated at Stafford, he found shelter at Ilchester; Mr. Windham, having failed at Norwich, sat for Higham Ferrers. . . . . And yet this system, working so advantageously for the public weal, so fostering of talent and statesmanlike ability, was to be destroyed for the sake of a new theory and an untried experiment."[1]

Peel's reasoning produced no effect whatever on his opponents. Are we to say that the Reformers refused to listen to the voice of wisdom? They were, it is true, under the influence of the strongest

(1) *Annual Register*, 1831, vol. lxxiii.

conviction, sentiment, or prejudice. The hatred against all the abuses of the day was "concentrated into a detestation of rotten boroughs. The very name was enough: that Lord Dover, with two patent sinecures in the Exchequer and a good total for assisting in nothing at the Audit Office, should return two members for one house; while Birminghan, where they made buttons—'as good buttons as there are in the world, sir'—returned no members at all, was an evident indication that reform was necessary."[1] To call this feeling a prejudice is to assume the very point under discussion, and involves the neglect of the weighty remark of De Tocqueville (applied by him to the *ancien régime*), that the general hatred of an institution by persons who lived under them is conclusive proof that the institutions deserved hatred. An impartial inquirer will, in fact, find little difficulty in determining that, as the case stood between Peel and the Reformers, they were in the right. To see that this is so, it is almost enough to ask oneself whether any sane man would now, in 1882, restore the franchise to the electors, or rather to the non-existent electors of Ludgershall, on the chance that the owner of Ludgershall might pick out a man of genius and send him to Parliament. Institutions which, in 1882, it were insanity to restore, it can hardly, in 1832, have been wisdom to retain, but there is no need to rest the vindication of the Reformers on this general principle. It may be admitted with some reservation that the disfranchisement of close boroughs has made it difficult for men who are endowed with wits and are not endowed with ample wealth or powerful connection, to make their way into Parliament. This concession must be made with some reserve, for the fact that men such as Professor Fawcett and Professor Bryce represent metropolitan constituencies, makes it doubtful whether a man of, say, Burke's genius, who cared as much as Burke did to enter Parliament, could not find a seat. The path to a Parliamentary career has, no doubt, been made in some respects more arduous than it was a century ago. But there is no reason to believe that men of literary ability may not now win a seat in Parliament if they choose to devote themselves to the career of politics with the same assiduity with which their friends pursue success at the Bar or in business. Grant, however, that (to use the example on which the Anti-Reformers mainly relied) Edmund Burke would, if he now lived, find the doors of the House shut in his face, and you are still very far from granting that it was a mistake to disfranchise Old Sarum. The patron of a rotten borough did occasionally bring genius into Parliament, but our fathers knew well enough what we are apt to forget, that the promotion of merit was not the object with which a boroughmonger purchased his right to nominate a Member of Parliament. Lord Dundreary is asked to use

(1) Bagehot's *Biographical Studies*, pp. 46, 47.

his influence in favour of neglected merit. "I need all my influence," he replies, "for my own relations." This is the answer which was made, and indubitably always would be made, by ninety-nine out of every hundred owners of boroughs when asked to use their private property for the furtherance of public ends. If there was one nobleman whom we might naturally have expected to prove an exception to the general rule, it was Lord Shelburne. He possessed several boroughs. He ardently admired (and this is his only claim to the gratitude of posterity) men like Priestley and Bentham. Yet Lord Shelburne refused a seat to the teacher whom he himself had styled the "Newton of legislation." Mill's rejection at Westminster casts a slur on the English Democracy, but the artisans of London after all did more for Mill than the most enlightened of English noblemen was prepared to do for the greatest legislative genius of the age. If, further, we are to balance the merits of private nomination against public election, it must be noticed that the electors of to-day are far less exacting masters than were the owners of boroughs. A member who voted against the wishes of his patron was bound in honour to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds. All England would be indignant, and with reason, if the Birmingham Caucus were to imitate the noblemen of the last century who constantly exacted from their nominees obedience to a mandate quite as imperative as any imposed on their representatives by the French Democracy. The fatal flaw in the system of nomination was, that if it occasionally sent a young man of transcendent abilities to Parliament, it placed him there on terms which made his presence in Parliament of very dubious benefit to the country. We may well question whether in modern times any man of Burke's genius and spirit would accept a place in the House on the terms on which Burke, and men like Burke, took their seats. We may add to this, that for one man of genius nominated to Parliament by an enlightened patron that he might serve the public, ten men sat there as representatives of the sordid interests, or, it might be, the personal spites of the patrons to whom they owed their position.

There was then quite enough in the known facts of the case to warrant the disfranchisement of close boroughs. But in truth the case in favour of Schedule A. has been greatly strengthened since the passing of the Reform Act. The condition of society which induced patrons to engage youths of talent as the rhetorical gladiators of a faction in the conflicts of the day was in its nature transitory, and even in 1832 was obviously passing away. It implied, among other things, the maintenance of places, or sinecures, by which the profession of politics might, like every other profession, support those who followed it. But the need of the time was the abolition of

sinecures and the curtailing of more or less useless expenditure. Even if Schedule A. had been dropped out of the Bill, close boroughs would not long have continued available for the use of patriotic adventurers who, like Burke, wished at once to serve the public and to make a fortune. In every Parliament which has sat since 1832, an indigent young man of talent would have found that a seat might give him reputation, but unless he condescended to acts unworthy of patriotism, or of a high spirit, would not give him the means to pay his baker or his tailor. Nor does the matter end here. Critics who shed metaphorical tears over the disfranchisement of Old Sarum and its fellows, tacitly assume that a bad system would not, in the course of time, have grown worse. No assumption is more baseless. Evil begets evil. Could some miracle have kept the franchises of East Looe and West Looe of Lostwithiel and Ludgershall alive till the present day, we may rest assured that the seats belonging to the owners of these interesting localities would have passed into the hands of the persons who had the most reason to buy them, and could offer the highest price for the purchase. They would long before this have become the property of corporations, of companies, of directors, and of promoters. A great contractor would have a round dozen of M.P.s at his bidding; each of the large railway companies would command its little band of parliamentary retainers. It is distressing to reflect that if Burke were now alive he could not enter Parliament till he had satisfied the electors of Southwark, of the Tower Hamlets, or of Salford, that if sent to Parliament he would do credit to their selection, but it would be far more distressing to see a modern Burke holding his seat at the pleasure, and surrendering it on the displeasure of Baron Grant. Close boroughs had their value, but our fathers were amply justified in holding that in 1832 the time had arrived for their disfranchisement.

"The reformers of 1832," writes Bagehot, "committed an . . . . error in destroying one kind of select constituency without creating an intellectual equivalent. We are not used nowadays to think of nomination boroughs as select constituencies, but such, in truth, they were, and such they proved themselves to be, at perhaps the most critical period of English history. Lord Russell, no favourable judge, tells us 'that it enabled Sir Robert Walpole to consolidate the throne of the House of Hanover amid external and internal dangers.'"[1]

Peel's denunciations of the Bill may appear to careless readers to be in complete agreement with Bagehot's retrospective censure upon the Act, but this is not so. Peel warned his hearers not to disfranchise Old Sarum; Bagehot admits that Old Sarum ought to have been disfranchised, but intimates that Lord Althorp ought to have provided an "intellectual equivalent" for Old Sarum. This criticism, like every other criticism coming from a man of Bagehot's insight,

(1) Bagehot's *Biographical Studies*, p. 312.

wisdom, knowledge, and fairness, must command most respectful attention. Two considerations, however, detract from its weight. Bagehot in the first place deplores the omission to create select constituencies in part, at least on grounds hardly compatible with the whole policy of Reform. The rotten boroughs, he urges, as being select constituencies, enabled the Whigs of the eighteenth century to carry out an enlightened policy opposed to the wishes of the nation. This certainly shows, what no sensible man can doubt, that it would have been insanity for Walpole, in 1732, to bring forward a measure like that carried by Earl Grey, in 1832. But as the assumption on which the whole policy of 1832 at bottom rested was, that the time had come when the English nation could govern itself, the fact that "select constituencies" had a century before enabled the Whigs to govern the nation, rather tends to show that, unless the principles of the Reformers were wrong from top to bottom, the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, unaccompanied by the creation of new "select constituencies," was demanded by the circumstances of the time. Bagehot, in the second place, gives no idea of the nature of the "intellectual equivalent" for Old Sarum which he had in his mind, but if he himself had no clear notion of the kind of substitute for close boroughs, which might have given the country the benefits, without the evils, of the system destroyed by the Whigs, it is neither just nor quite rational to blame Lord Althorp, or any statesman, for not being able to strike out amidst the pressure of a revolutionary crisis remedies, or devices, which did not occur to the mind of the most ingenious and inventive of constitutional theorists when calmly meditating in his study on the flaws in the existing constitution. It may, however, fairly be admitted, that the rotten boroughs did confer some indirect benefits upon the nation which it would have been well to have preserved by the means of some intellectual equivalent had such preservation been possible. It should, however, be noted, that even had Lord Althorp been gifted, as he assuredly was not, with the most fertile resource, the possibility of retaining for the nation the benefits, such as they were, of the old system, is open to the gravest doubt, and this for a reason which well deserves notice. The defenders of rotten boroughs wished to keep them in existence for reasons far more solid than the artificial grounds on which their existence was, and has been, defended. The plausible apology for giving votes to towns which had no electors, was that such towns might be represented by men of genius who would otherwise have no seats; but the motive which led peers and squires, whose fathers would not hear Burke, and whose children would not hear Mill, to avow such abnormal sensitiveness about excluding indigent men of talent from Parliament, was the knowledge that the existence of close boroughs increased the influence of wealth, property, and

especially of land. The contest was really a contest about the balance of power. If some ingenious theorist could have invented some "intellectual equivalent" which, while admitting Burke and men like him to Parliament, would not increase the influence of landowners and rich men, the Tories would assuredly not have looked twice at his invention. It was quite possible to follow Peel's advice and not disfranchise Old Sarum; it was possible to follow the policy of the Whigs, and by disfranchising Old Sarum, increase the influence of the people; it was, it may be suspected, absolutely impossible to devise new arrangements which should really and *bonâ fide* have secured that men such as Canning and Macaulay should find an easy entrance to Parliament. It is allowable to suspect that Bagehot knew that this was so. With the humorous candour which gives such a rare charm to his writing, he half admits that his regrets for Old Sarum are caused by an imaginative wish to retain anything which gives additional colour to life. "There was then a sort of romantic element in the lives of clever young men which is wholly wanting now. Some one said that Macaulay's life was like life in a fairy tale. He opens a letter which looks like any other letter and finds that it contains a seat in Parliament. Gibbon says, that just as he was destroying an army of barbarians Sir Gilbert Scott called and offered him a seat for Liskeard. Great historians will never probably again be similarly interrupted." We may, perhaps, add that the absence of such interruptions is not wholly without benefit to the public. Parliament gained nothing by the presence of Gibbon; literature lost a good deal, owing to Macaulay's temporary desertion of history. Nor need "clever young men" be quite inconsolable. When youths were snatched from the Oxford Union, or the Cambridge Union, to harangue Parliament, the House of Commons itself bore no distant resemblance to a debating society. Charles Fox, during the early years described by Mr. Trevelyan, no doubt greatly enjoyed the debates which he constantly enlivened. We may doubt whether a young man of like gifts and tastes would much enjoy sitting on a Committee engaged on the Bills of Exchange Act, or in considering the rules which ought to regulate the liability of employers. The Fox of Mr. Trevelyan would be hardly less out of place in a modern House of Commons than Charles Surface at the head of a counting-house.

Experience has shown that the true flaw in the work of 1832 was the incompleteness with which it accomplished its main object.

The main purpose of Reform was to harmonise the sentiment of Parliament with the sentiment of the nation. The Act produced an identity of feeling between the House of Commons and the middle classes, but constituted a *pays légal* (to use a foreign expression for which we have no equivalent), not wide enough to represent the

feelings of the whole people. The Act further increased rather than diminished the difference between the sentiments of the Peers and the political opinions of the nation. The Tories were in one sense in the right when they said that a reform of the House of Commons necessitated a change in the constitution of the House of Lords. Under the unreformed Parliament the Peers and the Commons worked in harmony because the Lords, by means of the rotten boroughs, controlled the action of the Lower House. When the House of Commons was reformed and made in virtue of that reform the real centre of government, steps ought to have been taken to enable the House of Commons to control the action of the Peers. The prudence of the Duke of Wellington and the ability of Peel concealed for many years all the ill results which may flow from the antagonism between an Upper House, which represents not a class but a party, and a Lower Chamber, which represents the wishes of the whole nation. The Whigs were themselves the first sufferers from their own omission to touch the constitution of the Peerage. Their reputed administrative incapacity was mainly due to the impossibility of gaining the assent of an assembly of Tories to changes opposed to the prejudices of Toryism. The administrative failures of the Whigs restored the Conservatives to power, and the Conservative Ministry in their turn gained a factitious reputation for administrative ability owing to the readiness with which Tory Peers will generally sacrifice Tory principles in order to keep a Ministry of Tories in office. The ability of Peel thus concealed for a time the extent of the mistake which had been made by the Reformers when they omitted to reform the House of Lords. It was reserved for the present generation to learn how great may be the risks involved in the strange arrangement which gives the titled leader of a Conservative Opposition the power to negative, at his will and pleasure, legislation approved of by the vast majority of the people, but opposed to the principles or prejudices natural to a body of titled Tories. The double incompleteness of the Reform Act combined with the circumstances under which that Act was passed had further the disastrous effect of stimulating that system of organized agitation which has played so great a part in modern politics. The Catholic Association, the Repeal Association, the Anti-Corn Law League, the Land League, and all the other societies or leagues which have been formed from time to time for the purposes of so-called agitation have one feature in common. They all, under the show of appealing to opinion, wish to demonstrate that they have behind them the power due to physical force. They are, in fact, legal societies using legal means to convince their opponents that they can in the last resort appeal to illegal violence. This kind of agitation is absolutely out of place in any State where the people are really supreme. In

England it is already an anachronism, in Ireland it produces tyranny, outrage, murder, and torture. It is a great set-off against the benefits of the Reform Act that it created a state of things under which the habit of agitation became almost a regular part of the Constitution. A very wide suffrage, and above all universal suffrage, has with all its faults this immense merit, that it destroys the habit of agitation, by accustoming the people to appeal at every crisis to the true court of appeal, namely, the popular vote given at the polling booth. But if the work of Reform was incomplete, it does not follow that the Reformers were to blame for its incompleteness. As regards the extension of the suffrage, they went as far as was possible under the circumstances of 1832. Whether again the Whig leaders could if they had wished have reformed the House of Lords is doubtful. An attack on the Peerage might have turned a pacific reform into a violent revolution. If, as is probable, Peers like Lord Grey did not even perceive the advisability of curtailing the powers of their order, the error was natural, perhaps even inevitable. The Whigs of 1832 remembered times when the Peers were at least as Liberal as the Commons ; the influence of the Crown had obviously passed into the hands of the Cabinet. It was, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that if the Whigs, as might be expected, held office for say ten or fifteen years, they might, by new creations, give a Liberal character to the House of Lords. Lord Grey and his colleagues did not know as we do that a Radical turned into a lord does not gravitate towards the old Whigs, but turns, as by a law of nature, into the most vehement and least reasonable of Tories. This is one of the points in which the experience of 1882 corrects the anticipations of 1832. Yet when this and every other mistake of the Whigs and every flaw in their workmanship is tested to the utmost, the feeling of a candid critic, who looks calmly over the annals of the past fifty years, must be, that the Act of 1832 has well stood the test of time, and that its authors may claim to have produced the only piece of constructive statesmanship which, as regards boldness and success, can come near that master-stroke of English political genius—the Act of Union with Scotland

A. V. Dicey.

POLITICAL EFFECT OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN INDIA.

As the material conditions—some favourable, others unfavourable—affecting India became better understood in England, so the mental and moral phases through which the population, composed of many diverse nationalities, is passing seem to be attracting increased public attention. There has just appeared an interesting volume by Sir Alfred Lyall (now Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western Provinces of India), entitled *Asiatic Studies.*[1] It consists of a series of essays, the chief of which are entitled: "The Origin of Divine Myths in India," "The Influence upon Religion of a Rise in Morality," "Witchcraft and non-Christian Religions," "Missionary and non-Missionary Religions," "Islam in India," "Our Religious Policy in India," "The Religious Situation in India." By these essays the reader is introduced into a part at least of the penetralia of the Indian mind, and into some among the recesses of the native heart. Thus an insight is gained into the spiritual nature of Orientals; its birth and growth in primitive ages; its expansion during the course of national history; its survival even under the crushing depression of conquest and the iron heel of revolution; its stagnation under the early influences of British rule; and its new development as Western knowledge is diffused by education. Those circumstances which tell in favour of, and those which militate against, the effective power of the Hindu religion are analyzed. The reader is reminded that, although Hinduism is involuntarily loosening its grasp on some of the best classes, it is winning a fresh dominion —social and religious—over the aboriginal races to be numbered by millions. The temper of our Indian Mussulmans is examined with judgment and discrimination. It is shown that, notwithstanding fanaticism and bigotry, there is yet much sensible moderation and sound fidelity in this important section of the people. The position of the British Government, as a Christian power ruling over divers religious communities, is circumspectly considered, and a befitting attitude, during the intellectual and spiritual changes of the immediate future, is indicated.

The situation is well set forth in the following quotation from the last of these able essays:—

"We (the English) have now established reasonable personal security and free communications; we are giving to the Indians leisure and education, the scientific method and the critical spirit.

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"It is not easy to conceive any more interesting subject for historical speculation than the probable effect upon India, and consequently upon the civilisation of all India, of the English dominion; for though it would be most pre-

(1) *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social.* By Sir Alfred C. Lyall, K.C.B., C.I.E. London: John Murray, 1882.

sumptuous to attempt any kind of prediction as to the nature or bent of India's religious future, yet we may look forward to a wide and rapid transformation in two or three generations if England's rule only be as durable as it has every appearance of being. It seems possible that the old gods of Hinduism will die in their new elements of intellectual light and air as quickly as a net-full of fish lifted up out of the water. . . . Their primitive forms will fade and disappear suddenly, as witchcraft vanished from Europe. In the movement itself there is nothing new, but in India it promises to go on with a speed and intensity unprecedented; and herein lies the peculiar interest, perhaps the danger, of the Indian situation."

Surely it is a matter of duty as well as of interest for Englishmen to enter into this speculation calmly and perseveringly, so that, by taking thought beforehand, the British Government may be prepared to guide the people of India aright through the intellectual and spiritual crisis which is already impending. After all, in England, an instructed and enlightened public opinion must ever be a powerful force in moulding the action of the State respecting India. In the formation of such an opinion this volume of Sir Alfred Lyall's will be a valuable help. He is known to be a thoughtful student and a deep observer as well as a man of action. His works in verse as well as in prose have been instinct with knowledge of native sentiment and imagination. He is well qualified to inform his countrymen regarding the thoughts which are surging in the breasts of Orientals, although no trace of the inward movement may be betrayed by their impassive aspect. His present volume invites the study of those who would govern India aright, and who would attend not only to her economic conditions but also to her mental phenomena.

One more passage from this volume, may be cited as having interest for those concerned in the welfare of Christian missions:—

"Some may think that Christianity will, a second time in the world's history, step into the vacancy created by a great territorial empire, and occupy the tracts laid open by the upheaval of a whole continent to a new intellectual level. But the state of thought in Western Europe hardly encourages conjecture that India will receive from that quarter any such decisive impulse as that which overturned the decaying paganism of Greece and Rome."

Here is impartial testimony to the greatness of the opportunity which presents itself to Christendom, if only the state of thought among Christians themselves shall be favourable to the diffusion of Christianity among the heathen whose natural spiritualism is being moved by Western civilisation; if only there be in the Western Christians enough of faith, fervour, zeal, and earnestness. But if those qualities shall in any degree fail, then full use will not be made of this momentous opportunity. In view of these facts a brief enquiry into what may be compendiously described as the under-current of native thought in India can scarcely fail to be useful, and to that I now propose to address myself.

At first sight many observers might be of opinion that among the mass of the native population no such under-currents as have just

been spoken of exist, that the minds of the vast majority of natives are quite superficial, being absorbed by the commonest affairs of life, and that such people scarcely think at all. There may no doubt be some *primâ-facie* ground for such an opinion. The common folk do not at all exercise their minds in public affairs; nevertheless regarding the matters of their humble society, their caste, their festivals, their priests, they think for themselves as much as the corresponding classes do in civilised countries. But further, they are apt to follow the thoughts of various classes among their countrymen who think very much, and who constantly ponder over problems moral, social, and political. In fact, notwithstanding any appearances to the contrary, there are under-currents of thought perpetually moving in the native mind. The case may be likened to the well-known condition of the water in the Lower Ganges and its affluents. The surface, though always in swift and noiseless motion, is smooth to the eye, but underneath there are unseen currents of extraordinary potency. We may hope, however, that the analogy ends here; for these under-currents in the Ganges waters are notoriously dangerous; whereas, perhaps, on examination it may be found that, with good management on the British side, the under-currents in the native mind may be rendered free from political peril.

It is difficult to summarize concisely what two hundred and fifty millions of people are presumably saying to themselves every day. But probably the sum of their thoughts amount to this, that they are, by the will of an inscrutable fate, living under foreign rule; that they are ineffably better, nicer, pleasanter people than their rulers; that they have a purity of descent, a grandeur of tradition, an antiquity of system with which an European nation has nothing to compare; that, despite their union, socially and morally, they cannot hold together politically; that consequently they have fallen under the control, first of Turks or Mongols who had force alone, and now of the British who have both force and sagacity; that great care must be taken lest the unavoidable contact with white people in business and in affairs should lead to social intercourse where the gulf of separation must be preserved; that British rule cannot last for ever, and meanwhile its advantages must be accepted with scanty thanks or recognition; that doubtless on some great day there will be successors to the heroes of old who may bring back the "golden age" (in eastern phrase); that this prospect, however, though wrapt in the haze of sunshine, is too dim to be within the practical domain of hope.

This turn of thought is quite compatible with a material contentment and a satisfaction respecting the external results of British rule. The vast majority think favourably of the British Government and wish it well; they find fault with it in several ways, but do not

condemn it generally—on the contrary, they fully admit that it is good on the whole; they regard it, too, as an emanation from a mighty power across the sea, at the head of which power is a sovereign; in their minds the attributes of royalty are supremely august, and these attributes they accord to the British Queen. It is all this which people mean when they affirm that in the main the natives are loyal. Notwithstanding all this, the natives never forget that British rule has the necessarily inherent defect of being foreign. For it, then, they do not feel patriotic sentiments in the English sense of that term.

In the earlier days of British rule, say two generations ago, the contrast between order and disorder, between the reign of law and the reign of plunder, between peaceful industry and revolutionary tumult, was strongly felt. Such phrases as "the blessings of British rule" meant something palpable and tangible. Every one had a standard, present in his own mind, whereby to measure the merits of that rule by comparing it with what had gone before. The sense of relief after suffering and anxiety was so great as to overpower any reflection as to whether the new rule was foreign or indigenous, or whether it had angularities incompatible with native genius and feeling. It had one overwhelming merit, in that it answered for order. This merit, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up all other considerations. But, in the same way as other good things, it wears away with time. Other generations grow up that have never personally tasted the misrule which their fathers used to compare with the British administration. Paternal or ancestral traditions are very lasting with them, and doubtless they have a shrewd idea of what used to happen in the evil days. But this idea cannot have a tithe of the vividness with which the memory of these things was seared and branded upon the minds of their forefathers. They had indeed a flavour and a *soupçon* of this during the war of the mutinies twenty-five years ago. Thus their eyes were opened as to what might happen if British rule were to be withdrawn, still their apprehensions are comparatively sluggish. In this way the British Government, not through its own default, but actually by reason of its long-sustained merits, is actually losing one of the pristine elements of its popularity. Thus, too, a new difficulty has set in from the time that the empire was thoroughly well established. The natives criticize and criticize; no government can be proof against criticism, much less a foreign one. Together with captious fault-finding no adequate allowance is made for the cardinal virtues of the system.

Many remarkable individuals, in number limited, still exist, who are really interesting as examples of feeling or of thought, which will pass away with their death. They have proved fitting subjects for descriptive poetry; and it is historically important to have a literary photograph of them while they are still in the land of the

living. Their minds, however, dwell on the past, not on the immediate future, hardly even on the present. Thus they do not constitute a class which has to be reckoned with seriously.

The foregoing description is applicable to what may be termed the old style of natives.

But there has sprung up among the natives a new style which is produced by the Western education under British rule. These men hold, though with less of intensity and tenacity, most of the views summarised above. They are beginning to entertain in addition some peculiar views of their own. They hope to improve themselves by means of Western science and knowledge. This improvement of theirs, however, is to take the form of self-development, not of self-change. They are not thereby to be Europeanised but are to remain Asiatics. They will conscientiously search for abstract truth, sternly rejecting the rubbish with which, in recent ages, Hinduism has been cumbered, but fondly gazing retrospectively upon the records of primitive times. That there must be much of crudity in their speculations is shown by the fact that men claiming to walk by the light of Western civilisation should persist in looking back towards hoar antiquity as if therefrom the art of true progress could be learnt. But their candour, their intellectual honesty, their moral worth are indisputable. In regard to the tightness with which the social yoke is fixed on the necks of the people, the rigour with which the tyranny of caste is enforced, the moral torture which can be inflicted on those whose nature is extraordinarily sensitive to the displeasure of relatives, the pains of ostracism—these men must have braved much that to them was terrible, and suffered much that to them was acutely distressful. But having made up their minds to break off from the superstitions of their fathers they never look back; they reject palpable error without any hesitation, they repudiate the religious efficacy of caste, even though they retain its social distinctions, they believe in the innate superiority of their race over the European races, they wonder at the obscuration of their star, but hope that its brightness will yet be restored. It is paradoxical on their part to imagine that Western enlightenment can be made the means of vindicating the dictum *ex oriente lux*, but such is the substratum of their thoughts. Though willing to learn what they can from Europe, they yet look upon such learning as a means of recovering the intellectual heritage of their ancestors. Though quite alive to the wonders of physical science, they probably think that such science is subordinate to some higher purposes of abstract truth.

Several sects under various local designations hold views of this nature, differing in particulars, but generally alike. This philosophy (if such it can be termed) is spreading fast, and seems likely to embrace the majority of the educated classes throughout India.

These under-currents of native thought unquestionably portend that the British Government, in order to preserve a moderate and essential degree of popularity with the natives, can never rest its case merely on the establishment of external order, and the increase of material prosperity. As education spreads, the natives will not only criticize, but also carp and cavil. In so far as the criticism is just, it must be met by reforms. Therefore fresh departures administratively must from time to time be taken. While primary education is not valued as much as we desire, while disappointment is felt respecting the attitude of the masses in this matter—superior education is eagerly desired by the middle classes. Why is the Government urged to apply its resources to this superior education, why are sacrifices made by parents to secure it, why are donations and subscriptions given in aid of it by the wealthy? Because the natives hope thereby to win for themselves a larger share than heretofore in the administration of their own country, and to acquire some of the advantages hitherto enjoyed almost exclusively by Europeans. In justice it must be admitted that this hope is a reasonable one.

There is also portended a desire for what may be termed political privileges culminating in something like representative institutions. There is already a vague hankering for such privileges; although in respect to political "representation," the natives have not yet conceived any definite notions, yet their thoughts are tending in that direction, even though they may be unaware of that tendency.

Thus, though the natives are very far from aspiring to autonomy, they always have thought much of their nationality, and are thinking more and more of that as education spreads. These thoughts of theirs are growing into a moral force which the British Government must recognise. The significance of these thoughts is proved in most (though by no means in all) of the lesser outbreaks or disturbances which occur from time to time in India, and which it would be tedious to particularise. The strongest example, however, is to be drawn from the War of the Mutinies during three terrible years, 1857 to 1859. One among the lessons learnt by Anglo-Indian statesmen from those grave events was this, that when once a spirit of fanaticism and of national ambition shall arise, once a resolution to have done with foreign masters shall be formed, considerations of material advantage, of regularly received emoluments, of security to agriculture, trade and industry, are flung to the winds. Although men are much wiser after these events, yet if before those events they had questioned themselves regarding the probability of such occurrences, the answer would have been that surely natives had become too deeply interested in the continuance of peace, too sensible of the benefits thereby acquired, too timid of risking their prosperity, to think of insurrection. This was true indeed of the mass of voiceless easy-going people, but not at all true

of many classes whose influence would for the moment determine the course of events. With such classes the benefit from British rule was counted as dross in comparison with the pleasure of re-asserting Indian nationality. The bearing of the Brahmins in Benares, of the territorial classes in Oude and Behar, of the Mahrattas in Western India, of the Muhammadans almost everywhere, of the Sikhs after (though not during) the crisis—attests what was to us a melancholy truth.

The next question to be asked and answered is—Have the natives in their inner minds any religious convictions which make them believe in a future when an earthly messiah shall have made them the lords of the land they live in? In order to answer this question, the population must be divided into three categories, namely the Muhammadans, the Hindus, and those who acknowledge neither Islam nor Hinduism. The Muhammadans in India comprise about one-fifth of the whole population, and have a full share of whatever resolution, capacity, or vivacity may pertain to the people at large. They certainly have religious convictions of the most definite character. They believe in God, in a future state, in a judgment for blessing or for condemnation, in Muhammad as the Prophet of God, in the Korân as a divine revelation, in the Caliphs as successors of the Prophet, and in many saints. They believe, too, in the coming of an earthly messiah, in the person of the Imâm Mehdî, who is to be the seventh and last of the Imâms, six having already appeared in historic times. The Imâm Mehdî is to inaugurate an era when Islam now militant is to be finally triumphant, not only in India, but in other regions besides. This belief is an active principle, and allusion is made to it periodically whenever any trouble is in the air. It is bruited abroad explicitly on the average once, perhaps twice, in every decade; and in a less explicit manner it is mentioned frequently. According to that religious conviction, the Indian Muhammadans would be their own masters, and would be lords of the land they live in.

But this view cannot be gratifying or satisfactory to the Hindus, who comprise full three-fifths of the population. For it assumes that they are to accept the Muhammadan faith, or else be utterly subject to Muhammadan rule until they shall be converted to Islam. But they do not trouble themselves regarding this idea, which is regarded by them as impossible of realisation, or as a harmless lucubration.

It is hard to say whether the Hindus in the mass have that which could properly be called religious conviction. Many pious and philosophic individuals, some learned classes, even some ascetics, doubtless have convictions worthy of the name. But for the mass of Hindus the religion, or in fact the superstition, is so grossly absurd, the multifarious deities are so grotesquely imaged, participa-

tion in divine attributes is so largely allowed to a great caste of Brahmins, who are very human indeed, that the sentiments of the worshippers can scarcely be dignified with the name of religious convictions. The conception of divinity, too, is so sensuous as to debase and corrupt any sentiments that may gather round it. Still the ordinary Hindu of to-day has a vague impression that after death he will be absorbed body and soul into a supreme being who is beyond all the gods and goddesses. But his notion of a blessed reward for virtue, or of a future punishment for sin, is so shadowy as to be almost evanescent. Many observers have thought that it is this want of active belief in a judgment to come which causes the natives to face inevitable death with such stoic calmness. The Hindus have indeed a moral code binding on their conscience and conduct; they seldom or never ask themselves whether this code is an emanation from the supreme being; if pressed they would doubtless acknowledge that, originally, it must have so emanated.

The Hindus have no definite expectation of an earthly messiah visiting India to rehabilitate the Hindu religion and to re-establish Hindu domination. Still a vague idea of this description does sometimes float across their minds. Some of their chief gods are deified princes; and there are mythical heroes of more than mortal prowess (Pandus), the mention of whom has an exhilarating effect on a Hindu audience. Allusion to such persons is sometimes made in proclamations, or other notices privately circulated, for raising political excitement. In short, the Hindus have a transcendental notion of the afflatus which rested on their progenitors in a remote antiquity. They trust that hereafter this ancestral spirit will descend upon some heroes, who shall restore all that has been lost to the Hindu race during many ages. But they do not pretend to discern any way in which the fulfilment of such a hope can happen.

In the answer to the preceding question, allusion has been made to the new school which is the product of Western civilisation. The natives of this school have many religious convictions of a negative kind, but less of a positive nature. The Indian name assumed by the most prominent among them is "Brahmo;" some of them have adopted, apparently from Transatlantic quarters, the designation of Theosophist—and by the best English authority they are termed the Hindu religious reformers. The originator was Ram-Mohan-Roy, and the best expounder now living is Keshab Chander Sen, both of Calcutta. But ramifications of this sect, and kindred sects moving in a parallel direction, have spread throughout the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The intellectual tendencies of these sects have been described in the answer to the preceding question; and inquirers will ask whether the religion of these people is at all likely to be the religion of the future in India.

On its negative side this religion renounces superstition, paganism,

monstrosities, and absurdities of all sorts. It abjures atheism and materialism. It repudiates Muhammadanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. It regards Christianity not as a religion to be adopted, but as one of several ways leading towards pure and abstract truth. It looks towards the Vedas and other ancient writings, handed down from the Aryan Hindus, as constituting another of these ways. It holds the minds of its adherents as open mirrors ready to catch the rays of truth whencesoever coming. It fails to find that this truth has anywhere been finally and definitely revealed. Then, on its positive side, it is theism, including faith in a Supreme Being, in the abstract principles of right and wrong, in the immortality of the soul, in the accountability of mankind during a future state for good or evil done during this life. The dictates of the conscience, the power of the moral sense are fully acknowledged. But there hangs about all the tenets much of haziness, of dreaminess and of mysticism generally. This faith is likely to become the religion of the immediate future among the educated classes of Hindus, but will hardly supplant Hinduism among the masses for a long time to come.

Christianity has not as yet spread sufficiently to become an actual power in the country. It hardly possesses half a million of native adherents, but that number may, at an ordinary rate of progress, from conversion and natural increment, be augmented within a generation to something between one and two millions. Whether there will be any extraordinary accession from the ranks of the Hindu theists it is impossible to hazard a prediction.

My third question shall be put as follows:—If this theological mysticism exists, has it any political meaning? Does it, or does it not, foreshadow danger to British rule? It will have been seen from the answer to the preceding question, that this theological mysticism does exist. For the present, and for the immediate future, it does not foreshadow danger to British rule. On the contrary its political tendency is favourable to the existing centre of power and adverse to any disturbance. It is not hostile to the Christian religion; on the contrary it admires Christianity in the main, as supplying a pattern for human conduct. It assumes the continuance of Western enlightenment and the progress of education after the Western model, and this assumption is essential. Without the maintenance of British rule for a long time to come, these advantages are manifestly unobtainable; it is never pretended that they can be had without British aid. The educated natives hope that, possessing these advantages, they will peacefully win the desired improvement in their status. They have no thought of winning this by violent or revolutionary means. They know, too, that this could never be won by relapsing into the old native system. They have learnt to look at public affairs through Western spectacles, and to think in Western phrase. Thus they are disposed to cling to the

Western ideal. Their political conclusion then is to preserve the existing status.

For the distant future, however, this new religion clearly has a political meaning, which is this, that the Indian nation, emancipated from British leading-strings, should govern itself. But avowedly this meaning refers to a time so far ahead as to be beyond the region of practical politics. It therefore does not foreshadow anything which could be termed danger to British rule. But existing alongside of, or in combination with, other movements, it will have a political force to be borne in mind by Anglo-Indian statesmen.

There are, however, some educated natives who may be not unreasonably suspected of disloyalty, or at least of hostility to British institutions and dislike to the British nation—though it is hoped that such cases are somewhat exceptional and abnormal. It will be found, however, that this hostility on the part of individuals does not arise from their Western education. It arises from the old prejudices and the old sentiments of nationality, which that education has not subdued. Many, perhaps most, educated natives cease to be politically Hindus. Others, despite their Western education, remain as Hindus of the old school, and of these some are apt to become disloyal. It is the sight of such occasional disloyalty that causes some observers to apprehend political mischief as a consequence of education. This view, however, is superficial, for the mischief exists not by reason of the education but in spite of it. Without the education it would have existed in a worse degree.

To come to the fourth head:—How far does jealousy between the different creeds in India paralyze their activity for any united purpose in hostility to their British rulers? The Hindus do indirectly proselytize among Indians who are outside caste, or who, being aborigines, are supposed to be without any formal religion. But they have not ordinarily any thought of making proselytes among other races that have settled religious systems. According to their principle, a Hindu is born in rather than admitted to Hinduism, *nascitur non fit.* They would not dream if they had supreme power of making converts among Indian Muhammadans. On the other hand, the Muhammadans, if they were in the ascendant, would undoubtedly seek to make converts among the Hindus by persuasion if possible, or failing that, by force. Their absolutism in this respect would be tempered only by the probability of resistance. The jealousy then, if it were ever evoked, would be on the part of the Muhammadans and not of the Hindus. But while both are under the British Government, as a common master, the sense of religious difference is suppressed. When political excitement arises, the enemies of the British Government always appeal to Hindus and Muhammadans. Many instances have occurred of seditious or treasonable notices being expressly addressed

to both alike. Doubtless the foreign government gains something from the fact of there being these two religions, and from the diversity of interest, sentiment, and sympathy, which thus arises. Still, in answer to the question, it must be stated that jealousy between the different creeds might somewhat affect, but would not paralyze, their activity for an united purpose in hostility to their British rulers. The British Government might simultaneously have enemies both among Hindus and Muhammadans. These hostile elements would combine, without any hindrance whatever on account of difference in religion. If they were to be victorious then they might begin to quarrel, owing to religious difference among other reasons; but until victory were secured they would sink such difference. If then political conjunctures were to arise, in anyway compromising or threatening the safety of British dominion, no reliance whatever could be placed in the religious differences between Hindus and Muhammadans as weakening hostile combinations among the natives.

Finally, let us see whether there is any esoteric or spiritual propaganda which may at any moment find expression in an exoteric and material form, dangerous to the empire of India, as now existing, or to the ascendancy of any Western nation.

The answers to the preceding questions have implied that there is an ideal of native existence towards which there is a yearning. But the ideal is too dim for the yearning to be very strong. Then it will, from these answers, have been seen that there is an esoteric and spiritual propaganda limited in extent at present, but growing steadily if not rapidly. This propaganda does find exoteric expression in a marked manner. It has induced the legislature to enact laws for the performance of marriages between those who do not belong to Hinduism, Buddhism, or Muhammadanism. In as much as it possesses an organization, appoints office bearers, reckons its open and avowed adherents by tens of thousands, causes chapels to be built in which congregations worship, it must be held to have assumed a material form. But as yet this form is not dangerous to British rule and Western ascendancy, nor are the tendencies of the movement objectionable politically. This answer then is virtually a summary of a portion of what has already been set forth.

If the British suppressed, or even discouraged the movement, the results might be different; but on the contrary, the freest play and the fullest scope are accorded to it. If the Government refused to concede anything, then discontent might accrue; concessions, however, are made, not indeed sufficient to produce contentment, but still enough to make people hope for more than what they already have. It is this hopefulness which produces loyalty.

On the other hand, this spirit induces men to find fault with the Government for not moving faster in the direction of beneficence; it urges them to demand that positions of responsibility and importance shall be more and more entrusted to natives, that on the one hand taxation shall be revised and the State income thereby diminished, and that simultaneously improvements shall be introduced augmenting the expenditure, often forgetting the impossibility of all these things being done at once. It is this apparent disregard of practicability, administrative or financial, that imparts to many British observers an unfavourable impression regarding the native character. This effect is heightened when they see that native writers and speakers support their recommendations by means of statements which unjustly vilify everything British in India. The natives fail to see how greatly they damage their cause by this style of argument. Still, if the argument be examined by Englishmen who can "read between the lines," it will be found that there is an obverse and a reverse; on the one side the merits of British rule are depicted, on the other side the demerits. The description both of merits and demerits is worked up with Oriental hyperbole. As a counterfoil to undue laudation there is undeserved disparagement. The contrast thus produced is like a picture wherein the lights are too white, the shades too black, and the colours crudely vivid. The real object of the vilification, however, is to make the most of existing defects in order to incite the Government to reform and improvement. This method is frequently adopted by natives who are manifestly bound to the British connection in almost every possible way, and who cannot mean really to be disloyal. On the other hand, such fault-finding may verge, and has sometimes verged, upon treason; in that case it should of course be dealt with according to law. But so long as it remains within the largest latitude allowable for criticism, as it generally does, it releases mental steam and prevents disloyalty arising.

In fine, the tendency of sentiment, moral and religious, among the educated natives, appears to be beneficial politically. It might indeed become dangerous if the Government were unreforming and unprogressive. But it is an element of safety, as the Government is both reforming and progressive, walking in the light of the age. It stimulates improvement, produces hopefulness, counteracts bigotry, weakens fanaticism. It depends on Western enlightenment, which postulates the continuance of the existing administration. Thus, on the whole, the political effect of religious thought in India is favourable to British rule.

RICHARD TEMPLE.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE surprise and even consternation which the result of the Liverpool election has created among the Conservative party can scarcely be wondered at. Looked at a little more closely, however, the overthrow of Conservative rule in this great commercial centre, or rather the fact that it has only now been overthrown, will be found susceptible of a very simple explanation. The matter, indeed, to be explained is not so much why Liverpool has "gone Liberal," as why for fifteen years, after a great popular extension of the franchise, it has remained Conservative. Why it should have been Conservative before that change in its electoral constitution is obvious enough. Elections in those days, or at any rate the influence which determines elections, lay in the hands of a local class who have ever been strongly inclined to Toryism. Liverpool trade and commerce has always been Conservative, and Liverpool society—whose prevailing weakness is accurately indicated in the local saying that "Liverpool loves a lord"—even more so. Many of the great merchants were, in the old times, slave-owners; and in the American War of Secession the port strongly sympathised with the South. Its interests have been associated with the maintenance of the sugar duties and with an aggressive Colonial policy; and the general tendency has probably been confirmed by the natural resistance of the shipping interest, which is the great industry of the port, to the interference and control that Mr. Plimsoll's agitation has promoted. But for fifteen years the representation has been at the disposal of the working classes, and there is little doubt that a majority of them, although of the same stuff as their class elsewhere, have voted for the Tories in Liverpool while voting Liberal in other great centres.

The reason of this is probably to be found in the presence of an unusually large Irish population. Besides the prejudices of race and religion, the English workman has a still more active reason for his anti-Irish sentiment in the fact that the Irishman's competition lessens his wages. The Irish in all our large towns form a separate nationality, and do not associate with the English population; but in Liverpool and some of the Lancashire boroughs they are more numerous and more aggressive than in the Midland and Yorkshire towns, and the feeling against them is proportionally stronger. The support of the Irish vote in Liverpool has consequently entailed the opposition of a considerable proportion of the Welsh, Scotch, and

English working electors. In the recent election Mr. Smith commenced the campaign by refusing to accept the Irish shibboleth, and the leaders of that party urged their followers to abstain from voting; advice which seems to have been generally followed. But Mr. Smith, while making no attempt to conciliate unreasonable demands, appealed directly to the working classes with a Radical programme of social reform; and it would seem that many of the electors, finding that the ordinary political issues were not involved, and that the Irish question was out of the case, returned to what may be called their natural allegiance.

The lesson is an important one in several respects. It marks the change which is coming over English politics. The old cries are dead, and the old interests have been satisfied. The new electorate is finding its feet, and its voice, at first indistinct, is gradually becoming articulate. We are in face of new demands. The old suspicion of government has ceased now that the people feel that they are governing themselves, and the claim is for more legislative interference, not for less. The Liverpool election is, in fact, an answer to the "Rights of Property Defence Association," and to all that school of economists and politicians who have made a fetish of what they call "freedom of contract," or, in other words, the freedom of the rich and strong to extort from the poor and weak all that their necessities compel them to concede. The incident, in fact, appears to point to a speedy fulfilment of Mr. Chamberlain's prediction, that we are on the eve of great political changes. The "nouvelles couches sociales" are clearly of a mind that the government in which in future they mean to have their part shall actively consult the interests and welfare of the many, and not merely content itself with passively registering and enforcing arrangements which, nominally free, are really dictated by the unequal conditions of the struggle for existence. It is the less necessary, perhaps, to insist on this view of the situation, because the Conservative party appear to have awakened to a consciousness of it themselves. The programme of Mr. Forwood, the Conservative candidate at Liverpool, was scarcely distinguishable from that of his Liberal opponent. He announced himself, indeed, as a professor of the creed of Democratic Toryism, and put forth a scheme of social reform which differed only from that of Mr. Smith in the circumstance (not altogether unimportant indeed) that it only vaguely foreshadowed the legislative measures which the Liberal candidate definitely advocated. That the electors preferred Mr. Smith's specific promises to Mr. Forwood's aspirations was not improbably due to the difference between the general profession of faith of the two competitors. English working men know what Liberalism means, and they know,

or can form some fairly intelligible idea of what Conservatism means; but the "Tory Democrat" is a variety of English politician of which they have not yet been able to form any very clear comprehension. Lord Beaconsfield, who long endeavoured—and, according to some of his admirers, with success—to indoctrinate them with the Tory Democratic creed, in reality never managed to do anything of the kind. The working classes are doubtless aware that he preached the doctrine, but such attention as they paid him was a tribute, not to the attractions of the text, but to the personal qualities of the preacher; and with Lord Beaconsfield's disappearance from the political scene, they have come to the very reasonable conclusion that for the realisation of a popular programme it is better to trust to the popular party.

After many conflicting rumours as to the details of the reconstruction rendered necessary by Lord Derby's acceptance of office, it was at last definitively announced that the new Minister was to go to the Colonial Office, and Lord Kimberley to take the Secretaryship of State for India, while Lord Hartington exchanged the latter post for that of Mr. Childers, who has in his turn succeeded the Prime Minister as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Derby's accession to the Cabinet will of course be an addition to its available fund of administrative talent, but it is doubtful whether it will bring much real strength of any other kind. His presence there may, perhaps, do something to reassure the timid, but then the timid are probably already on the Conservative side. And, on the other hand, the best feature in Lord Derby's character is one which must to a considerable extent diminish the confidence which the Conservatives and Conservatising Liberals might otherwise be inclined to repose in him. He possesses his full share of that quality which has distinguished so many eminent English statesmen—the power of assimilating new ideas and of reconciling old prejudices with the necessity for progress and change. The Conservative Foreign Secretary of a few years ago, the Liberal Colonial Secretary of to-day, is not likely to be nervous in the presence of proposals for reform, though he may not himself initiate them. He can have but little enthusiasm for such ideas as those which have influenced the Liverpool election, but neither will he greatly dread their realisation. His economic orthodoxy, indeed, is somewhat of that kind which prefers strictness of profession to rigidity of practice. And while the public derive due edification from his views, his new party have been allowed to get the benefit of his acts. His vote in the House of Lords has been given in favour of Liberal measures; it is only his opinion, enunciated in monthly periodicals, which is adverse to them. His acceptance

of office will terminate this open conflict between action and conviction in the manner most favourable to the interests of Liberalism. Lord Derby will assist in future with more than his vote in the work of Liberal legislation, while his doubts as to its wisdom will be confined to the council-chamber.

The work of reconstruction is not, however, completed by the accession of Lord Derby to the Cabinet, and by the internal changes which that step has necessitated. Sir Charles Dilke's promotion to Cabinet office is to be shortly expected, and will be a clear gain to the Radical party, which has now only one avowed exponent in the Cabinet. It is, at first sight, singular that while in every borough constituency, and even in some counties, the majority of the Liberal electors are Radical, there should be only one representative of this section in a Cabinet consisting of fourteen members; and it cannot be supposed that such an arrangement is otherwise than temporary. That it is accepted without complaint or dissatisfaction is due entirely to the predominant influence of Mr. Gladstone, and to the unbounded confidence which the party, as a whole, has in his genius and character. The rumours which have been current of his retirement are fortunately without foundation; and as long as he consents to bear the heavy burden of the responsibility of office the union of the party is not likely to be impaired. When, however, he leaves the arena in which he wields unquestioned sway, it will probably be recognised, even by those who now profess to see in him the most dangerous and revolutionary of statesmen, that he has exercised a restraining influence, and has rather controlled than stimulated those popular forces whose full energy has never yet been developed.

Again, during the past month, there has been a distinct, but it may be believed a transient, revival of anxiety in Ireland. In certain aspects, indeed, the situation assumed for a while a more disquieting appearance than it had presented at any time since the late abatement of agrarian outrage. There was not, it is true, any marked recrudescence of this form of crime; but the struggle between law and violence developed fresh intensity in a different shape. The daring attack upon the Dublin police, committed within a stone's throw of the chief thoroughfare of the city, appeared to give the signal for a renewal of activity on the part of the organizations of Irish terrorism. Within a few days, the country was again startled and shocked by the news of the attempted assassination of Mr. Field, the juror; and there is but too much reason to fear that this fresh attempt to re-fix the yoke of terror on the neck of Irish society was not altogether unsuccessful. Signs of shrinking from their formidable duty were visible among the jury-panel. Protests were raised

against the extreme demand which this duty makes upon the virtue of the citizen; and while jurors showed in some cases reluctance to respond to the summons, they appear in at least one instance to have entered the jury-box under no due sense of the sanctity of their oath. The case for the Crown against the prisoners indicted for the Lough Mask murders, was, in the opinion of the presiding judge, conclusive; but the first jury impanelled for the trial of Patrick Higgins were discharged without a verdict. The accused, however, was immediately placed at the bar again before another jury, and after a second hearing, a verdict of guilty was returned against him. There need be little hesitation in referring the reluctance of the first jury to convict the prisoner to the intimidating effect of the attempt on the life of Mr. Field; and it is reassuring to find that the resolute attitude of the prosecution, and the admonitions of the judge, proved afterwards strong enough to combat the influence of the Terror. No pains, however, must be spared to liberate the administration of justice from the murderous coercion to which the enemies of peace in Ireland are attempting to subject it. The secret societies feel that their power is passing from them, and their struggles to retain it are desperate in proportion to their dread of losing it. The Executive must exert its powers ordinary and extraordinary against them, without stint or stay; nor must its efforts be relaxed until they are finally rooted out, broken up, and dispersed.

So long as this work remains to be done, it will, of course, be impossible for us to lay aside our anxieties. But otherwise the aspect of affairs in Ireland is distinctly reassuring. The great storm of agrarian agitation which has passed over the country is, in spite of all Mr. Davitt's efforts to sustain it, steadily dying down; and every day now makes it appear more probable that we are again approaching one of those regularly recurring periods of comparative tranquillity in Irish affairs. That time, indeed, is not quite yet; the restoration of quietude, of contentment to classes so violently inflamed by natural and artificial means as have been the Irish tenantry for three years past, is not to be expected in a few weeks or months. The removal of all just causes of discontent has always to precede by some considerable time the disappearance of the discontent itself. There is the best evidence, however, that it is slowly but surely disappearing in Ireland. The Land Act is working a silent revolution in some at least of the conditions of the agrarian question, and the tenant farmers as a rule are gradually settling down to make the most of its benefits. Peace, in short, is within a measurable distance, and Ireland will soon again present to the ruler and the legislator the same undisturbed field for the application of their principles as might have been found there at any time during the ten or fifteen

years previous to the Fenian rising, or the seven or eight years which immediately succeeded the passing of the Land Act of 1870. Will the coming period of tranquillity be utilised on this occasion? That is the question. Will the exclusive methods of the ruler be relied upon for the government of Ireland, or will legislative wisdom be brought to the aid of executive policy? Shall we, in a word, throw away or take advantage of the opportunity of attempting, without the violent pressure which has heretofore preceded all reform, the still unaccomplished solution of the Irish problem. To regard that problem as solely agrarian, and to believe that we have settled it by the legislation of last year, or that we can possibly settle it by any legislation on the same lines, is simply to prepare for ourselves disappointment. The problem is not agrarian, but political; and it is neither more nor less than this: how to govern another country against its will with popular representative institutions.

Such at least is the aspect in which the question presents itself to us when viewed in connection with the existing temper of the Irish people. Obviously the difficulty as thus stated is insoluble, and our sole chance of solving it depends upon our being able to control the condition expressed in the words "against its will." Involuntary submission to rule and "popular representative institutions" involve something almost amounting to a contradiction in terms. One of the two phrases must sooner or later be struck out. Either Ireland must be conciliated and willingly accept its union with England, or, if that union is to be maintained in spite of Irish objections, it must be by naked force, and not by ordinary Parliamentary methods. Ireland governed under such representative institutions as satisfy her, or Ireland governed like a Crown colony, without representative institutions at all. That, in plain language, is the alternative which lies before us. The next few years will be a critical time, and Englishmen of all parties can hardly occupy themselves to more advantage than in considering how to reconcile the natural desire of a people differing from us in race, religion, and social characteristics to be governed according to their own ideas, with the cordial union of the three kingdoms for all Imperial purposes in which they have a common interest. Difficult as the task may be, and will be, its first step is at any rate clear. It is the establishment of a thoroughly representative and effective system of local government, under which the management of all exclusively local affairs shall be vested absolutely in the Irish people. But if this is to effect any real good it will be necessary for Parliament to adopt a broader conception of local government and its functions than has hitherto found acceptance in the English Legislature. What has been called the "gas-and-

water-supply" form of local legislative independence will fail, we may rely upon it, to satisfy the aspirations of Ireland. No grant of the powers of petty parochial administration will meet what is reasonable in the Home Rule cry, or would cultivate in Irishmen the qualities in which they are lacking—a sense of responsibility and the faculty of administration. If such a system as is here indicated could be established, and if, in addition, the experiment of Grand Committees were extended to the appointment of "Committees of Nations" upon measures affecting the separate nationalities of the United Kingdom, it is possible, nay, it may even be said to be probable, that the idea of a separate Parliament, having thus lost all its practical importance, would die away in time, and that Ireland would be as closely associated with England and as loyal to the Union as Scotland or Wales.

In Egypt the Government is evidently pursuing steadily, and in face of many, but not unforeseen, obstacles, the policy which it has already publicly announced. There is no idea of annexation or of anything approaching to it; and the endeavours of the Anglophobic section of the French press to make out the contrary will be very speedily exhibited in impotent conflict with established facts. Annexation there will not be, nor anything resembling it; but neither will there be simple retreat and *laissez faire*. It would be unworthy of this country to leave Egypt to the anarchy and disorder which, in that case, must necessarily await it; not unsafe and impolitic only, though the peril and the impolicy of such a course are plain enough also, but absolutely unworthy—a manifest breach of moral obligations deliberately contracted. In interfering to put down the military rebellion, England accepted a task of reorganization, from which she cannot now shrink; and slowly, but surely, a new organization will be created. An army and police force, moderate in numbers, recruited chiefly in Egypt, though in the first instance partly officered and instructed by English military men, would provide adequately for internal peace; and to the establishment of some such force as this the efforts of her Majesty's Government are doubtless being directed. But second only, if second, to the maintenance of order in any country, ranks the administration of its justice; and this service will, it is understood, be placed in Egypt upon a new footing—not, however, without regard to the habits and customs of the people. And, finally, Lord Dufferin is reported to be engaged in devising such institutions as will secure a real representation of the mass of the people, and give them a definite consultative voice in the management of their affairs. When the work has been completed, Egypt will have been secured to the

Egyptians, in a sense and to a degree unhoped for even by the most sanguine partisan of the national cause before the recent expedition; and England may then withdraw from her self-imposed undertaking with the satisfaction of having secured her paramount interests in the country without hindering its material and political development.

The chief obstacles to the fulfilment of this duty on the part of the English Government have come from France. French jealousy of the supposed designs of England upon Egypt has indeed been the main determinant of the relations that have prevailed between the two countries ever since the suppression of Arabi's rebellion and the commencement of the work of Egyptian reorganization. Much of the susceptibility which France is displaying is no doubt to a certain extent factitious; an unfortunate incident of the present unsatisfactory state of parties in the country, and of the instability with which this circumstance afflicts every government in turn. The French politicians and French journals who are loudest in their abuse of England, are as often as not thinking more of their political opponents at home than of their "perfidious" neighbour; their denunciations of our imaginary wickedness are really intended to demonstrate the supposed folly of some party among their own countrymen. The question whether M. Gambetta's policy was not the right one, and M. de Freycinet's the wrong one, is much more often the real issue of the dispute than the question whether the English Government has observed, or is likely to observe, its obligations in Egypt. And so far, of course, as the apparent ill-humour of France is capable of explanation on these grounds, it need give us no concern. It is as thoroughly artificial a product as that other variety of Anglophobia, which is from time to time manufactured in the United States with intent to catch the Irish vote at the elections. That there is a certain genuine element in the French jealousy of our action in Egypt is probable enough, and its origin is no doubt to be sought in previous experiences of our conduct. A self-denying and disinterested line of action in international affairs is, it must be admitted, a novelty in our own policy, and it should, perhaps, in fairness be added in that of any other European country; and France should not be too severely condemned for being somewhat slow of belief in its reality. Add to this that powerful French interests are alarmed and irritated at the now certain prospect of a permanent interception of the flow of their speculative gains. The financial "rings," which in France have always exercised so much authority, and which indeed every French Government is more or less compelled to take into account, are naturally disgusted at perceiving that the "golden age" of

Egyptian exploitation has passed away, never to return; and whatever pressure they can put upon French Ministers will be applied, whatever they can do to pass off their own baffled cupidity as the patriotic susceptibilities of the French nation, will of course be done. We may confidently hope, however, that these malign efforts will be powerless against the steady determination of England and the solid good sense of the majority of the French people. For in this matter there is every reason to believe that the cause of moderation and of amity between the two countries will meet in France, as in England, with the support of a majority of the nation. That France has real interests to safeguard in Egypt may be true enough, but that they possess anything like the important and commanding character that has been attributed to them is a fiction which the French people are beginning to recognise for what it is: a survival from the Napoleonic era, which has partly lingered in the minds of the nation as such superstitions do linger, and has partly been kept alive there in the interest of French Imperialism and the politicians who live upon it. It was in an evil hour for this country, and we fear also for his own reputation, when M. Gambetta took it up and endeavoured to revive it. The resuscitated "idea" has done some harm already, but there is good reason to think that its powers of mischief are exhausted, and that the bulk of the French nation are in accord on this question, not with M. Gambetta, but with M. Clemenceau and the section which he leads.

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THE NEW ARMY AND THE OLD TEST.

It is just a quarter of a century since the southern seaports of our island saw landing at their wharves all that was left of the expedition to the Crimea. The war with Russia was over, Sebastopol was in ruins, peace had been proclaimed, and there only remained the task of counting the cost and celebrating by the usual methods of banqueting and bunting the return of the survivors.

But though mayors and municipalities did their best, there lay all the while beneath banquet-board and bunting the skeleton of a colossal failure. In twelve months of actual fighting we had spent more than 40,000,000 of money and had lost about 30,000 soldiers. That, however, was only a small portion of the loss; omelets are not to be made without breaking eggs, but we had not even the omelet; our eggs had been broken and the omelet had proved a failure. Nearly all our best conceits had been brought to nought in that thirteen months' trial; our system of transport, our genius for organization, our weapons, our commissariat, our staff, had all broken down, and with unlimited command of transport by sea and land, and with the resources of the greatest productive empire in the world to draw upon, we had failed to carry the common needs of food and shelter to a small army, which at a distance of sixteen days' sailing from our firesides had literally starved and shivered to death within five miles of a seaport.

Amidst the crash of time-honoured traditions and breaking up of what seemed to be the foundations of our military organization, nothing had more hopelessly failed us than that system under which our soldiers had been engaged for what was known as the long-service period of twenty-one years. Indeed, that long-service system had been the very first to give way. In September, 1854, some five-and-twenty thousand long-service soldiers landed in the Crimea, by the following January fully two-thirds of those men had perished, and ere the winter was over, a correspondent writing from the

trenches describes the reinforcements that were then arriving as "youths who had never fired a rifle in their lives;" the long-service engagement had collapsed under a six months' pressure, and we were already enlisting boy recruits for two years' service at high bounties.

It might have been supposed that the disastrous example thus afforded would have produced a system by which we might be able to reinforce our fighting ranks with men trained to the use of arms and fitted to bear the fatigues and burthens of war, and that not an hour would have been lost ere such a system would have been adopted, but the years that followed the Crimean War saw efforts at army reform made in almost every direction save that most pressing one of short service and reserve. Our army departments underwent reconstruction, our method of staff appointments was overhauled, our drill was recast, our arms were improved, but the one paramount necessity of laying by in peace a reserve of seasoned soldiers for the evil day of war was totally ignored or forgotten. And indeed it must be admitted that, looking only to the past record, there was much in the retrospect to justify the belief that this long-service system, this old habit of wearing out the red coat in the ranks, was not to be lightly laid aside.

The thing we called long service had done some remarkable feats in its time. It had carried Wellington from the Peninsula to Paris by way of Brussels and Waterloo; it had settled for ever the doings in this world of sundry Maharatta, Rajpoot, Rohilla, Beloochi, Sikh, and Pathan chiefs and warriors; it had climbed high upon, and far into, the hills and valleys of the Himalayas; it had beaten its drums and fluttered its flags in various swamps and forests of distant Asiatic empires; it had tramped up Kaffir kloofs and across Chinese paddy-fields and into Burmese stockades; it had never stopped to reckon numbers or to count cartridges; it had at all times a fondness for cold steel that was most uncomfortable to other soldiers and systems, old or young, who happened to differ with it in opinion; and last, not least, it was so well drilled, so apt with musket, so ready with bayonet, so free with life, that it was frequently able to score victory for its generals when those commanders had toiled and laboured not a little distance along the straight road to defeat.

But this army, while doing all these things, was by no means the favourite in its lifetime as such a record of victory might lead one to imagine. Abroad it was not unfrequently condemned to protracted sojourns in distant and pestilential regions, where now some weed-grown monument stands the sole record of its silent suffering. At home it was kept as much as possible in the background, it was carefully hidden away in obscure barracks and in out-of-the-way stations, or in remote parts of Ireland, yet its existence was not for-

gotten by its possible opponents. "They are fine troops," the Czar of all the Russias is reported to have said, as he watched the march past of the Guards in Hyde Park in 1844, "but I would like to see some of the soldiers who fight your battles for you."

Like many distinguished characters in history who were unpopular during life only to find pedestals in posterity, a large measure of popularity was accorded to this old army when it had ceased to exist—men forgot that it was largely composed of Irishmen, and remembered only that it had stormed Badajoz, won Waterloo, and conquered India.

Whatever were its glories or its weaknesses, it died on the bleak plateau before Sebastopol, and was there buried beneath the snow, while the Russian forts and batteries fired salvoes over its grave. But though this old army died at Sebastopol and was buried, it was long ere the reality of dissolution was accepted and any steps were taken to create a substitute in its place. It was hoped that another old army might be shaped out of the materials which want and destitution usually provide for the recruiting-sergeant in the streets of our large cities. But no greater delusion could have taken possession of the governing mind, military or civil. Other influences than those of cold, starvation, and maladministration had already decreed the termination of the long-service system, and had there been no Crimean War, had the life of the British army run the accustomed current of Colonial, Indian, and Home Service, varied by an occasional campaign in China, in Burmah, or in South Africa, the end of long service and of the old army would inevitably have arrived.

For the breeding-grounds of that old army, the clachan and the cabin, had been broken into and all but destroyed ere ever a Russian outpost had crossed the Pruth; and Highland shooting-rents, Irish famines, and the action of what we were pleased to call economic laws, had been enemies more fatal to the production of the material from which victory had been woven than Russian host or Russian frost could ever have proved. The eggs broken in the great omelet before Sebastopol were not only golden eggs, but the goose that laid them for us had been already killed. Roused to a sense of danger by the breakdown of our army, the nation began many attempts to reform its military system in the years following the Russian War, but no effort was made towards the formation of a reserve until a catastrophe, a thousand times more terrible than any Crimean disaster, forced the attention of all ranks and parties to army reorganization. A few miles from our shores we suddenly beheld our neighbour and late ally beaten out of time, utterly overrun, and almost annihilated by a military power the essence of whose army system was short service; and the great old truth, long

obscured, that nations held still their tenure of existence by the sword, was again made terribly manifest to all men.

Unfortunately for our future it happened that a Liberal Government held office at the moment when this collapse of the French military system made all men turn anxiously to the question of army reorganization. For the moment everybody was agreed that something must be done to set the military house in order, and but few believed that that something should not be of a very decided nature.

In the forefront of reform stood two things absolutely necessary—one to create a reserve, the other to abolish the system of promotion by purchase. We had first of all to provide a reserve which, filled in peace, would be available to be drawn upon in war. To make the men of this reserve of any value in the future it was necessary that they should pass into it from service with the colours while they were still young, otherwise our reserve would consist of soldiers so advanced in life that they would be unable to bear the physical strain of a campaign; but the fighting period of a soldier's life rarely exceeds twenty years, and for an average might be set down at fourteen years. It followed that in order to lengthen the time during which a man was available to be drawn from the reserve we must shorten the period during which he underwent his initiatory training as a soldier. Take your man at nineteen, let him serve with the colours three, four, or five years, then pass him into the reserve to be available, if the exigencies of war should require him, for another six years' service. If you pass him out of the active ranks at four-and-twenty, you may count on ten years' good fighting work still left in him; if on the contrary he was kept in the ranks until he was twenty-eight, he is only good for four or six years' work in the reserve, and meantime he has kept from the ranks during these last four years another man who all this time would have been coming on towards his exit from first line and entry into the second line. It was a simple proposition, and yet it evoked a storm of opposition, the echoes of which are still audible. One of the chief causes of this opposition was intimately associated with the military profession itself, which sufficed to produce a powerful spirit of opposition against the proposed changes. Before short service was possible, purchase must be abolished; short service for men rendered necessary another type of officer than that which the system of promotion by money purchase produced. It was idle to suppose that officers who had bought the right of commanding a company or a regiment of soldiers could be induced to develop those habits of energy, close application, and professional interest which in civil life have ever been found to spring from keen competition coupled with advancement by individual merit. Long service was especially adapted to

a purchase system; it may be said indeed that a purchase system for officers and short service for soldiers could not have been worked together. The twenty-one years' man was not only so thoroughly grounded in his own drill that he was perfectly capable of wheeling, forming fours, deploying, countermarching, or extending on his own account, but he was not unfrequently able at a pinch to "wheel," "deploy," "countermarch," and "extend" his captain through the intricacies of a field-day or under the critical eye of an Inspecting-General, when the undeveloped military genius of that company commander had completely failed him.

Long service for men meant long leave and short drill for officers. It meant one parade a week, "manual and platoon," done like clockwork, "interior economy" bordering on perfection. Short service meant the opposite of all this. The company, instead of being an old-established firm resting upon the pillars of right and left-hand men whose places knew them for half a generation, became a limited concern liable to constant change; nor could the most ardent supporter of the new system assert that the modern manufactured soldier could compare in appearance or in drill with the older article, remnants of which were still to be found in almost every regiment. It was the difference of driving a coach with old stagers and driving it with young and partly broken-in horses; and the worst of it was the young horses would never grow old, for just as they were becoming fully trained their places would be taken by a fresh team of untaught youngsters, and the task of teaching would be never ending. Herein then lay the real difficulty. When long service was abolished the good old easy days were over; henceforth there must be more drills, less leave, more early mornings, fewer late evenings; there must be a constant course of recruit teaching, of the offences inseparable from the beginner, of all the A B C in drill, discipline, and interior economy connected with the recruit. For the future there would only be three to five years in which to teach all the steps, motions, marchings, wheels, firings, drills, doublings, duties, and disciplines, which in the old times were slowly and laboriously inculcated during the many years of long service in the ranks. To do all this the army must be made a profession, and must cease to be a pastime. Thus it fell out that the measures of reform absolutely necessary in the army if it was ever to be made capable of meeting an European enemy found arrayed against them two most powerful opponents—the political opinion of the Conservative party, which happened to be out of office at the time, and the professional and social feeling of five-sixths of the commissioned officers, who were not unnaturally out of humour with the change.

In 1874 a change of Ministry took place, and, to the intense disgust of a large section of military men, short service was not only

continued in full force, but one by one all the other reforms included in the original scheme of army organization were carried into effect by the Conservative Government. Indeed, it may be said that it was at the hands of the Conservatives the new reforms received their broadest amplification and their most extreme development, and it remained for a Conservative Secretary for War to remove even those time-honoured regimental numbers which cold steel had cut so deep in the tablets of history.

But although Conservatives and Liberals had arrived at the same decision as to the necessity of short service, the professional mind was not to be so easily won over to the side of reform. In public and in private, in club-room and in mess-room, in after-dinner utterance and from its place in Parliament, the military mind continued to oppose the new order of things. The short-service soldier became by far the best weight-carrying scapegoat that had yet appeared in the world. If a general bungled on the Helmund or failed on the Tugela, if a chicken was missed from a South African hencoop or a man tumbled down under the mid-day sun of the Jellalabad Valley, the short-service system fully accounted for the entire chronicle of defeat, disaster, defalcation, or disease.

Could a system, it was asked, so pertinaciously condemned by those who ought to be able to judge its merits, be right after all? It did not occur to people to think that reform where most needed is most opposed, and that nowhere is opposition so strong as in the ranks of the particular calling or profession which is attempted to be reformed.

Unfortunately there happened in the years between 1877 and 1881 not a few events which seemed to cast corroborative light upon these persistent criticisms. A protracted war against ill-armed savages in South Africa, and another long and costly conflict against scattered tribes of mountaineers between India and Central Asia, had brought us a variegated record of profitless extravagance and maculated victory. In three years we had spent about forty millions in Afghan and Kaffir campaigns, and we had lost more colours to the enemy than the whole record of the Napoleonic wars could parallel.

These were hard facts, and when the denouncers of short service pointed to them as the outcome of eight years' effort at army reform, it was difficult to convince the outside public that in causes other than short service the true reasons of failure or of qualified success were to be found. Thus it happened that ten years passed away from the date of the introduction of the new system only to find the nation puzzled and perplexed as to whether it possessed, after all its efforts and expenditures, a real army of trained and disciplined soldiers, or only an armed aggregation of half-drilled youths. Such

was the condition of opinion just six months ago, when in the midsummer of this present year the first sign of coming conflict in Egypt became clearly visible upon the political horizon. As we write these lines the darkness of mid-December overspreads this land, but the short interval of time has sufficed to set at rest many military misgivings, to confirm the wavering faith of many supporters of short service, and to prove to the nation that the young army of England has in its ranks officers who can lead and men who can follow along paths which history had made familiar to Englishmen.

The country destined to furnish the old test of war to the new army was perhaps the oldest and best continued battle-field upon the earth. It was to the great empires of antiquity very much what the Low Countries have been to the nations of Northern and Western Europe. The armies of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome marched along the narrow coast route that led to Pelusium and the Delta, or landed on the moles at Alexandria, to find thousands of years ago exactly what an army finds to-day in Egypt, the wherewithal to fight with—food; for it may be observed that although poor and barren countries produce the best fighting men, it is in the rich and fertile provinces, often the homes of weak and timid people—the valley of the Po, the deltas of the Rhine or of the Nile—that the soldier finds fullest scope for his exertions. Like a prophet he is without honour in his own country; so he seeks it generally in a well-watered and richly cultivated land, where his search, whether it be successful or not on the score of honour, seldom fails to be productive of a state of poverty to the inhabitants and barrenness to the soil, amply sufficient to secure the future growth of a most warlike population. But in Egypt the case was different; the legions of Semiramis, Cambyses, Alexander, or Cæsar might ravage the Lower Delta or extend their conquests to Memphis, but they could never succeed in exhausting the fertility of the Nile valley, or in giving to the inhabitants any particle of that courage which, whether they be on the Tigris, the Tiber, or the Thames, is alike the real foundation of empire. And as it was in the early age of the world, so was it when Greek and Roman had passed, giving place to succeeding conquerors. Arab might come from the east, Frank Crusader might come from the west, the Turk might come, the Mamaluke might come, the Frenchman might come, but all the same, the Nile rolled down year after year its fertilising flood to repair the ravages of conquest. The black earth burst into a sea of green, and the "crowds of husbandmen," which Amrou, the first Arab conqueror, described to the Caliph Omar as "blackening the land like a swarm of industrious ants," and causing by their labour the face of the country to "resemble in succession a silver wave, a verdant emerald, and the deep yellow of golden harvest," again flocked forth to "toil

amid the promise of the flowers and the fruits of a plentiful increase," and to cower and cringe "under the lash of the taskmaster." Under the lash of the taskmaster! Wonderful valley of the Nile! strange river of light flowing through a dim dead world! Back beyond all written record thy gigantic tombs and colossal temples stretch, bordering the vastest vista into the past of man on earth, but wherever the light falls—through avenues of sphinxes, upon pyramid and obelisk, into rock-hewn tomb or vast subterranean gallery, on Roman temple, on Greek church, on Moslem minaret—there the "lash of the taskmaster" is seen raised over a suffering race, handed down from conqueror to conqueror until it stops at last in the hands of the people of an island in the western sea; who have now the power to end for ever those six thousand years of servitude, or to hand on the rod to a taskmaster harder than Persian, Roman, or Arab, more grinding than Greek or Turk, the Jewish and Gentile bondholder of modern Europe.

But this is trespassing into forbidden ground, for above the door of the modern political world is it not well written, "Jobber, Jew, and Atheist may enter here, but not a soldier"?

Man for man, horse for horse, and gun for gun, the army that landed in the Crimea in September, 1854, and that which disembarked in Egypt in August, 1882, were almost identical in numbers; but the quarter-century that had passed had witnessed vast improvements in sea transport, and the army destined for Egypt, which embarked in the last week of July and the first of August at the principal seaports of the kingdom, found itself in sight of the windmill-lined shore of Alexandria without having suffered greater loss in horse, man, or musket than had it been quietly encamped on the plains of Aldershot during the same period.

On the 15th August the commander-in-chief reached Alexandria, and by the evening of the 18th transports carrying about 9,000 men and 1,600 horses were assembled in the inner and outer harbours of the same seaport. At sunset on that evening many large steamships, with decks densely crowded, began to move to the outer roadstead, where already the iron-clad fleet lay at anchor. As the night came down upon those closely packed decks speculation was busy upon the probable destination of the great armament now gathered together, and many thought that under the cover of the darkness the whole array of ships would disappear; but morning dawned, and still the great ships were motionless, and rumour, for a moment at fault, was soon busy in some new direction. With mid-day came an end to the conjectures. Scarcely had the eighth bell struck when a movement began to spread throughout the vessels, which, with little lapse of preparatory manœuvre, fell into five majestic lines, each line led by a war-ship, and then steamed eastwards over a blue and sparkling sea.

A couple of hours' steaming brought the fleet abreast of Aboukir Bay, and sunset found the ships again at anchor in shallow and turbid water. On three sides—east, south, and west—a low sandy shore was visible, with here and there the loftier outline of fort or battery, sometimes distorted by mirage, breaking the nearly level line of the horizon. The water was yellowed by the outflow of the Nile, and when night closed the red light at the Rosetta mouth of the great river was visible to the north-east. Two hours after nightfall, under a faint moon and a bright starlight, the ships moved from their dusky anchorage, and, heading out for an offing, turned once more to the east. Then there could no longer be doubt of destination on the crowded decks, for ere the midnight bell had struck, the Rosetta light was beginning to grow dim over the misty margin of the south-west sea.

At daybreak on the 20th the Mediterranean end of the canal was in sight, and when evening came again the dull-brown desert spread out on either side of the long line of vessels threading their slow way along the canal, their masts seen rising over the sands that now stretch "lone and level" where once Pelusium stood, the bulwark of Egypt against Asia. Another day went by, and then there was seen a strange sight. In the midst of endless ridges of wind-blown yellow sand, a blue lake lay covered with large steamships. As transport after transport turned in from the deep canal cutting at El Gisr, it seemed that no space could be found in this desert pond in which to stow such ocean monsters; but still they came, and still closer grew the pack of vessels on the water, and denser became the forest of spars in the air, as these great steamships, whose normal homes were the mountain surges of the Atlantic and Australian Oceans, now on warlike motive bent, bore safely their various freights of soldiery into the little desert basin of Lake Timsah; and yet this sight had been foreseen long years before. "If you cut the canal from sea to sea," said Mehemet Ali half a century since, "you will bring in the English." He was right—on the night of the 21st August they were already in Egypt.

Without intermission, from the first streak of dawn to the last gleam of twilight, the work of disembarkation now went on. Cavalry, artillery, infantry, engineers, commissariat, transport, and hospital corps poured out of their ships and filled the sandy avenues of Ismailia, bivouacking under the numerous trees which French taste and Nile water had caused to spring up along the canal banks and roadways of the little desert town, yielding shade as grateful as the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

It was hot work this disembarkation. The mid-day sun shone over the little wharf with an intensity that seemed to have gathered double strength from the glossy surface of the water and the dazzling shores of drifted desert. But despite the heat and the glare the

work went ceaselessly on, and hour by hour the press of men and horses passed up the narrow tree-lined roadway, and the piles of stores rose higher and higher, as all the vast *impedimenta* of modern war was cast upon the shore.

Around Ismailia spread the desert; to whatever side one turned the same wastes of sand stretched to the horizon, broken into ridges and valleys, heaped up here and flattened there; drifted and blown and parched, the great solitude looked as though at any moment it might rise at the tempest's call and undo, in an afternoon of whirlwind, all the toil that had delved during so many years to carry this canal thread through the desert. But the tempest that would rouse this sleeping giant does not come, the ripple of the cool north breeze, the furnace breath of the south "khamseen" never reach half way to the strength of "half a gale," and though they suffice to blow the light particles of sand into curious cones and yellow banks, the wind that would whelm the wilderness seems tempered to this shorn desert. It was to this waste of blinding sand that the British expedition found itself committed from the moment it passed the narrow limits of Ismailia on its march to Cairo. But the pathway across the desert had already been marked by the two most valuable auxiliaries a soldier can have in war—water and a railroad. From Cairo to Ismailia ran a canal of fresh water fed from the Nile, and on the north side of this canal, and following its general direction as far as the Delta, ran a single line of railway. Precious auxiliaries those to soldiers in any and every war, but now a thousand times more precious, because without the canal there was absolutely no water, and without the railway there was no road.

No road and no water save these for forty miles of desert; the forty miles of desert once passed, there would be water in too great an abundance, and the centre of the railroad system of Egypt would be within striking distance of an invader.

But, meantime, these two indispensable aids to progress, the canal and railway, were unfortunately within striking distance of the invaded. In seven hours from his camp at Kafr Dowar, and in three hours from the city of Cairo, he could place troops on any part of the railway throughout the last thirty miles of the desert nearest to the Delta, and as in no part of that distance was the canal more than a few yards from the railway, he had it in his power to cut, dam, or destroy the only water supply available for the passage of the desert; nor had he been neglectful of these oppotunities. Already, while the transports in Lake Timsah had only begun to disgorge their freights of men and munitions, rumour in the bazaar at Ismailia had placed an Egyptian force at Tel-el-Mahuta, ten miles distant; but there was something more positive than rumour to prove his presence on the line of our advance. On the

22nd August the water in the freshwater canal began to fall, and on the 23rd August it had skrunk ten inches.

Whether Tel-el-Mahuta was the precise locality in which Pharaoh determined to make bricks without straw the expeditionary force did not stop to inquire, but there could be no doubt that it was the spot which the modern Egyptian leader had selected in order to force the English to attempt the far more impossible task of making war without water. But if the modern Egyptian reckoned on producing a retrograde movement on the part of the English similar to that of the Israelites under the brick provocation he was much mistaken, for the first streak of dawn on the 24th August saw the desert lying west of Ismailia streaked and speckled with various military units, which had been evolved out of the confused congregation of men and material at the base during the preceding hours of darkness, holding their way over hillock and sand-ridge towards Mahuta.

Out in front spread a fan-shaped dotted line of mounted men, whose last exercise in the saddle had been taken between Knightsbridge and the Victoria Docks, when the three squadrons of household cavalry marched to their embarkation just three weeks earlier —a big change truly in twenty-one days! How now, my worthy club critic? You had snorted at the idea of these big troopers and their colossal horses being employed on this expedition; you had foretold with your usual accuracy that horses would perish and men would smother under the heat and sand of the Egyptian desert; but see, far out over the yellow wilderness how the big men and the big horses—one day off ship-board remember—hold their way over drift and ridge and level, as though Magfar had changed places with Mayfair, and Mahuta's Mosque was the Marble Arch in Hyde Park. "Ah, but," you will say, "wait a bit, it is too short a test; they will all collapse before they get half way to Cairo." Well, my worthy prophet, let us go on another three weeks as we have gone back that period. This very day three weeks, Thursday, the 14th September, these same big troopers and troop horses will be entering the Egyptian capital, having ridden over forty miles in that one day's march, and from the day you saw them pass through Cornhill, when you uttered your famous prophecy, until the day they got to Cairo, will have been exactly six weeks; this day at El Magfar is the halfway house on the journey.

So much for the men and horses; now how about the young infantry soldiers? About two miles behind the cavalry they plod along through the deep sand. They too are only two days off board; they are carrying seventy rounds of ammunition per man, entrenching tools, rations, and the rest of it; but they hold on over the endless plain, though already the great sun-ball of fire is growing hot

on their backs, and the desert before them is beginning to dance and waver with mirage. Farther back come two horse artillery guns. They have the hardest time of all, for it was late yesterday when they got on shore, and all night long they have been hard at work getting the battery together, ready with its countless details for the service before them, and now this soft yielding sand has made the 13-pounders seem like 40-pounders on the collar.

In the seven-and-twenty years that had elapsed since the Crimean campaign England had waged many wars in various parts of the world—the great conflict in India, wars in China, New Zealand, Abyssinia, Ashantee, South Africa, and Afghanistan; she had spent about one hundred millions of money in these conflicts, and they had brought their various results of colonial dominion extended, empire restored, or aggression punished.

But in one respect there was a striking similarity pervading them. In none of them had our soldiers met modern artillery handled by trained artillerists. We had fought against Ashantee flint-guns, Afghan matchlocks, Kaffir assigais, New Zealand hatchets; and if in China and in the Indian Mutiny our adversaries had attempted to bring artillery against us, the guns were either so old, or the gunners so ignorant, that the danger was greater to the friend that stood behind the breach than to the enemy who was in front of the muzzles.

The big black horses had reached a point in the sand about ten miles from Ismailia, when the desert horizon to the west began to show signs of movement other than mirage or dust spout: a mile or two in front, extending right and left about the same distance, a dotted line of horsemen and camelmen could be seen, some on the sky line, others half concealed behind it. Right in front, a mile distant, rose the great heaps of sand and clay which marked the site of some city of times when the pyramids were growing youngsters, but now ruins and rubbish, called Tel El Mahuta. The earth mounds were black with men who had suspended their work of damming the adjacent canal and blocking the railway from the high-piled débris of Pharaoh's bricks, and now swarmed up upon the loftier levels of the sand-heaps for a better view of the approaching soldiers whose drink they were engaged in stopping; and now from the ground on the right of the sand-heaps came a puff of white smoke, and a rush and a roar of iron, the preliminary operations of aim, gun-laying, and distance-judging having been so accurately performed at the farther end, that the missile, a Krupp shell, at this end passed a yard or two over the heads of a group of staff-officers, among whom stood the commander-in-chief, and, bursting twenty yards in rear, killed the near leader in an artillery team just arrived on the ground. One by one the sky line on the right of the sand-mounds has more guns pushed across it, until six Krupps are blazing away at the black and

red dots that have scattered themselves over the sand hillocks and ground folds, lying quietly under a sun whose glare and glow grow more intense as the morning merges into mid-day. Meantime the line of Arab vedettes has swung round to our right, covering the movement of six fresh guns, which soon appear over the ridge and begin to throw shell and shrapnel.

Before noon the Egyptian has 12 guns and 12,000 men against two guns and 1,400 men, and the smoke of three locomotives rising above the ridge where his vedettes are posted, show that he is rapidly bringing up his reinforcements by railway.

It is a curious situation, this handful pitted against nearly ten times its own number in sight, and a chance of as many more beyond the ridge. Ismailia is ten miles distant, over a sand now red-hot with a zenith sun. What if the Egyptian puts another 12,000 men and another dozen guns in front and on our right!—these young soldiers have marched for three and a half hours through soft sand, and here they lie on the hot desert quiet and steady while the shells come screaming at them from front and flank, and the sun hangs poised overhead as though he had no other mission than to turn the desert of Goshen into glass.

But the hottest thing in the hot plain of El Magfar on this 24th August was neither the enemy's shell nor the enemy's sun, but the two horse artillery guns which, from the top and side of a small sand hillock, kept fire so frequent to front and to right flank that, when count is taken at nightfall of shell and shot expended, it is found they have sent two hundred and thirty rounds along that wide curve of desert ridge occupied by the enemy. The hillock has been a favourite target for the Egyptian guns; but though some hundreds of shell have burst on and around it, only two have actually struck the battery—the first shell fired in the morning and another about mid-day, which, striking full into the battery, killed two men and four horses. And so the long day passed away, and evening brought reinforcements of men and food supplies, and, what was even more important, rest from the fierce August sun for horse and man, for big trooper, and young infantry soldier, and tired gunner, whose ten hours' continuous exposure to artillery fire, preceded by a ten-mile march, gave place to a rough bivouac on the desert, which in its turn led to another hot day's march and fight on the morrow. The young army had had its baptism of fire, its test of march, sun, and bivouac, and although it had done but little in the way of actual fighting, save to stand steady under a ten hours' cannonade in front of an enemy ten times as numerous, it had carried itself well enough to give promise that in the campaign then beginning there would be little to shadow the memories of former veterans or to dim the lustre of bygone battles.

The 24th August was memorable, as we have already said, as

being the first occasion since the Crimean War upon which a British force had been exposed to a heavy and trained artillery fire, it was also remarkable for witnessing the household cavalry in action for the first time in sixty-seven years. A shell bursting in the midst of one of the squadrons knocked over a troop horse, but scarcely had the "burst" ceased, ere a voice was heard calling out for a "cheer for the first charger of Her Majesty's Life Guards killed since Waterloo." It was the rider of the slain troop horse who was thus celebrating the event, as he was disentangling himself from the ruins of his fallen war-horse.

I have dwelt upon the events of this 24th August at greater length than either the numbers engaged or the actual fighting would appear to justify, but the importance of the day's work was not to be gauged by either test.

It was the operations successfully undertaken on that day that really decided the line in which the campaign was to run throughout the remainder of its course. Had the Egyptians been given time to consolidate their hold upon Mahuta they would have effectually damaged the canal, erected a series of works between that place and Tel-el-Kebir such as they had constructed from their first to their last line of works at Kafr Dowar; they would, moreover, have had time to damage the canal at its two most vulnerable points, the lake at Mahsamah and the lock at Kassassin. They had been guilty of a fatal error in having ever passed the former place, and planting themselves within a day's striking distance of an enemy in Ismailia. To them delay was everything; they had formidable allies in the desert, the sun, and the insufficiency of water, but all these required time as the one essential condition to their success. Damage the canal, destroy the railroad, avoid fighting a general action, fall back in front, and harass and worry the line of communications with Bedouins and cavalry from Fakous and Salahieh, that was clearly the Egyptian game; the summer sun, the desert sand, the fever bred from putrid water, would then have had their several chances in at least delaying, if they could not finally prevent, the march to Cairo. By coming to El Magfar they gave the invader a chance of striking at them within easy distance of his base. The blow was delivered on the 25th August, in operations which were direct consequences of the previous day's work. Henceforth the invaders would not lose the touch thus found on the 24th. Mahsamah on the 25th, Kassassin on the 28th, placed the army within sight of Tel-el-Kebir, where the final blow would be delivered twenty days later. The interval of time was not long, but, however short, it was just doubled by the absence of locomotives at the Ismailia end of the railway. It is an absolute fact that had two good locomotives and a railway staff of a dozen competent civilian railroad employés been on board the

transports that first entered the Suez Canal, the lines of Tel-el-Kebir might have been stormed on the 5th instead of the 13th September.

We must pass over in a few words the events of the next nineteen days, which witnessed the continued development of the advance begun on the 24th August, as day by day the improvement in means of railroad transport permitted the concentration of larger numbers of troops at the front. That front was the bridge at Kassassin, about six and a half miles from the enemy's lines at Tel-el-Kebir.

On the 11th September the Highland Brigade reached Kassassin, and on the morning of the 12th the concentration was completed by the arrival of the 1st Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers. Of the two armies which now stood facing each other across this desert interval of six miles, the Egyptian numbered about 38,000 men, of whom 10,000 were Bedouin and Arab irregular auxiliaries; the other, the British, was about 18,000 strong; both armies could place almost the same number of guns in action, 60 to 70. In cavalry the numbers were about equal. But there was one vast difference between the respective forces. The Egyptians occupied an entrenched position, resting on the canal and railway, and extending thence across the desert northwards for nearly four miles. A continuous ditch and parapet ran along the entire front of the position, and within this parapet, at intervals of about 800 yards, batteries of various sizes had been erected. This front line of works mounted some 30 guns. The British army, on the other hand, stood in the open—an open perfectly destitute of the cover usually afforded by ordinary open country; the desert, it is needless to observe, had no hedgerows, no banks, its generally level expanse afforded the fullest facilities for the sweep of rifle bullet or shrapnel, and its gravelly surface promised even a ricochet a career only to be terminated by complete exhaustion of initial velocity. It is a universally accepted rule in modern warfare that front attack upon an enemy occupying an entrenched position should not be attempted with a force of less than from twice to three times the strength of the defending army. In other words, a man behind a bank of earth is counted as equal to two and a half men in front of that bank; but here, at Tel-el-Kebir, the proportions were exactly reversed, there were almost two and a half men behind the long parapet and the nine batteries to the one man on the level desert in front of these earthworks. Supposing, then, that the disparity in numbers rendered a front attack impossible under the ordinary conditions of warfare, there remained the possibility of attack on the right or left flanks of the enemy's position to be considered. But here again the disparity of numbers came into play. If 20,000 men could be moved to the right or left of the long line of earthworks, 10,000, at least, should have been available to menace and engage the attention of the enemy in front

and to maintain the communications of the assaulting force. Nor were insufficient numbers the only reasons against flank attacks. The right of the enemy's position was protected by the canal and the irrigated "wady," or valley, which marks the line of a water-course that in ancient times carried cultivation far into the Isthmus of Suez, while his left was placed so far amid the arid desert that any force moving to turn that flank would find itself at the end of a ten mile march many miles from any water, while at the same time it would in all probability be face to face with earthworks quite as formidable on the new front as those it had marched so far to avoid on the old one.

There still remained one other contingency of attack to be considered. It was to assault the position along its front face under cover of the night. Victorious and successful operations undertaken in war not unusually give rise to many personal narratives detailing the individual experiences of certain actors in bivouac or battle. These narratives are often useful, insomuch as they afford the military student or the historian opportunities of seeing portions of the area of conflict represented in a succession of visual impressions taken on the spot; and they are sometimes interesting to the philosopher as affording examples of what would appear to be a curious process of mental photography, in which the artist places himself exactly in front of his own lens at the moment of its exposure, to the exclusion, more or less complete, of every other individual in the possible field of vision. There is, it is true, a battle going on and men are being shot or bayoneted somewhere, and bodies of troops are advancing or retiring; but all these are details which can be imagined by the reader or the spectator as taking place behind the coat tails of the central figure. It is peculiar to victory to elicit this species of narrative from some of those who assist to achieve it. After a defeat the process is seldom resorted to, and the burthen of responsibility is usually left upon the shoulders of the commander. Indeed it may safely be averred that as the properties of the sun are only fully understood when his rays are subjected to the dividing operations of the spectrum analysis, so the real consequence and magnitude of a victory can best be measured by the quantity of divisional claim put forward upon the achievement; but after all has been said and done, the sun and the victory remain very much where they had been before ray was split or ink was spilt in experiment and controversy. Much narrative from the pens of able writers, and many pictorial representations from the pencils of facile draughtsmen, have made the public familiar long since with the formation devised for the assault and with the general arrangements of the night march across the desert; but it is doubtful if some of the most graphic and laboured descriptions of the bivouac,

the march, and the battle have not left on the general reader's mind an impression that the dispositions were of so slight and sketchy a nature, so much being left to chance and the destiny of the dark, that it was more by good fortune than by design the result was successful. I will ask the reader's attention while I endeavour to place before him the reasons which dictated a night march and assault at dawn, and the order of battle in which that assault was delivered.

The moment chosen for the attack was before daybreak. First, because a night march across the six miles of desert lying between the British camp and the enemy's position would enable our troops to approach the formidable earthworks and batteries with the least exposure to artillery and infantry fire accurately delivered. Second, because it presented the only means of neutralising those two most serious obstacles to operations undertaken by British troops in the desert, viz. heat and want of water. Third, because the commander-in-chief had noticed on each of the three mornings upon which he had reconnoitred the front of the works that the enemy's pickets had only taken ground outside the lines after daybreak. Fourth, because a blow struck during the first hour of daylight would have a long interval available for following up its effects by a rapid and sustained pursuit. So much for the reasons dictating the hour of assault; those which led to the tactical formation in which it was delivered have now to be considered. The main infantry attack was divided into two distinct portions or brigades (each brigade consisting of four battalions), having a space of 1,200 yards between them. This interval was designed to guard against the possibility of a repulse at one point communicating itself along the unbroken front of a single continuous assaulting line. These two blows, meant to strike the enemy's line about the same moment, were thus perfectly distinct from each other, so that in the event of one being repulsed, the other, not being aware of the disaster, would be free to carry out its assault independently of its neighbour.

But all idea of independent action was to end with the first line. The second line, six battalions and seven batteries, had continuity preserved from right to left, while its centre of forty-two guns formed a powerful support, behind which the most broken infantry could find a secure rallying point.

Thus in the event of either or both infantry attacks finding themselves compelled to relinquish the assault or to pause in its accomplishment, they would have had in the rear of their inner flanks a support of great strength, and a fire from forty-two guns behind which to reform. The two infantry brigades of the first line formed, in fact, two powerful arms thrust forward from the chest and shoulders of the second line.

So much for the main central attack, which was made with a total force of fourteen battalions, a squadron of cavalry, and forty-two guns. On the right and left of this central body moved the troops destined to form the pursuing force when the position had been carried. On the right flank two cavalry brigades and twelve horse artillery guns marched, equally ready to shield the centre if repulsed or to follow up a successful assault upon the redoubts by a rapid pursuit of the enemy. On the left the Indian division, moving by the practicable line of the broad south bank of the canal, was destined to pierce the right of the position, and to follow, with troops fully inured to heat and marching, the enemy's retreat to Zagazig. Thus although there was left, as there ever must be left, to the many chances of destiny all that catalogue of accident which war, so prolific in the unexpected, yields fullest in the hours of darkness, there nevertheless remained little unthought of that tactical foresight could arrange in the plan of battle, and even fewer contingencies unaccounted in the strategic forecast of the pursuit. The blow to be delivered by the infantry at Tel-el-Kebir was to be a final one, and the goal of the cavalry pursuit was the citadel of Cairo. Such was the plan. Its execution is already known. About mid-day on the 13th of September, even while the club critic was beginning for the hundredth time his daily prophetic lamentation upon the inevitable collapse of the New Army, the shout of "Victory!" fell upon his startled ear. The two strong infantry arms had struck home in the dark upon the Egyptian lines. The artillery centre had broken through the gap thus made, the cavalry and Indian wings had swung forward, folding the battle-field in a vast embrace, only to open out into two separate lines of prolonged pursuit. Such were the items of telegraphic news which hour by hour kept England in a ferment on this 13th of September, 1882. Nor did these tidings of success cease as the day and night wore on; news of trophies taken, of places reached and passed by the pursuit, came in quick succession, until at last the crowning triumph of Cairo's capture was flashed along the wires.

The big cavalry man and the little infantry man, despite their opposite extremes of size and youth, had done their work. The New Army had come well through the Old Test; and Time, looking down through his forty centuries from the top of the great pyramid, and the critic from the bottom of his easy-chair looking up from his forty winks, beheld with amazement the short-service soldier sitting placidly smoking under the shadow of the Sphinx. "It is magnificent," muttered Time. "But it is not club rule," murmured the critic.

W. F. BUTLER.

THE THIRD REFORM BILL—WHY DELAY IT?

The object of this paper is to point out the impolicy and injustice of putting off that third Reform Bill to the principle of which the country is definitely committed, but which it has no reason for expecting will form part of the legislative programme for the coming session. Having had special opportunities of ascertaining what position the subject occupies in the public mind, I have been unable to avoid the conclusion that, judging from the irresolution and indecision which seem to prevail, there is a possibility of serious harm, both to the Liberal party and to the cause of reform itself, arising out of any further or prolonged delay in dealing with the question.

What is the state of public opinion just now? The rank and file of the Liberal party—especially in populous urban districts in the counties, where men feel the gross injustice of being separated from their equals in boroughs by some imaginary line—care a great deal for immediate reform, and care little or nothing about any other subject in comparison with this. Opinion would, I am convinced, be greatly shocked and displeased if it were told in so many words that there was a chance of this question standing over to another Parliament, or being dealt with by any other Prime Minister than Mr. Gladstone. On the other hand, chiefly perhaps because of their trust in him, and also of the absence of active opposition, there is at present no eager interest, nothing like excitement, no materials for agitation (else surely the task would not be left to a country clergyman), nothing like an adequate appreciation of the difficulties that will be met, or discussion of the methods of meeting them. Every one seems to take for granted that the matter will be settled, sometime and somehow, as soon as Mr. Gladstone lifts up his hand. All this appears to me to involve both a miscalculation of political forces and a misapprehension of the relations in which, so far as regards constitutional reform, the people ought to stand towards their leaders. The desire for reform must come from below, must be expressed in clear and audible tones, must be powerful enough to overcome the dead resistance which all transfer of power is sure to be met with by threatened interests, including the reluctance of members of Parliament themselves. A timely expression of strong feeling just now might save us from the possibility of undue excitement ending in positive violence hereafter—such violence as in the history of the first and second Reform Bills was caused by undue delay.

The proverbial danger of delay will be the more apparent if we

fix our attention upon the cause that makes delay so natural and easy whenever reform is concerned. It may be expressed thus: that the interests threatened by it have a Parliamentary strength out of all proportion to their weight in the country; indeed, this truism does but express both the urgent need and the inherent difficulty of passing constitutional reforms. But even here we must distinguish between the interests out of Parliament and those who represent them in it. In plain words, it is only because members have interests of their own that they are averse to moving in reform. Leaving the latter for a moment, we may observe that the privileged persons with whom reform will have to reckon are the forty-shilling freeholders, the voters in the small boroughs (which form one of the most ludicrous anomalies in all constitutional history), and the great landlords who control the representation in rural counties. Now it may be conceded that these—or rather the first two—have the right, as assuredly they have the will and the power, to resist reform, until, after sufficient discussion, ending probably, *more nostro*, in a compromise, public opinion has come to some equitable decision concerning them. Mere disfranchisement, at best but a brutal remedy, will, we may be sure, be resisted to the very last, so that the public mind is in the position of expecting a speedy Reform Bill, while it does not so much as approach the obstacles which, if not fairly dealt with, are capable of resisting progress for an indefinite period of time, and perhaps of forcing upon the country an incomplete and unsatisfactory measure at last.

It may be admitted that the case of the forty-shilling freeholders is more irritating and embarrassing than really difficult, and the suggestion may be hazarded in passing that perhaps an equivalent might be found by giving votes (which indeed it might be found difficult to avoid) to one man for as many constituencies as he appeared in on the rate-book as *bonâ-fide* occupier, *e.g.* of more houses than one, or of house and offices. But when we remember that there are over one hundred boroughs in England and Wales containing what will then be far below the average number of electors, and, further, that these boroughs return about one hundred and forty members, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the country is brought face-to-face with the problem of redistribution of seats, which it has hitherto shrunk from dealing with. No doubt opposition may be diminished if we make the existing small boroughs capitals of new county districts; but this, again, is only possible upon condition that the country will give its earnest attention to the subject. And the great, perhaps the only serious, battle will probably be joined upon this issue: whether redistribution is to be arranged upon some scientific and reasonable principle, or whether we are to have the old muddle of taking a few seats from this place and that,

and giving them to others according to an arbitrary, and therefore unjust, rule of numbers.

How are people to discuss the matter when their recognised leaders have such strong inducements of their own to keep silent? With few exceptions, members of Parliament glide deftly over the subject, speak of it as a thing practically decided, fight shy of discussion upon particular topics, and, consciously or not, direct the attention of their hearers into other channels. And very naturally! For the real *crux* in all movements for reform comes of this: that members have a personal interest of their own in keeping things as they are, if they can, and as long as they can. One need not withhold one's sympathy from, say, a rising member who has wooed and won a constituency to his taste, and has settled down to a life of connubial happiness, only to find himself divorced from it; but it is very certain that in this fact we have the simple explanation why reform is hanging fire at this moment, and is likely to do so unless the people speak out. This is just the situation out of which come intrigue, obstruction, misunderstanding, the breaking up of parties, the triumph of selfishness, the delay of justice —nay, even a growth of the revolutionary spirit. After all, Mr. Gladstone can only appeal to the people through their representatives, and if these hang back, the strongest minister finds his hands tied. Fortunately, the remedy for the evil is as patent as the evil itself. If once it is discovered that the chance of re-election depends upon zeal and good faith in passing a Reform Bill, valour (to reverse the proverb) would then become the better part of discretion.

Now the state of things just described is exactly that out of which there is sure to emerge a formula, that is some false and hollow proposition under cover of which people hide from themselves the real condition of affairs and their own lack of decision. The formula at present runs thus: that in order to avoid a premature dissolution, Parliament should spend a year or two in passing useful measures, and then take Reform in hand in the last session or so of its existence. Although, so far as I know, this argument has never been propounded by any responsible leader, yet it has grown up somehow to be the commonplace of the platform, and may be strong enough to control the action of the Government. This then is the proposition I mean to attack, believing it to be one of those ingenious and plausible formulæ that fall to pieces the moment that criticism and common sense are brought to bear upon them. To those who will but realise all that is implied in the words, "the passing of a new Reform Bill," a policy of this sort is as though a lover were to assure a jealous mistress that after a year or two's flirtation with other ladies he would certainly return and marry her.

(1.) Granting the premises, the conclusion does not follow. Let

it be admitted that a premature dissolution is a thing to be avoided, merely remarking in passing that the same persons who adopt this argument now will be the first to discover, two or three years hence, that a septuagenarian and moribund Parliament is quite unfitted (as indeed it is) to grapple with reform. But is it necessary, or indeed possible, to carry a Reform Bill in one session? Why not deal first with the point upon which the mind of the country is unequivocally made up, namely, the assimilation of the borough and county franchise; in other words, that residence, as shown in the first instance by the rate book, should form the electoral qualification all over the kingdom? A Franchise Bill to secure this, and to simplify the machinery for lodgers' claims, need not, one would think, be a long or difficult business, more especially as the Conservatives might consider direct and obstinate opposition to be a dangerous game to play. There would therefore be time, especially under the new regulations, for passing a number of non-contentious "useful" measures which are ripe for settlement. The vacation would give an opportunity for a careful and thorough preparation of the new register of voters, which would form the basis of a redistribution of seats in the following year, by which time the country would have made up its mind. I venture to say that the alternative now proposed would be preferred by any representative gathering of Liberals wherever held, provided the case were fairly put before it.

(2.) But how can we, as reasonable men, grant the condition which the "formula" postulates, the continuance, namely, of the present Parliament or of the present Ministry for an indefinite period? And what right have men in earnest about reform to intrust it to the chances of an uncertain future? Parliament is already three years old, nor has its youth been spent in that temperate and judicious mode of living which conduces to longevity. By the time it had finished reform, it would be certainly five years old, beyond which age no efficient work or adequate representation of public opinion is to be looked for. But who can undertake to guarantee a ministerial majority in both Houses for three or four years to come? Suppose Mr. Gladstone were obliged to appeal to the country upon the question of reform, he would stir the hearts of the Liberal party as one man. But supposing he had to appeal against some fortuitous combination of atoms upon some less important subject, reform not having been attempted, could he rely upon finding Liberals in those good spirits which are the sure and only pledge of success as against the natural conservative forces of timidity, hatred of change, and supremacy of class interests? And the warning is the more necessary when the issue is one of right and wrong, because the popular sentiment understands these, and is readily discouraged by any apparent indifference to them. The ordinary working man, for instance, in

boroughs thinks that his brother in the counties ought to have the suffrage, and cannot easily be brought to see why, when there is a choice of measures, any other should have precedence over this. Once more the strength of this praiseworthy opinion may be tested by an appeal to any ordinary Liberal gathering. Now the Ministry is at this moment by common confession exceedingly strong; the Conservatives ascribing it to the victorious campaign in Egypt, while the Liberals, with surer instinct, prefer to ascribe the victorious campaign to the great army reforms, particularly the abolition of purchase of Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry, of which by a stroke of political justice his second Ministry is reaping the fruits. But then this very capacity to accomplish something great sets people upon asking why it should not be devoted to the worthiest objects, and also whether any more favourable conjuncture of circumstances can be expected than the present. Liberal gratitude, it must be confessed, is often a lively sense of favours to come, and is of an exacting, unresting character, as Liberals leaders know full well, and accept the consequences thereof. Of Mr. Gladstone's own position after fifty years of service every consideration of respect and good feeling requires us to speak with reticence; but this at least may be said, that humble Liberal voters believe that he can keep the party together to pass this measure at once, that it may be impossible for him to do so a year or two hence, and impossible for any other man after him for perhaps several years to come.

(3.) But is it true, we ask next, that the best way to get desirable measures passed is to postpone reform for their sake? If past experience goes for anything, the shortest cut to useful legislation is by way of reform. Unquestionably the greatest epochs of legislative achievement occurred in the years that followed the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867, and in particular the contrast between Mr. Gladstone's first and second Ministry goes far to confirm what common sense suggests, that legislation is as difficult when reform is looming in the future, as it is easy as soon as ever the paralyzing and disturbing influence is out of the way. Whence comes it, for instance, that, as though there were not enough vices in the world, a new one has lately been evolved under the name of "obstruction"? It may confidently be answered that the *fons et origo mali* may be traced to that irregular and misshapen system, or no system, of representation, which gives to an elector in one borough twenty or thirty times the voting power of an elector in another, and places upon the benches of the House of Commons men who have been sent there by over twenty thousand voters side by side with others who have been sent there by a few hundreds.

For it is thus that the natural flow of public opinion from the electors to their representatives is broken up into cross-currents or

misdirected into artificial channels, so that it becomes easy to obstruct a languid stream; and small men, representing boroughs even smaller than themselves, are encouraged to set the national will at defiance, and enabled to do so without being called to account. The new Rules of Procedure can only be called an outward remedy for an inward complaint, and may, perhaps, illustrate once more the truth that law is powerless against a spirit of evil; for which the only sufficient remedy is to replace it by a new spirit, born of a fairly equal representation, of responsibility to powerful constituencies, of actual felt contact with the popular mind—such contact, by the way, as enables honest minds not only to discern what the people wish, but also to correct their wishes, if need be. Anyhow, we are indebted to the members for Eye and Bridport, for Hertford and Woodstock, for throwing a new and seasonable light upon the *raison d'être* of small boroughs.

(4.) Lastly, we challenge the assertion (and this goes to the root of the matter) that it is right to settle important questions, even by "useful measures," until the whole country has had an opportunity of expressing its mind about them. Taken merely as an abstract proposition, this savours of pedantry; in point of fact, it is nothing more than a piece of plain common sense, as will become apparent as soon as we call to mind that the chief questions—of a "contentious" character—now before the country are precisely those which concern the counties more than the towns. If this be so, then there is every chance that they will be dealt with according to the opinion of that half of the household voters which has least to do with them, and, presumably, knows least about them. To prove this point three instances may be adduced.

(*a.*) County Reform, or more correctly, a Bill for re-establishing Local Government in non-municipal places, is understood to be one of those measures on behalf of which the new Reform Bill may have to be postponed. That is to say, the counties, at any rate the rural counties, are to be gratified by a plan of local government, framed not according to the wishes of the resident householders, but pressed upon them by the opinion of the towns, with such modifications as the county members, who represent only the wealthier classes, can contrive to introduce. There is even a mild surprise expressed that the counties are not sufficiently alive to the evils under which they ought to be groaning, as though men who are deprived of all control in the affairs, first of their locality, next of their county (the only two things in which the mass of voters take any interest), are likely to find much satisfaction in agitating for a reform in the government of their counties.

To add to this unsatisfactory state of affairs there is at least a possibility that the towns, deceived by their own way of looking at

things, will miss the point of what is good for the villages. For what the villages want is, first of all, a revival of local government for themselves, whereas the town idea is naturally that of large districts with many thousands of inhabitants. Now against this notion we might fittingly invoke the example of the United States, where local government starts from townships, with a complete municipal organization, each township being thirty-six miles square, and corresponding roughly, with due allowance for relative density of population, to an average English parish. But the truth is that we in rural counties do not need instances from abroad to convince us that no vigorous municipal life can begin from unions of villages which have but few interests in common, but little mutual acquaintance between the inhabitants, and which are divided from each other by many miles of country roads. So that if, as is commonly asserted, the best education for enabling a man to take interest in political affairs is by giving him an interest in the politics of his own locality, we can only accomplish this in the case of the agricultural labourer by giving him the opportunity of selecting some one he knows to manage things he cares about.

There is yet another reason in connection with this subject for not postponing reform. For it is admitted on all hands that there must be some union or larger area of government over the villages, and the problem is to discover upon what principle this larger district shall be constituted, all existing ones being open to strong objections. But what if the new Reform Bill gave us exactly what we want? Supposing, as one result of it, that the counties were divided into manageable Parliamentary districts, why then *solvitur reformando!* For here we have the best possible, if not the only possible, link for uniting small communities and animating them with a common interest—namely, the political; and the coincidence of the municipal and political areas works well for both objects, and is a natural and obvious form of organization. Does not this make it plain that the larger question does in reality include the smaller, and that problems which look difficult before a Reform Bill will settle themselves after it?

(*b.*) The second case in point is the Land Question, which is now being discussed, and may perhaps be settled without any one being entitled to take part in it as representing the opinions of the agricultural labourers, or being in some degree at least responsible to them for his own. That ominous phrase, "Landed Interest," which once upon a time was confined to the landlords only, has come to include the tenants just in proportion as the franchise has been extended to them, and will never be taken to cover the case of the labourers so long as they have no opportunity of making their voices heard or of calling members of Parliament to account. Would any,

so-called settlement of the question be permanent that excluded them? It may be conceded that upon this, as upon other economical questions (as to which, however, *e.g.* poor law, they do but share in a widely prevailing ignorance), the opinion of the rural population may turn out to be so raw and crude a material that comparatively little will survive the sifting and refining process to which publicity would expose it. But this is no reason for withholding the franchise for a day. In so far as they are in the wrong, and their wishes unattainable, the sooner their views are ascertained and then corrected by open criticism the better; in so far as they are in the right, it is a mere matter of justice that they should find expression in the House of Commons without delay. For these two things are certain: first, that no genuine attempt is ever made to educate the people in politics until they get the franchise; second, that erroneous popular opinions only become dangerous when they are forcibly repressed.

It may not be amiss at this point to remind the landowners that the political disqualification of the population that produces their wealth cuts more ways than one. The landed interest, which, for say five hundred years, has been in a state of intermittent discontent, and has been all along endeavouring to cure itself by legislative remedies, complains just now that its influence in the country is not proportionate to its importance as the chief national industry, and poses as the victim of commercial and manufacturing supremacy. But this can only mean that the rank and file, who correspond to the operatives in large towns, are not there to help their employers with their votes in the struggle for what the latter proclaim to be the rights of the agricultural class. At the critical moment they are, therefore, like leaders without an army, and fare accordingly. The labourers, moreover, being without any representative of their own, are more likely to fall under the influence of (so-called) revolutionary schemes than if they were accustomed to take their place as part of the "landed interest" rightly understood. It is something of a *reductio ad absurdum* that the destinies of the labourer should be discussed, and well-meaning schemes for his benefit be propounded, while he, the person chiefly interested, should have no constitutional opportunity of making his wishes known. The only way to help the agricultural labourer is to set him free to help himself.

(*c*.) The third upon our list of measures now under discussion, which specially affect the interests and wishes of the rural population, is, as might be anticipated, the Church question. So far as concerns England there are just now no signs of urgency, but if, as is generally understood, the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland is to be brought within the range of practical politics next session, it becomes necessary to consider the bearing of this factor upon the further post-

ponement of reform. And here it is impossible not to call to mind Mr. Gladstone's oft-repeated dictum that the continuance of a national Church depends entirely upon the wishes of the people concerned, and that as the circumstances of the three kingdoms are widely different in respect of religion, each should be allowed to settle the matter according to the convictions of its own people. The meaning of which is plainly this: that the existence of an established Church is at bottom a matter of sentiment, and does not appeal to those considerations of what is plainly right or obviously expedient, of which conscience and reason are the sole judges, and which ought not to be decided by individual likings, or class prejudices, or popular feeling; thus no popular opinion could make a war of aggression right or "fair" trade expedient. It is true of course that arguments appealing to justice and expediency are largely employed in this controversy to convince the minds of the people who will have to decide it, but so far as regards Scotland it is already pretty evident that they are only the commonplace utterances of men whose minds have been made up one way or the other by prepossessions arising out of quite different considerations. Thus propositions such as, "We ought to set the Church free from the tyranny of State control," may be set against such another as, "A national Church is essential to the religious life of the country." Both these postulate the existence of moral truths that cannot be verified or of an expedience that cannot be foretold; they are like big guns booming at long range, showing that a battle is imminent but not affecting the result. The *sic volo, sic jubeo*, of the individual elector is after all the *ultima ratio* in matters of this sort, unanswerable by any logic, whether of argument or of event. And all the paraphernalia of liberation and defence, together with grand maxims about liberty, property, and the like, merely come to this: that it is the business of one party to persuade people that they do not wish to maintain the Established Churches, and of the other to convince them that they do.

From this it follows that the only tribunal that can deal with the Church of Scotland is an electorate that represents the whole people, no class or interest being excluded, and each man's opinion counting for one, and for no more than one. And it may be remarked that wherever I have made this claim (and I make no other) on behalf of the Established Churches it has been received with appreciative applause by audiences who were, so far as one could see, not otherwise much interested in the matter. A fair trial before the whole people is a proposition that commends itself instinctively to the sense of justice and innate reasonableness, which, when there is no extraneous excitement to disturb them, are the usual characteristics of English public meetings. But if this be true, the conclusion is

irresistible that the enfranchisement of the rural labourers is a condition *sine quâ non* to the adequate discussion, much more to the final settlement, of this question; and in truth to attempt to deal with the Church of Scotland apart from the wishes of the agricultural population must appear to those who remember what the religious history of Scotland has been a most injurious and high-handed proceeding.

To this it may be added that owing to very obvious circumstances the wishes of the rural householders exercise an influence that, as between evenly balanced parties, would be felt to be decisive as to the point at issue. For all fair minds feel some reluctance in withdrawing the means of religious ministration from precisely those persons, *i.e.* scattered rural populations, who would be the least able to replace them from their own resources. I am giving no opinion as to how far this argument (the only one which is of any avail against the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of personal preference) is valid; I content myself by simply pointing out that if the wishes of the rural population in Scotland ran in favour of the Church, that fact would have a strong influence upon opinion elsewhere; and, if on the contrary (which for all I know is as probable an alternative as the other), the people chiefly interested proclaimed their indifference or their hostility, why then the end would come, in the course of nature, sooner than is commonly expected.

Let me conclude this argument by another *reductio ad absurdum* in the shape of a hypothetical but very possible dilemma. Supposing that reform is delayed for two or three years, or for an indefinite period, for delay once set in is apt to be self-perpetuating, and that the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland were pressed forward as an urgent question, then one of two results is possible. Either several years may be wasted by a minority in fruitless attempts to accomplish what the passing of a Reform Bill might enable them to do at once; or a majority under the present suffrage may obtain a verdict against the Church only to find it reversed upon appeal to the reformed constituencies. Is this reasonable?

The foregoing arguments must not be taken as being intended to set forth the real reasons which make persons like myself impatient for reform. These it need not be said are based upon moral (in my own case can certainly be added religious) considerations that have to do with the rights and the progress—material and spiritual—of the agricultural labourer, concerning whom there are some truths yet to be spoken when the time shall come. But what has been said here must be taken as arguments by a non-political person addressed to practical politicians and directed against the popular formula of the day—that reform can be safely and wisely postponed for a year or two in order to pass useful measures.

T. W. FOWLE.

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE.

In July, 1873, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, met his death by a fall from a stumbling horse on that "cruel sloping meadow," or, as Lord Granville, the bishop's companion, called it, "on a smooth stretch of turf," near Abinger, in Surrey. That fall called forth an echo of wailing all over England. It was felt that one who, take him for all in all, was the foremost prelate in the English Church, had been called away in the twinkling of an eye, in the midst of a career which might have been as useful for the diocese of Winchester as the earlier portion of it had been for that of Oxford, to say nothing of what he might have accomplished in that Primacy for which many of his admirers deemed him specially fitted. It was natural, therefore, that with rare exceptions the death of Samuel Wilberforce should be regarded as a national loss. Writers of all opinions and speakers of every degree of merit vied with one another in extolling the great qualities of the man; and, first and foremost in this latter class, the present Prime Minister of England offered what has been well called "a magnificent tribute to his memory," in an oration worthy, in its justice and felicity, of Pericles himself. We are now in 1883. Ten years have not passed since Samuel Wilberforce was laid with such honour in the grave amid the lamentations of England. The cruel spectre, however, which dogs the mighty dead has appeared in the shape of three bulky biographical volumes which, however truthful in the main, contain such indiscretions and awkward revelations that a battle is raging over the bones of the bishop; whose memory has been handed over afresh to the great assize of public opinion, which differs from that final judgment which all Christians expect, in that its sentences—pronounced as they are by fallible creatures—are seldom tempered with either charity or mercy. In this state of things the fame of the late bishop is in danger of being stained by vulgar obloquy, and the beauty of his character obscured by a cloud of apocryphal anecdotes which have sprung up in the heat of controversy like midges after a summer shower. It will be well then to survey the life of Samuel Wilberforce, and without extenuating his faults to sketch the character and career of one who, beyond all doubt, filled for so long a time so prominent a position in the world and the Church.

And first and foremost, let us discard all consideration of what Samuel Wilberforce might have been, and look steadfastly on what he was. Of him, as of Cardinal Newman, Bishop Philpotts, and so many other great men, it has been said that he had mistaken his

calling, and ought to have been Prime Minister or Lord Chancellor. Something of this belief, if he ever had one, may have passed through the mind of Lord Westbury when he told the bishop that he was the only clergyman he had ever met "who had a mind;" nay, it may have presented itself to Samuel Wilberforce himself when he wrote early in 1846 to his dearest woman-friend, Miss Noel, "I took my seat, as I think I told you, in the House of Lords on the first day of the Session. You know how all such real business interests me, but I feel as if I should never take any part in debate, though some day I shall. The impediment of the lawn sleeves must be very great and entangling." In saying this Samuel Wilberforce only showed that he was many-sided, and could have turned his hand or his tongue to other cares and duties than those which concern the Church; but our business is with what he was, at first a parish priest, and at last a great prelate of the Church; as for his Premiership or Chancellorship, they must remain in the limbo of unconditional possibilities.

Brought up carefully and tenderly by his famous father, Samuel Wilberforce soon showed a resolution and determination of character and, let us add, a common sense, which were wanting in his brothers. For an instance of his determination, when only twelve years old, the world is indebted, not to Canon Ashwell or Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, but to Mr. Mozley—no great admirer, as far as we can judge, of Samuel Wilberforce. At that early age he quarrelled with his tutor, and demanded to be sent home at once. When the tutor demurred, the boy threw himself in the road, in the very track of a score or two of London coaches, and "announced his intention of staying there till he was sent back. After he had remained there several hours the tutor struck his colours and Samuel was sent home." Such an obstinate wicked boy in a story-book would infallibly have been eaten up by a lion, like Don't-Care, but in real life, as we shall see, he became Bishop Wilberforce, no doubt owing his advancement to that determined spirit which in after years kept him straight in the Established Church, while his weaker relatives rushed one after the other down the steep place to Rome like a flock—of sheep.

For other particulars of the bishop's early life we must also turn to Mr. Mozley. Even as a young man Samuel was distinguished from his brothers, and especially from Henry, by his self-confidence—some may call it conceit; but that is only the same thing called by a bad name by those who try to find a stick to beat a dog. How was it that Henry Wilberforce, when he went to a meeting, was sometimes late, and always a listener; while Samuel, though he was often as late as his brother, was always asked up on the platform and always a speaker? This question was answered, we are told, by Samuel himself. "He was perfectly aware that he had something to

say, that the people would be glad to hear it, and that it would do them good." Full of this conviction, while his brother shrunk back, Samuel gradually worked his way through the crowd and caught the eye of some friend on the platform. Presently there would be a voice heard, "Please make way for Mr. Wilberforce!" Once at the elevation which some people who cannot speak have found so dangerous, we have no doubt that Samuel Wilberforce poured out to the delighted meeting the firstfruits of that persuasive eloquence which so enchanted his hearers on many platforms where he could speak with greater authority. In a word, he had that wonderful power of speech which, in our benighted days, so largely supplies the want of the miraculous gift of tongues of the apostolic age. To the very end he felt sure that he had something to say, that it was good for his hearers, and that they would be ready to listen.

These great gifts, added to a first-class in mathematics and a second in classics, might have condemned Samuel Wilberforce to an Oxford fellowship, where, like Isaac Williams, Oakeley, and even his censor Mozley himself, he might have become one of the satellites revolving round the eccentric orb of Newman, attracted by its as yet uncertain light. But this was not to be; human nature asserted her sway, and shortly after taking his degree in 1828 Samuel Wilberforce was married to Miss Sargent, to whom, indeed, he had been for years virtually engaged; and having interest in the Church, was in 1830 presented to the pleasant living of Brighstone, in the Isle of Wight. We say that he had interest in the Church, for the two Bishops Sumner, who were related to him, contended which should secure him for his diocese. J. B. Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, offered him Ribchester, near Stonyhurst, in the north-west, while Charles Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, carried him away to Brighstone. Thus, while still under five-and-twenty, Samuel Wilberforce was already married, and entering on his career as a beneficed clergyman. Under these circumstances, and with such friends on the bench of bishops, many a man would have rested idly on his oars and waited for preferment. At the end of his career he might have aspired to be an archdeacon, and his wildest dreams of clerical ambition would have been realised if he had attracted the attention of a Prime Minister and been named a dean. Samuel Wilberforce was not the man to rest on his oars; to use a vulgar expression, he knew how to paddle his own canoe; and having made himself known and appreciated, not only by his diocesan but by the rest of the world, he had not long to wait for preferment. We say not long, though he stayed nearly ten years at Brighstone; but what are ten years in the life of an average clergyman, vegetating, as most of them are doomed to do for thirty or forty years, in the most uncongenial surroundings! During these ten years his worst enemy could not have accused the

rector of Brighstone of vegetating. On the contrary, as Canon Ashwell says, it would be difficult to imagine a mind or a temperament of more ceaseless activity. He was neither a great reader nor a mere student nor a profound thinker, but he was a man of action, and public questions were his delight. If he had any relaxations he found them in botany, and especially in ornithology. Then, as all his life through, his love of birds as well as his knowledge of their notes and habits were most remarkable. Once indeed he was known to have forgiven a little boy for the heinous offence of breaking through a hedge because he did it to show the bishop a rare bird. As to his religious opinions, he was a Churchman, and what is called a High Churchman, from the first; but he soon learned to mistrust the Tractarian movement in Oxford, and like many other men who maintain an independent line of their own, he fell as it were between the two theological schools. The Low Churchmen, or old Evangelicals, led by Golightly, regarded him on the verge of Romanism, while the adherents of Newman, Pusey and Keble looked on him at best as a wolf in sheep's clothing. Thus, in 1836, he writes to his friend Anderson as to the Oxford movement: "I fear they are pushing things too far; it is the view of baptism which seems to me to be pushed too far: I mean the deadly state to which they picture sin after baptism to reduce men." In the same spirit he did all in his power to persuade Newman and his party to add their names to the committee for erecting the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford; but his efforts were fruitless, and the breach between him and the movement party was widened by Newman's refusal to accept his articles for the *British Critic.* Meantime his worldly affairs prospered; his works, such as *Agathos,* and his Sermons and, though last not least, his father's Life, were profitable. By the death of both his wife's brothers he became possessed of the estate of Lavington, and continued for the rest of his life to pride himself on being a Sussex squire.

During his incumbency of Brighstone various attempts were made to lure him away from that peaceful rectory where his existence, surrounded by his wife and children, was purely idyllic. Now it was dingy St. Dunstan's-in-the-West; now Tonbridge Wells Chapel, dedicated, as we believe it is, to that doubtful saint King Charles I.; now, most perplexing of all, Leeds, with its wide sphere of usefulness and in his own Yorkshire too, but also with its load of heavy work and its suffocating coal-smoke. All these were, for one reason or another, declined with thanks. Samuel Wilberforce was happy in his rectory and in his favour with his bishop, though even then he wished his diocesan had more advanced Church views. His was indeed a proud position; he was everywhere a favourite, fast rising to be the most popular preacher and speaker of

the day, with full liberty to go where he chose and to speak as he chose—a liberty indeed of which on one occasion at least he availed himself to the full when, at the meeting of a Diocesan Church Building Society, he measured swords with the veteran Lord Palmerston; attacking him with an ability and eloquence which quite carried away his hearers, but with so much vehemence that the Duke of Wellington, who was in the chair, would have called him to order had he not feared to divert the stream of indignant eloquence on himself. "I assure you," he said, "I would have faced a battery sooner." This was the beginning of the bishop's rooted antipathy for Lord Palmerston, whom he considered as untrustworthy in Church matters as he believed him to be time-serving in his general policy. In the one opinion he was probably as right from a High Churchman's point of view as he was wrong in the other as a politician. On his own part he met with some trouble from the hostile criticisms with which his father's Life, the most laborious literary work on which he was ever engaged, was received by some of the old slave emancipationists. One of his letters to his brother Robert on this subject ends thus: "*Quære*, have I hardness enough not to be ground to powder between the Evangelical and Newman mills?"

He was now drawing near, unconsciously to himself, to the period at which he was destined to leave Brighstone. He was made for a wider and more troublous sphere than that peaceful parsonage. "No man," says one of his biographers, "was ever more devoted to his calling, first as a simple clergyman, and afterwards as a Bishop of the Church of God, than Samuel Wilberforce; but no man ever realised more thoroughly the fact that social institutions are a portion of the providential order of things, and that the spiritual and the so-called secular ought to be reciprocally strengthened and benefited by mutual connection and alliance." To do this, like St. Paul Samuel Wilberforce made himself all things to all men, and this will account for the fact that this consistent High Churchman spent a great part of his life in the company of men such for instance as the mystical Bunsen, whose religious notions varied very widely from his own. For the same reason, probably, he joined about the same time the "Sterling" Club, which, by leave of Canon Ashwell, if in the Elysian Fields he can give any leave, was called after John Sterling, the founder, and not from any pun on the intrinsic worth of its members. "Birds of a feather," the proverb says, "flock most together," but a list of the original members of the club will show how widely different those birds were in their plumage and opinions. But neither the cheery diocese of Winchester nor the social life of London were sufficient for his spirit. The end of his Brighstone incumbency was signalised by an adventurous autumn flight, in 1839,

into the diocese of Exeter on a roving mission on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. At first Henry of Exeter "screamed" at the idea that he was to attend the "Deputation," as it was called, and listen to the same speaker for weeks together. He seemed to think that it was possible to have too much even of a Wilberforce. But though he screamed he yielded, and when it was all over declared that, whereas he expected to be dreadfully bored, he had on the contrary been greatly instructed. For ourselves, we are not bishops, and we humbly think that if it be part of a prelate's privilege to accompany the same man over 1,500 miles for ten weeks of incessant speaking and preaching, we would much rather that any one than ourselves should be elevated to the bench. Be that as it may, this progress of the bishop and the Deputation through the diocese was most cheering, the pecuniary results were large, and the moral worth enormous. It was while Samuel Wilberforce was on this tour that the Archdeaconry of Surrey fell vacant, and the Bishop of Winchester, after ample consideration, as was the manner of prelates in the good old time, bestowed it, with universal approbation, except from the *Record*, on Samuel Wilberforce. Shortly afterwards he made his first great appearance in London on moving a resolution on behalf of the Propagation Society in the Egyptian Hall at the Mansion House. By this time, perhaps by the practice acquired during that autumn tour, his voice and manner had reached their full perfection, "and the effect of his profound fervour was heightened rather than diminished by his youthful appearance." "From that day," says Canon Ashwell, "his reputation as a public speaker was established." And now preferments and honours fell fast upon him. He attracted the notice of Prince Albert, who made him one of his chaplains; the Canonry of Winchester with which the Archdeaconry was to be endowed, fell vacant, and he was installed. The Heads of Houses in Oxford appointed him to preach the Bampton Lectures for 1841; and though last, not least, the bishop offered him the important living of Alverstoke, which he accepted, thus severing that happy connection with Brighstone which had lasted ten years and three months.

Hardly had he removed to Alverstoke, when, in the midst of all this happiness and prosperity, a blow fell upon him which taught him how inscrutable are the ways of Providence in dealing with man. On the 15th of February, 1841, his fourth son, Basil, was born. On Monday, the 7th of March, the archdeacon entered in his diary, "Finished Bampton Lecture No. 2"—the second of a series destined never to be delivered. Next comes "serious alarms" for his wife—Locock summoned from London on the 8th—and on the morning of the 10th she had passed away. To any man of ordinary feeling such a blow must be crushing for the time, but to Samuel Wilberforce the effect

was, we are told—and we believe it—deep and permanent. The idle and the cynical, those who only saw him in the heyday of society in after-life, will say that his loss was soon forgotten. They little know—no one knew till those diaries and letters were published, which throw such light into that Holy of Holies in which Samuel Wilberforce treasured up his most sacred things—how constant his affection for his lost wife continued to the end. That sad anniversary never passed by without due commemoration; and his children well remember how, in after years, amidst all the tide of business, the day was strictly kept; the great sorrow remaining as fresh as if it had only just befallen the family. So that, on his very last visit to Lavington, scarce a month before he died in 1873, he wrote thus to his daughter-in-law:—"My dead seemed so near me in my solitude; each one following another and speaking calm and hope to me, and re-union when He will."

In one respect the year 1841 was a turning-point in the career of Samuel Wilberforce, in that it called him from the joys of domestic to more stirring scenes of public and religious life, while the sorrow which had seared his heart steeled and hardened it for the conflicts and contradictions which it was his lot thenceforth to undergo. His first troubles came from Oxford, where, as we have seen some years before, he thought the movement party were pushing things too far. 1841 was the year of Tract No. 90, of the Protest of the Four Tutors, and of the hurried resolution of the Heads of Houses. The *odium theologicum* was let loose, and, to make matters still worse, there was a contest for the professorship of poetry, in which Isaac Williams was put forward by Newman's party, and Garbett by the Heads of Houses. We need hardly say that Archdeacon Wilberforce sided with Garbett and maintained his position, though it led to a difference of opinion with Mr. Gladstone, who proposed that both the candidates should withdraw from the contest. In the end the Heads prevailed, and Mr. Garbett, who, as Mr. Mozley asserts, had never written a line of poetry in his life, was elected in preference to Mr. Williams, who had. Besides this triumph, the Archdeacon's sorrow was relieved by the necessity of a visit to Windsor to preach before the Queen and Prince Albert. There he gave the greatest satisfaction, and beyond doubt was, up to his appointment as Bishop of Oxford, the most popular ecclesiastic about the court. Nothing could be kinder than the way in which he was received by the royal family. It was even hinted, and perhaps expected, that he would undertake the onerous duty of becoming the Prince of Wales's tutor. Meantime there was more trouble at Oxford, arising out of the outrageous "Ideal of a Christian Church," published by Mr. Ward. The strength of parties was again tried on the condemnation of the book and the degradation of its author,

both of which were carried in Convocation, when the Archdeacon voted against his old friends supported by Mr. Gladstone.

In 1845 more promotion was put upon him. In March he was appointed Dean of Westminster, and in October Bishop of Oxford, both under the premiership of Sir Robert Peel, on which occasion Prince Albert wrote him a very remarkable letter, imparting his views on the position of a bishop in the House of Lords. After this elevation it cannot be said that he was ever so popular at court as he had been as archdeacon and dean. Though he had been hard enough to escape crushing by the Newman or upper millstone, it remained to be seen whether he would be as fortunate with the Low Church, or nether millstone.

As Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce entered into possession of what would now be called a very neglected diocese. In those days it was very much in the condition of Israel when every man —and certainly every clergyman—did what was right in his own eyes. Perhaps it was not so bad as when Bishop Bagot had refused to take over the county of Bucks, because his brother of Lincoln described the condition of the clergy in that county as "Top-boots or Exeter Hall," but still it had no real episcopal supervision. This lax rule especially favoured the views of the Romanizing party, but it was too pleasant to last, and though Dr. Pusey, who after Newman's secession, in A.D. 1845, became the head of the party, in a coaxing letter which he wrote to the bishop-elect after his election by the Chapter of Christ Church, reminded him that God's providence had been wonderfully shown in the character of the bishop "whom he has given us for the last sixteen years, and now again in our not having one such as some with whom we had been threatened," "and trusting that your coming here is an act of the same graciousness," Samuel Wilberforce was too wary to fall in with that view of things. On the contrary, his opinion of the late bishop's rule was pretty plainly expressed to one from whom he had no secrets. Writing to Miss Noel, even before he was enthroned, he says, "I have read the Bishop of Oxford's (Bishop Bagot's) parting charge; I should have liked it in ordinary times; but feeling that his conduct had, more than any secondary thing, helped on our fearful troubles and divisions, I could not but regret its tone." To Pusey himself he replied shortly, while acknowledging the kindness of his tone, that "the language held in his published writings was not to be reconciled with the doctrinal formularies of the Church of England." That was his deliberate view, and to that he adhered to the end. But he had other work to do in his diocese than to correspond on doctrinal differences, however important. To his organizing mind the see of Oxford was as a cornfield run to waste, and he set about reclaiming and tilling it to the best of his power. Even in those comparatively modern days, a working bishop was

an ecclesiastical phenomenon, a *lusus Providentiæ,* which to some minds seemed to portend the downfall of the whole Episcopal bench. Even at the present day there are members—or at least there was one member—of the University of Oxford, a year or two ago, who could recollect "when a Bishop of Oxford never drove into Oxford without four horses and two powdered footmen; and what does Sam do? He gets upon a horse and rides in by himself, without so much as a groom behind him! I met him myself to-day." All this was quite shocking to the ideas of propriety of an elder but more dignified generation, who were not at all shocked at hearing that the Bishop of Llandaff could reside permanently in the Lake district; that Confirmations were few and far between; that on those rare occasions the candidates were brought into country towns by thousands, like cattle driven to a fair, and with as much disorder and indecency as prevails at any fair. A candidate for Orders only had to write a bit of Latin prose and was passed by the bishop, if the family were so fortunate as to be acquainted with such an excellent personage, with an inquiry as to the welfare of his father and mother. All these things were possible—nay, they were probable—in almost every diocese in England before Samuel Wilberforce became Bishop of Oxford; but it was not his ideal of a bishop that he should live idle on an ecclesiastical Olympus, like the gods of Epicurus. His ideal of a bishop's life was work; up to this ideal he lived, and in this ideal he died. According to him, as Canon Ashwell well says, "the bishop was to be as much the mainspring of all spiritual and religious energy in his diocese as a parochial clergyman is bound to be in his parish. Incessant in his visitations and accessible to all, he insisted on his clergy following the same rule." "*Esse quam videri* is a maxim," he said to Mr. Ashwell, "which has its application; but for a clergyman the *videri* is essential to his having even the chance of realising the *esse* in his actual work. How are people to come to you for what you are ready to *be* and to *do,* if you do not take care that what you are and what you do be seen and known?" Do we not here see, in this young bishop raised to be the terror of his indolent elders, the resolute and determined boy who threw himself flat on the road, the pushing ready young man who always made his way to the front and on to the platform, the zealous parish priest, the indefatigable archdeacon, the eloquent and unwearied speaker who could melt the stony heart and satisfy the critical taste of Henry of Exeter,—at last promoted to his proper place when he became a working bishop of the Church of England? Even his own relatives feared that he would become what they called a hack bishop; but he held on his course, ready to hack and be hacked for the sake of the Church, as he conceived it ought to be. He imagined it as that lofty city set on a hill with its foundations rather deep than broad, the light of the world, to be seen of men, not put under a bushel

Like other men, bishops must be judged by their works. During the quarter of a century before the episcopate of Bishop Wilberforce, official records show that only twenty-two new churches had been built in Oxfordshire, Berks, and Bucks, four rebuilt, and eight restored and enlarged. For the four-and-twenty years of his episcopate the corresponding totals are: new churches, 106; churches rebuilt, 15; churches restored, 250. As for the patronage of the see, that most powerful means for providing for a deserving working clergy, the bishop found himself at first with only fourteen livings to give away, but owing to his exertions and intercessions he left it with 103, of which no less than ninety-five were in his diocese.

Compared with these labours and successes, his trials and tribulations as a bishop were as dust in the balance. They were, no doubt, mortifying to him as a man, but as a model bishop it mattered little to him whether he were faced by the passive resistance of Dr. Pusey or by the sullen obstinacy of Dr. Hampden, aided by the Broad Church views of Lord John Russell and the Ecclesiastical Courts. From whatever cause, it is certain that he never was such a *grata persona* at Windsor after his "insincere," as some called them, proceedings in the Hampden Controversy. This naturally was a great grief to one of his sympathetic and self-asserting nature. He had carried forbearance to weakness in his dealings with Pusey, and he had prepared not one but several bridges for that sullen elephantine heretic Hampden to pass over, but he would not. What could it all mean? Did men think him insincere? Why did not the sun shine so brightly on him at Windsor as before? At the close of the Hampden difficulty he sought counsel of Sir Robert Peel, who gave him the same advice as a particular, which Prince Albert laid down as a general, rule: "In a doubtful case do nothing." Peel himself had been called "insincere," but the bishop knew he was honest, and that was a consolation. He was not worse off than a Prime Minister. But the cold shade at Windsor continued and chilled his blood, not, as his son explains, because he expected any "personal advantage" from court favour, but because it deprived him of "unrivalled opportunities of usefulness." He felt this so keenly that, in 1855, when his friend Lord Aberdeen went out of office, he begged him to disabuse the minds of the Queen and the Prince of any distrust which they might entertain of his honesty. "If that honest heart of our Queen could once believe that I would die rather than breathe a dishonest thought, I should be a happier man." The interview which the Earl sought on this occasion with the Queen and the Prince, ended by the Prince saying, "He, the bishop, does everything for some object. He has a motive for all his conduct." To which Lord Aberdeen rejoined, "Yes, sir, but when a bad motive?" This was not very satisfactory, but worse remained behind.

In October, 1855, at Balmoral, the Earl renewed the conversation, when it became evident that the cause of Prince Albert's change of opinion towards the bishop arose from a suspicion on the Prince's part as to the bishop's "sincerity or disinterestedness." One instance was, that in earlier life he had sought the preceptorship to the Prince of Wales. Another, that after preaching on a well-known text, he had somewhat unduly modified his own views to suit those advanced by the Prince in an after discussion. We need hardly say that when these points were stated to the bishop he had a satisfactory explanation. As for the preceptorship, the thought of it had been his "special horror." He did not "think himself fit for it," and that it would draw him from things for which he was fit. As for the sermon, it was on the herd of swine, preached long ago when the Prince was "most friendly." The Prince had raised all possible objections to spirits of evil, which Bishop Wilberforce contested, saying at last that it was far better to "believe in a devil who suggested evil to us," for that otherwise we were driven to "make every one his own devil." That was the story how the dark cloud arose, but there must have been something more. No one, much less a Prince, is bound to give all his reasons when driven into a corner. It is satisfactory to think that in later days that cloud passed away, and that if Bishop Wilberforce never quite resumed his old place in the royal favour, he was still so graciously treated by the Queen and the rest of the royal family that he might well have been an object of envy to many of his brethren, and even have been satisfied himself.

But these were mere vexations and mortifications—thorns in his flesh sent to humble and chasten him. He had greater griefs, besides that abiding sorrow for his wife. Death came again to his house, and carried off Herbert, his sailor-son. One of his daughters-in-law, of whom he was very fond, was carried off at an early age; and, though last not least, one after another his brothers died, as it were, to the English Church and went over to the Church of Rome, which, in the agony of his heart when the last blow fell on him in the secession of his daughter and her husband, he might, with his conviction of her dangerous doctrines, be forgiven for calling "that *cloaca* of abominations." We very much doubt whether the death of Robert Wilberforce, in 1857, affected him nearly so much as his secession, for he considered the slavery and death of the mind as much worse than mere bodily decease. Even these great griefs, however, he wrestled with and put under his feet. No doubt it was a great trial to miss at least one Archbishopric, and to see one of Palmerston's bishops, whom in 1861 he enters in his diary as "very disagreeable," promoted over his head to the northern Province. Again on Archbishop Longley's death, that "ignorant" and "utterly unprincipled" Disraeli,

so far from offering him the Primacy, would not even mention his name to the Queen for the see of London vacated by Tait. Had he gained that he might have waited for the "crowning mercy" of Canterbury, of course not for any other reason than that it would have offered him "unrivalled opportunities for usefulness." But even for those disappointments he had some compensation when, in September, 1869, his constant friend, Mr. Gladstone, in a "most kind letter," told him that "the time was come for him to seal the general verdict," and asked if he might name him to the Queen for Winchester. The work was harder, there was a diocese to organise afresh, added to all the cares and troubles of South London. It was a hard trial to leave that Oxford which he had builded out of the most discordant materials, and to set to work to raise a fresh fabric in Winchester; but he never shrunk from work. He accepted the new see with all its toil, and even in the few years of his episcopate did wonders in reorganizing the diocese. In one thing he was strong beyond measure—in the number of his clergy who were devoted to him. "There is one thing," said Mr. Disraeli in 1868, "in the Bishop of Oxford which strikes me even more than his eloquence; it is the wonderful faculty he possesses of gathering round him so many like-minded with himself for work."

But even before his elevation to Winchester he had ample compensation. At Cuddesdon, in his humble palace, close by the religious seminary which he so loved, he could console himself as he looked at his diocese with the sight of new churches rising and old ones restored, while under his very eye such men as Liddon were training students who would fill them with worthy worship. For five-and-twenty years that ecclesiastical fabric grew day by day, till it was almost perfect, when he handed it over to his successor. If he went to town he found himself a power wherever he might be; in the House of Lords a statesman-prelate, a trusty ally, and a dangerous opponent. All who remember his passages of arms with his great antagonist, Lord Westbury, will know that he administered many a castigation to that able and unscrupulous peer, who with all his dexterity was utterly wanting in that moral force which, wedded to persuasive eloquence, so often convinced his hearers that the bishop must be in the right. It was often the bishop's fate to be worsted in debates on Church matters, even in his own creation Convocation; but it was generally felt that while the divisions might be against him the force of argument was on his side. Two pet aversions he had, and this feeling is warmly exhibited in his diaries and letters. These were Palmerston and Disraeli. We have seen how early in life he attacked the former with a vehemence which later on was turned into bitterness at what he termed his profligate episcopal appointments. With Disraeli in Church matters he had no

patience, thinking him utterly ignorant of the very meaning of a Church, and only caring how he might fill up vacant sees so as to best serve electioneering purposes. Had he lived a little longer he might have seen this same Disraeli placing some of the fittest clergymen in the country on the Episcopal bench. But by that time both the bishop and Lord Beaconsfield might have become more wise. Sir Robert Peel he respected; Lord Aberdeen he looked on as his firmest friend; but the great object of his love and admiration was, beyond all doubt, Mr. Gladstone, whose future greatness he predicted, like a true prophet, long before the idea of its fulfilment had even risen on the coming Premier's mind. It is a test of such true friendship that differences of opinion on what each considered very vital matters never veiled this lasting friendship with more than a passing cloud. They were friends in youth and friends in death. Nor let it not be forgotten that it was given to the bishop to elicit from Mr. Gladstone, when Oxford and the Church rejected the worthiest of their sons, one of the noblest letters that could be written on that sad separation, in which he says, "There have been two great deaths or transmigrations of spirit in my political existence—one very slow, the breaking of ties with my original party; the other, very short and sharp, the breaking of the tie with Oxford. There will probably be a third, and no more." When the bishop, with the importunate eagerness of affection, asked what those mysterious last words meant, all the answer he got was, "The oracular sentence has little bearing on present affairs or prospects, and may stand in its proper darkness." Well might the bishop and all who heard these dark words feel as though they were facing the sphinx, and say, "We cannot tell what he means;" but then we remember that the sphinx had an awkward habit of swallowing up those who could not guess her riddles. Mr. Gladstone is more merciful to his admirers; he sets them riddles, and swallows up his opponents or tears them to pieces, which was another habit of the sphinx.

We have said of Samuel Wilberforce that he was many-sided. Narrow-minded people who only knew one side of him were as amazed when he turned round and they found that he had another side, as astronomers would be if the moon were to turn and show us her back. Those who only knew him as a hard-working bishop devoted to his diocese could scarcely believe the stories which were told of his brilliancy in society by those worldlings whose conception of a bishop and his duties were of the haziest kind. But it has been well said that it is a poor musical instrument that has but one tune. There are barrel-organs no doubt that have but one tune, just as there are bores who are incessantly harping on the same theme, but with Bishop Wilberforce in social life the difficulty was

to find any subject on which he could not discourse with fascinating eloquence. He seemed too as he sat by your side to know you better than you knew yourself, and to worm himself into your confidence almost against your will. It was this magnetic power which made him so powerful as a preacher, so that his sermons were as it were addressed to each individual in the church and not to the congregation at large. "Did I not know," said the Prince of Canino after hearing a sermon preached before a meeting of *savans* at Oxford—"did I not know that auricular confession was forbidden in the Church of England, I should have thought the bishop had been the father confessor of every one of us wise men, he did know so well all our little faults and sins." Lady Lyttelton, too, no mean observer, wrote in 1842, during that golden time at Windsor when no one had yet called Samuel Wilberforce "insincere," "The real delight of this visit is the presence of Archdeacon Wilberforce. I never saw a more agreeable man, and if such a Hindoo were to be found I think he would go far to convert me and lead me to Juggernaut. . . . . He never parades his religious feelings. They are only the *climate* of his mind; talents, knowledge, eloquence, liveliness, all evidently Christian." For another instance of his versatility and self-confidence we must again turn to Mr. Mozley. The scene is laid at Grindelwald, and Mr. Mozley was an eye-witness. It was Sunday, and the bishop had preached in English in the morning on the duty of English people showing themselves Christians in a strange country. A very necessary injunction, we may remark, not only then but now; for as foreigners very respectable at home have suddenly developed murderous propensities when birds of passage in England, so Englishmen often when abroad seem to have left every sign of their being, not to say Christians, but even gentlemen behind them. But to return to the bishop. In the afternoon Mr. Mozley stayed away, but the bishop went to the German service. When it was over Mr. Mozley saw from his window, which commanded the road, the congregation streaming out of the church headed by two figures, the bishop and the pastor, deep in discussion of "a deep sonorous utterance." "One could not but be struck with the courage of an Englishman," says Mr. Mozley, "entering into a controversy with a German in German, for such I suppose was the language, in the midst of his own people. The bishop gave us an account of the conversation as if it had been all in English." Very remarkable no doubt, but the man who had faced so many opponents on platforms and in debate could not have found a simple-minded German pastor such a very formidable antagonist even in his own parish. Once only in our own recollection do we remember the Bishop of Oxford silenced by a rejoinder. In general, after he appeared to have spent all his shafts he had still one bitter arrow left to pierce his foe. It was at

a meeting for the restoration of the Chapter House at Westminster, now, thanks to the liberality of Mr. Gladstone when Chancellor of the Exchequer, most beautifully restored, but then in a deplorable state of ruin. All present were agreed that the building must be restored, but where was the money to come from? "Certainly not from us," cried the Dean and Chapter. "Our Chapter House was taken away from us by King Edward I. It is no child of ours. We look upon it altogether as a *damnosa hereditas.*" "That being so," said a very insignificant person at the meeting, "why should not the Ecclesiastical Commission restore it?" "Ah!" said the bishop with a sneer, "that is a cow which everybody wishes to milk." "Yes, my lord," retorted that very insignificant person; "but you cannot deny that it is a cow which eats an enormous quantity of grass,"—and the bishop was speechless.

We have now nearly fulfilled our purpose. Our view is that Samuel Wilberforce, after his adversaries have said their worst of him, was a very great man, an honour to the Church, and, what is better still, an ornament and even a glory to England in his generation. Of course he had faults, but what man has not? He was called "insincere," but that only means that neither extreme in what used to be called the Church of England were content with his persisting in that *viâ media* which used to be the boast of our Protestant Church. He suffered much the same treatment at the hands of those two contending factions as moderate partakers of wine have to bear from the advocates of total abstinence. With them moderation is the downward path, and so it was with Samuel Wilberforce between the two millstones worked on the one hand by Dr. Pusey and on the other by Mr. Golightly. Each party tried to crush him in its peculiar way, but he proved the sincerity of his convictions by the courage with which he maintained them to the end, after having exhausted, both in the case of Dr. Pusey and of Dr. Hampden, every means to get them to reconcile their teaching with what he conceived to be the doctrines of the Church of England. He failed in each case, but that was rather on the principle that you may bring a horse to the water, but no power on earth except himself can make him drink. His consolation must have been that day by day in the Church of England more of the moderate party came over to his views. "How is it," said a layman of high position and undoubted sincerity a year or two ago—"how is it that I, who half a century ago was called a High Churchman, am now looked upon by some young men who shall be nameless as little better than a Dissenter?" The reason, we think, is not far to seek. There are "developments" in the Church of England as well as out of it. The thing that has been is not the thing that shall be, either in politics or religion; but until the outposts shall have been engaged in many a struggle with varying success, the great bulk of the army which represents

the common sense of the nation is content to stand at ease until the day comes when it too shall feel called on to strike; though it will remain to be seen whether it will use its weapons for or against those who have been so long skirmishing at the front.

A word or two about the "indiscretions" which have been complained of in these volumes. No doubt the revelations and personal remarks with which the bishop's diaries are full might have been avoided by more careful editing. The conversations of the bishop with the late Dean of Windsor, with Lord Ampthill, and with Mr. Nisbet Hamilton on the Scotch Church in general and on the Rev. Norman Macleod in particular ought not to have been published, the two first as being strictly private and confidential, and the last because Mr. Nisbet Hamilton was in no way a representative of the Church across the Border. But having admitted this, we must add that those of the public which have raised this outcry are very hard to please. They expect their curiosity to be tickled by such revelations, and having devoured them with glee, they say, "Out upon such a fellow and revealer of secrets; he has added a new terror to death." Now we for good reasons have very great sympathy with an unfortunate literary executor placed in the position of Mr. Reginald Wilberforce. "A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind" to him, and we quite share his feeling of disappointment when, having used the pruning-knife so freely, and thrown a much greater mass of "indiscreet" matter under the table, this tumult should have arisen over a few stray leaves that may have escaped his notice during the process of excision. If the reading public are so eager to see how great men have lived, and to be in a position to behold them working like bees in a glass hive in the broad light of day, they must not blame editors who consult their tastes by publishing some indiscreet scraps of gossip for their edification. Perhaps they would like to return to the days when nothing was to be printed till fifty or a hundred years after the writer's death; that is until it had lost most of its interest. As we none of us expect to attain to the years of Methuselah, or even to those of the Venerable Dr. Routh, we think it is better to let things stand as they are, that great men's lives should be published within a reasonable period after their death, due regard being had to the difficulty of the undertaking in each case; that editors should endeavour to discharge their duty with proper discretion, but that public opinion should not be too severe on them if they are occasionally caught tripping. A little more of such indignation as has been expressed against Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, and all future biographies, letters, and diaries, will be published in the United States, where, if readers are as curious as ours, they are not so hard on those who provide them both with instruction and amusement.

G. W. Dasent.

LORD WESTBURY AND BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

A LUCIANIC DIALOGUE.

WEST. How strange, Bishop, that we should never have met before! I arrived here in the very next boat after yours;[1] our obols must have clinked together in the ferryman's pouch. Yet a decade has nearly passed, according to earthly reckoning, ere we have fallen in with each other. Surprising!

WILB. Hardly so to me, my lord. I have never sought—forgive me—the society of lawyers.

WEST. Nor I. I found them but depressing company on earth; and, though death could scarcely add to their dulness, it seemed paradoxical to suppose that it would enliven them.

WILB. As sarcastic as ever, I observe, my lord.

WEST. Say as outspoken, my dear Bishop, and add, as little malicious on that very account. Malice is a natural exudation in every mind, and it will remain there as a poison if it is not thrown off as an excretion. It is only the sarcastic, as they are called, who get rid of it by its proper eliminator—the tongue.

WILB. The excretory function was admirably active, then, in your lordship's case; and your mental health, if that, indeed, will insure it, should have been excellent.

WEST. You are good enough to say so. But health is one thing and popularity another. It would have been far better for me, of course, to have only thought what are called ill-natured things of my neighbours than to have said them. Or, if some relief was necessary, I should have committed them only to the direct guardianship of a diary. But then, to do that, one must be a man of discretion; and that, my dear Bishop, is a quality which, unlike yourself in both respects, I neither inherited nor bequeathed.

WILB. Your mind seems secreting very rapidly just now, my lord; and the activity with which you are throwing off its products is rather—— well, it scarcely tends to enhance the long-deferred pleasure of this interview.

WEST. Indeed! I would not willingly do anything to diminish it. But our subject is for me, perhaps, a somewhat too stimulating one. Shall we change it for something a little less personal to myself than the mental and moral characteristics of your lordship's very humble servant? Would you discuss with me the position and prospects of the Church of England?

WILB. With *you*, my lord? Impossible!

(1) July 20th and 19th, 1873.

WEST. Why so? We have more than once exchanged views upon that matter in the House of Lords.

WILB. Yes; as ships exchange broadsides. But I do not care to revive old quarrels in the shades; and an amicable, mutually helpful discussion of such a subject with *you*, is, I repeat, impossible.

WEST. With *me?* The emphasis on that word is neither complimentary nor altogether—— but I refrain. It is not for me to instruct your lordship in the obligations of charity.

WILB. My dear Lord Westbury, it is not a question of charity. One may wish to discuss colours with a blind man, and may most sincerely lament the affliction that keeps our minds apart. But apart they must remain; and not all the charity in the world will bring them together.

WEST. Your lordship's metaphors are discouraging.

WILB. Literal language would, I fear, be more so.

WEST. Not necessarily. I can hardly account it a privilege to be compelled to fit the cap on for myself, especially when the hatter is present, and might relieve me of the task. I should have deemed it more truly polite of you to have said in plain terms that I am spiritually blind.

WILB. Well, suppose me to have said so. What then?

WEST. Then I should only have replied that your lordship pays but an ill compliment to the constitution of a State Church in which for several years I filled a high judicial office.

WILB. That, alas! is true.

WEST. *Alas?* Your interjections, Bishop, are as discouraging as your metaphors. For which was your alas! intended? For the affliction of the judge, or for his infliction on the Church? Or for your own indiscretion in speaking evil of dignities?

WILB. You have rebuked me for not dealing plainly with you, Lord Westbury. I trust I shall not now be blamed for the opposite fault. I yielded to no one in admiration for your consummate judicial powers, but I confess I shared the view taken by most good Churchmen of your position with respect to the Church.

WEST. Which was . . . . ?

WILB. Nay, you cannot be ignorant of it. Why this pressure upon me to speak plainly?

WEST. Why this need of pressure after your promise of plain speech?

WILB. Well, then . . . . which was that your lordship's presence and influence on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at a time of sore trial for the Church of England, was a misfortune of the first magnitude.

WEST. Because of my "consummate judicial powers?"

WILB. Because of your lordship's known laxity of moral prin-

ciple and complete indifference, or rather utter insensibility, to religious ideas.

WEST. I hesitated just now to remind a bishop of his charity. I am even more loth to recall to him the name of another of the cardinal virtues—that of faith. You surely cannot think that Providence abandoned the cause of the Church to a perverse and ungodly judge?

WILB. God forbid! I have always believed—it would have been impious to doubt—that you were an instrument in the Divine hand.

WEST. I have always believed it myself.

WILB. I have never doubted that the judgments of the Judicial Committee, during your term of service on it, were overruled for good.

WEST. You mean in a theological sense. Technically, of course, they were final. But if our judgments were divinely protected from error, why object to me as a judge? Must I remind your lordship, not only of scriptural virtues, but of ecclesiastical formularies? The Twenty-sixth Article declares, if I recollect it rightly, that 'the efficacy of the sacraments is not diminished by the unworthiness of the minister, and surely what is true of an officiating priest in the discharge of his sacred duties must apply *à fortiori* to that (spiritually speaking) far lower minister—a lay Chancellor acting as an ecclesiastical appellate judge.

WILB. The comparison savours somewhat of profanity. But your lordship should have finished the Article: "Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed." You had forgotten the conclusion of the Article perhaps?

WEST. Ahem! . . . . No, Bishop, no. We lawyers are not in the habit of quoting a part of a passage without knowing the whole. But, I repeat, I fail to understand the ecclesiastical objection to Gallio, even from the ecclesiastic's own point of view. The ruling of the proconsul of Achaia has always seemed to me a very sound one, and his indifference to religion—if indeed that were predicated of him by the inspired historian, which in fact it is not—would, always assuming his subjection to the Divine guidance, have been immaterial.

WILB. There are such things as weak brethren, my lord. Your lordship's authority in matters of faith and ceremonial was a stumbling block to many.

WEST. Yes; and many a bitter sectary, thirsting for the discomfiture of his opponents, was tripped up by it. The tables are

turned now, Bishop, and it is your own party who are on the defensive. Well would it be for them if a Gallio or two of my unworthy type could return to stand their friend.

WILB. I own I should prefer some of your lordship's contemporaries to yourself. But, alas! they cannot return "to teach the laws of death's untrodden realm."

WEST. No, or they would take back more jurisprudence than they brought with them. But if clerically-minded judges are all you want you have nothing to complain of. The interests of the Church are surely safe in the hands of Lord Selborne. He has made its songs, or at least collected them, and can be trusted therefore with the less important duty of declaring its laws.

WILB. Lord Selborne, however, is not immortal.

WEST. No, in spite of his devotion to what is understood to be the chief employment of eternity. But the immortality of a Chancellor would derange our whole political system.

WILB. He is a sound Churchman. But who is to succeed him?

WEST. Have you not Lord Cairns?

WILB. Lord Cairns!

WEST. There is a significance in your lordship's intonation which I cannot affect to misunderstand. We will say no more of Lord Cairns. And he, after all—as for that matter the Chancellor too—is but one member of the much-maligned court whose deliberations I used once, under Providence, to attempt to guide. Moreover, there are Archiepiscopal assessors in Church cases upon whom at least you can rely. The Archbishop of York——

WILB. The Archbishop of York!

WEST. More accentual eloquence! Let us say no more, then, of the Archbishop of York. There is Lord Coleridge, however, among lay judges. He, I should imagine, is sound. He has, at any rate, plenty of clericalism, inherited and acquired. But Lord Coleridge, I think, exhausts the list of——

WILB. Completely, my lord. You need not pursue your inquiries further. The race of eminent lawyers and successful politicians who are also sound Churchmen is becoming extinct. One shudders to think that some mere unforeseen accident of politics might raise that —how shall I describe him?—that burly Erastian, Sir William Harcourt, to the woolsack.

WEST. Aha! I welcome the importation of that name into our colloquy.

WILB. Indeed! The name of Sir William Harcourt?

WEST. No; of Erastian. Do you know, Bishop, I have been called an Erastian myself?

WILB. You distress rather than surprise me. The world is very censorious.

WEST. I do not fear its censures, but I confess I like to comprehend them. Your lordship will recollect Dr. Johnson's famous triumph in the fish market. Obscurity may lend such a sting to vituperation, as not even the most callous can endure. I have smarted under "Erastian" like the Billingsgate lady under the contumely of "noun-substantive;" and have sought far more patiently for a definition. Am I right in believing that "Erastus" is simply the Græco-Latinized form of the name of Lieber, a German physician of the sixteenth century, who opposed the Calvinistic system of ecclesiastical discipline?

WILB. Yes; your lordship may so far trust the theological encyclopædia which you have been evidently studying.

WEST. I thank you for the assurance, Bishop, and forgive you the sneer.

WILB. In the modern political usage of the word, Erastianism need not take long to define. It is the name of a system which is at once a usurpation and a despotism, an encroachment of Cæsar upon the kingdom of Christ, and the imposition of a heavier tax upon His people than the hardest of the Cæsars ever levied from a conquered race. It is Tiberius exacting the tribute money, only with the souls of the faithful for denarii.

WEST. Thanks, Bishop. I admire the rhetorical fervour of your analysis. But I have noticed that the definitions of Churchmen are often as animated as lay invectives. Meanwhile, however, though I now know that my enemies did not mean to compliment me in calling me an Erastian, I know little more.

WILB. Perhaps it would be simplest to define an Erastian as one who would degrade the Church into a "Department of the State"—one who holds the State to be not only the creator and arbiter of the temporal rights of the Church, but to have supreme authority over her as regards her spiritual functions also.

WEST. Is *that* an Erastian, Bishop? "Par ma foi," as M. Jourdain says, "il y a plus de quarante ans que je dis de la prose sans que j'en susse rien." Why, the man you meet in the omnibus has been an Erastian all his life without knowing it.

WILB. That is likely enough, my lord; but it is lamentable to find such ignorance in high places.

WEST. Enlighten it then, Bishop. Explain these things to a benighted master of Israel. Delineate, I beg of you, this sharp boundary between the temporal rights and spiritual functions of the Church, this landmark which it is Erastianism to overstep. Is its recognition traceable in the suit instituted by one of your lordship's right reverend brethren against a certain essayist and reviewer? Was there no Erastianism in the conduct of a bishop who asked us to examine the defendant's doctrines for heresy, and to deprive him

of his benefice as a heretic? Or was the only Erastianism ours for deciding against the episcopal promoter, and, as profane jesters described it, dismissing his formidable client "with costs"?

WILB. The tone of your questions is hardly seemly, Lord Westbury, but I will answer them. It is, doubtless, the function of the State to affirm, through its judges, the doctrines of the Church; but it is for the Church herself to define them.

WEST. Where and when has she done so independently of the State? In which of the transactions or documents of the Reformation was any such claim allowed? Did the policy of Henry VIII. or of Elizabeth recognise it? Do even the Articles themselves assert it?

WILB. Unquestionably. "The Church," says the Twentieth Article, "hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."

WEST. Where, then, does this authority reside? In Convocation? Take care, Bishop. It was once my painful duty to rebuke you for an attempted encroachment on the ecclesiastical authority of the Crown; and I am not clear as a lawyer that, even *here*, it might not be possible for you to expose yourself to the penalties of a *premunire*.

WILB. I told you at the outset, my lord, that it would be useless for me to discuss the question with you. We Churchmen, at any rate, recognise a "living voice of the Church."

WEST. And we laymen, Bishop, can distinguish at least half-a-dozen. There were nearly as many at the Reformation, and they had all to be listened to. The Church itself is founded on the policy of comprehension, and that is a policy which only laymen can administer.

WILB. Comprehension, my lord, may be carried too far by those who care not whom they include.

WEST. Any distance, Bishop, will seem too far to those who think that the hurdles are being opened at the wrong end of the fold.

WILB. Nay, enlarge the fold at the latitudinarian end as much as you please, I say as a High Churchman: only let it remain a *fold*—a real enclosure and not a sham one, opening wide over its prostrate hurdles on to the bleak moorland of infidelity.

WEST. And enlarge the fold at the High Church end as much as you please, say I as a latitudinarian: only let it remain a *sheep* fold, not one whose hospitable gaps invite everywhere the entrance of the Roman wolf. But metaphorical controversy, my dear Bishop, is an idle game of battledore. The argument is as easily bandied to and fro as a shuttlecock, and has not much more weight. Shall we discontinue it?

WILB. As you seem from your choice of metaphor to charge me with Romanizing, most certainly. No man has denounced

the errors and pretensions of Rome more unreservedly than I have.

WEST. And yet after all it is the very type of Church Government which you most favour.

WILB. Most favour? I?

WEST. To be sure. A Pope who claims to be the vicar of Christ is——

WILB. Popes hardly bear themselves as His vicars nowaday.

WEST. Pardon me. That is exactly how they do bear themselves, it seems to me. A modern Pope behaves as Christ's vicar in the sense in which we speak of an English incumbent as being the vicar of his curate.

WILB. The wholesome purpose of that last sarcasm, my lord, will, I trust, procure forgiveness for its irreverence.

WEST. I trust so too. Elijah, you will remember, was permitted the use of irony in testifying against the prophets of Baal. But what, to return to our subject, could afford a more perfect type of spiritual independence than the Church of Rome? There you have a "living voice of the Church" indeed.

WILB. A living voice, but not "of the Church." Hers was hushed for ever in 1869; and nothing now is audible through the silence of that vast communion, but the voice of a single bishop.

WEST. There is much to admire in your lordship's disinterested rejection of so attractive an ideal. And yet I have known English prelates who seemed continually striving to realise it.

WILB. The voice of the Church will in futuro mean the deliverances, ill or well considered, of a solitary Italian priest.

WEST. So much the better, surely, if the Church has agreed to recognise his voice as hers. The solo has natural advantages over the chorus, if only that it leaves less doubt about the tune.

WILB. I cannot reply to ribaldry, my lord. Let it be enough to say that whatever be its merits, the form of spiritual government which prevails in the Church of Rome is by no means to the taste —speaking for myself, at any rate—of English bishops.

WEST. Oh, as for the bishops themselves, I can well understand that. I thought we were speaking of the discipline of the Church at large. To really relish a Papacy from the point of view of the ruling ecclesiastical class, one ought to be Pope one's self. What your lordship would doubtless prefer to a spiritual autocracy of that kind would be a sort of right reverend Venetian oligarchy.

WILB. I am certainly of opinion that doctrines should be defined not by a single head, but by "the heads" of the Church, after full synodical deliberation.

WEST. Impossible. The heads would be by the ears in no time. This sort of episcopal Home Rule that you seem so much to long for,

Bishop, would be found as unworkable in the ecclesiastical as in the political order, and would lead to just the same disagreeable alternative between resumption of the grant and the total separation of grantor and grantee. And you do not really desire a "Repeal of the Union" between Church and State, I am sure. You are loyal, I am persuaded, to the establishment which you so conspicuously adorned.

WILB. There, in truth, you do me no more than justice. How indeed could I be otherwise than loyal to the Church of Hooker and Andrewes, of Ken and Herbert—the Church which has enlisted the fervent devotion of so many saintly hearts, the reasonable service of so many powerful minds; the one Church of Christendom which has steered successfully the middle course between the despotism of authority and the anarchy of private judgment?

WEST. I must admit that it is pre-eminently the Church of a gentleman, and a man of culture. But I feel sure that it would almost wholly lose its attractions in this respect and become narrow and sectarian if once it were separated from the State. Its Bishops, too, would probably decline in social status, and by consequence in their acceptability to the world of fashion.

WILB. Why do you address that argument so pointedly to me, my lord?

WEST. I must apologize for addressing an argument of so worldly a nature to your lordship at all; but you cannot, I know, be insensible to the consideration that high social popularity must greatly enlarge a Bishop's sphere of usefulness, and that there is nothing unworthy of his Apostolic mission in courting it.

WILB. I know not, my lord, whether you say that in good faith or in irony; but, in any case, I hold it to be true.

WEST. Irony, Bishop! Never, I trust, shall I use that weapon so unskilfully, and I may add so profanely, as to blunt its edge against the informations of Holy Writ.

WILB. St. Paul was made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some.

WEST. Your lordship has anticipated my quotation. Social success is in this sense a proof of Apostolic succession, and was doubtless sought by you only for such evidential purpose. But be that as it may, the Pauline descent of your lordship's versatility was unmistakable, and it must indeed have been gratifying to you to reflect that the display of those accomplishments which so charmed our dinner-tables was indirectly tending to establish the validity of Anglican orders.

H. D. TRAILL.

A RADICAL IN RUSSIA.

THERE is a saying attributed to Alexander I. that "a benevolent despotism is a happy accident." It is difficult, however, as far as Russia is concerned, to find evidence of the advantage of a despotism, benevolent or otherwise. At the best it must be an unsatisfactory position for a people when, in lieu of the safeguards of public opinion and popular institutions, they have to rely on the good intentions of an autocratic power. Indeed the despot himself, however benevolent, has no guarantee that his good wishes will be carried out, or any means of knowing the extent to which they are in practice either realised or frustrated. The laws and ukases of an autocratic ruler, after having filtered through the official mind and been administered by official hands, might be anything but benevolent gifts in the eyes of those whom they seek to benefit. This explains in a measure the contradictions which are apparent to the foreigner with regard to Russian affairs. So many things about which he inquires seem satisfactory in theory—on paper—but unsatisfactory as far as the practice of them can be ascertained. Municipal self-government of rather a complete character exists in towns and districts, but its good effect is neutralised, if not destroyed, by the arbitrary and continual interference of an all-powerful officialism whose will cannot be resisted. Corporal punishments are abolished by Imperial mandate, but the fact of frequent secret floggings is nevertheless abundantly proved. The paper rouble contains a beautifully printed promise to pay which cannot possibly be realised. In contemplating the numberless arrests for political offences it is a satisfaction to find that the protection of trial by jury exists, but the satisfaction is lessened when it is seen that in practice juries can be dispensed with, and offenders can be tried and sentenced "administratively," or can be quietly imprisoned or banished without trial at all.

The City of St. Petersburg and the Moscow Railway strike one as two works which are typical of autocratic action. Here is a city made to order, both as to plan and situation, to suit the will and caprice of an absolute ruler. Its site had none of the qualities which have led men by the rule of natural selection to fix on certain spots whereon to congregate and to build dwellings, but seems rather to have been a place totally unsuited for the purpose. The city did not grow and develop itself to suit the growing social wants and material conditions of a people, but was planned by one man, who, with rule and compass in hand, drew the plan of a city on paper, and ordered it to be built accordingly. The result is a place with

large masses of buildings, broad rectangular streets, immense squares and open spaces, and without a small house, or a narrow or crooked way, to be seen. The first reflections on looking at the city are—What provisions are there for the working classes? and where do the poor dwell? On inquiry it is found that they are crowded into these large houses, and it is said that there are instances in which one and two thousand persons are found living in one dwelling. The effect of this manner of living on the comfort and morals of the poor is reported to be extremely bad, while effective sanitary arrangements and police supervision are almost impossible. With respect to the Moscow Railway, the Emperor is said to have taken a ruler and ruled on the map a straight line between St. Petersburg and Moscow, and ordered the railway to follow exactly that direction. This was a ready way of ignoring topographical difficulties, of disposing of the rival claims and wishes of towns on the route, and of dispensing with the scientific skill of the surveyor; but the result was a line of greatly impaired value, through a half-deserted country, and which scarcely touched a town from beginning to end. These two instances are apt illustrations of the actions of despotic governments. The life of the nation is not allowed to develop its own wants and supply its own needs, but it is confined and governed in its various phases by rules and methods prescribed for it. The clothes are not, so to speak, fitted to the man, but it is sought to fit, and if necessary to crush, the man into garments prepared for him without regard to his size or requirements.

Nothing is more striking in Russia than the contrasts which are met with at every turn. All the features of a luxurious civilisation are observed existing alongside of the merest barbarism. The rude sheepskin garment is seen side by side with dresses of the latest Paris fashions. Evidences of the deepest poverty and proofs of the most lavish wealth are equally common. In the market-places and popular quarters of Moscow the peasant class are seen partaking of such coarse food (rotten eggs being an article of diet) as the poorest people in Western Europe would not touch. On the other hand there are evidences of the most luxurious living, and an abundant supply of wines, fruits, and food of the most expensive kinds. In the midst of signs of great poverty are found splendid shops filled with goods of the most costly description, indicating the existence of a large money-spending class possessing expensive tastes and habits.

Another thing which strikes the attention of the English traveller—especially if he has a knowledge of, and is interested in, English industries—is the position to which Russia has evidently attained as a manufacturing country. A few years ago the Russian manufactures were known to be few and unimportant, but the Industrial

Exhibition of Russian work, held in Moscow this year, offered surprising proofs of the rapid strides which the country is making in this direction. In this exhibition almost all classes of manufactures in iron, metal, cotton, leather, papier-mâché, &c., were well represented. The examples of jewellery especially were very striking for beauty of design. The artistic patterns of gold chains, and the taste and elegance of the settings of gem rings, contrasted in a striking manner with the heavy, solid style of similar kinds of English work. Perhaps the most unique in this department were the articles in gold enamelled, the examples of which were of the most exquisite design, colour, and workmanship. Machinery of almost all kinds was a very prominent feature in the exhibition; and especially remarkable was some huge copper work for sugar-refining, which, for solid workmanship and high finish, could scarcely be surpassed. These manufactures have to a large extent been introduced, and are now carried on, by foreigners, mostly Germans. Russian workmen are, however, generally employed, and are described by their employers as apt and docile, and though wanting in the inventive genius, are said to be very imitative, and able to acquire the knowledge of any handicraft with singular rapidity and accuracy.

Another noteworthy phase in Russian life which impresses the attention of the stranger is the excessive and continual exercise of religious forms and observances. Superstitious practices are more conspicuous and more general even than among the most backward of Roman Catholic populations. There are numerous chapels and shrines in the streets and thoroughfares, before which the people throng and perform their devotions. The kneelings, prostrations, crossings, and other rites, are incessant. The cabman removes his hat and crosses himself as he passes a shrine or chapel. The countryman in his cart, the porter with his load, and the poorer passers-by generally, stop to recite their prayers and kneel or prostrate themselves before some *icon*, which they firmly believe is endowed with miraculous powers. Before going on a journey, or making a bargain, or any other common event in his life, the Russian recites his prayers, bows, and crosses himself with great rapidity and vigour before his favourite shrine. Bones of saints and other relics are exhibited in churches and kissed with fervour and invocation by the poor worshippers. The priests, however, do not seem to have any close relationship or influence with the people, or to command that superstitious regard which is as a rule accorded to the priesthood in Roman Catholic countries.

The general impression one retains of the Russians is that they are a peaceable and orderly people, neither noisy nor quarrelsome, but with a general good-humoured bearing in all their relations to one

another. One characteristic worthy of special notice is their kind treatment of animals. The brutality witnessed in Spain and Italy and other parts of Europe is never seen in Russia. Their horses, even the commonest drosky horses, are as a rule well treated and cared for. The driver drives at a rapid pace, but is rarely or never seen to roughly use or to strike his horse; indeed it is a rare exception that he has a whip, or anything beyond a mere apology for one.

It is impossible to be long in Russia without being aware of the general official corruption which exists. The old Russian saying, "Look to thy office and indemnify thyself," seems not to be forgotten by the host of officials in the country. The evil is a chronic one, and, in the absence of popular power or the influence of public opinion, it is felt to be impossible to cure or even to check it. Everyone is aware of it, and it is openly spoken of, but each one in his station thinks it best to submit to it, in order to relieve himself as much as possible from official annoyance.

The most interesting inquiry, however, connected with Russia—as indeed with every country—must be into the political institutions and conditions which hold millions of human beings together and make them a nation. In the United States of America is being tried the experiment of self-government by the simple plan of adopting, without appeal, the will of the majority ascertained by machinery more or less imperfect. In Russia the direct opposite of this is found, the whole country being ruled by one man whose will is supreme. Whatever Councillors of State or Ministers of Departments might exist, they are but officials, with practically no independent authority whatever. The Emperor stands alone, absolute in a power, and consequently in a responsibility, which are shared by none.

In America and in Russia respectively, one sees the popular and Conservative principles, so to speak, carried out each to its logical conclusion. In visiting Eastern nations no great feeling of surprise is excited at the spectacle of absolute governments and despotic rulers. They are taken as a matter of course, and social and what there is of public life are adapted to them. But in Russia we find a people among whom are all the evidences of an advancing civilisation. We see universities with thousands of students, learned societies, schools for the advancement of literature, art, and science, museums, and libraries. We see, further, numbers of factories employing thousands of skilled workmen; mineral possessions more or less developed; and trade and commerce flourishing. All this in connection with a people who are shrewd, peaceable, and brave; having social intercourse with other nations; with forms of communal or local self-government, such as are not possessed by any

other people in Europe, but who, at the same time, take no part in the government of their country, and are without a vestige of political power. All the vast territory, with its eighty-five millions of population, is governed from one centre by means of a host of officials, who form a society, an institution, distinct and apart from the great bulk of the people, and out of gear as a rule with the real life of the nation. The official mind, dulled and mischievous as it is apt to be in every nation to the extent that it is left uncontrolled must, under such exclusive circumstances as these, become hopeless, as far as any real knowledge of the condition and wants of the people is concerned. All expressions of discontent being rigidly stifled, it is difficult to gauge the exact degree in which reasons for discontent exist. Abstract reasoning, however, is sufficient for the conclusion, that where these methods of government exist, there will great wrongs exist also, and consequent discontent and resistance. But we are not left to abstract reasoning, but have often startling revelations which indicate in some degree the true state of things. These revelations also naturally give an air of probability to the numerous reports which are circulated of men and women deported privately and kept in cruel and lifelong labour in mines, of secret punishments and executions, and other barbarities practised by an irresponsible administration. The trial of Vera Sassulitch four years ago for the attempted murder of General Trepoff, the chief of police, was one of these occasions in which official cruelty and persecution were brought to light. This young lady from the age of seventeen had spent most of her life in prison, or under harassing police supervision, not for any proved crime, but on "suspicion of revolutionary designs." The cruel treatment of untried political prisoners was well known to her, and she was at length moved to public action by the knowledge of an outrage of special brutality committed by General Trepoff on a young suspect named Bogulutoff, because the latter on being ordered to his cell did not salute the General. Vera Sassulitch, in despair at the hopelessness of securing any remedy, or even publicity for these abuses, resolved to sacrifice her life in order to make the cruelties known to the public. Her own account of the transaction, given in a plain manner, with no striving after effect, coupled with a modest and respectful bearing towards the Court, tells its own tale. After relating her knowledge of how the prisoners had been maltreated, she stated :—

"As I had myself experienced long solitary confinement, I could imagine what a frightful impression must have been produced on all the political prisoners. I knew by experience the morbidly excited, nervous condition produced by solitary imprisonment, and the majority of the prisoners in question had already been confined more than three years. Some had gone mad, and others had committed suicide. I waited to see if any one would take the matter

in hand, but as nothing was done to prevent Trepoff and other officials from repeating such cruelties, and seeing no other means of directing public attention to the affair, I determined at the price of my own ruin to prove that human beings should not be treated in that way with impunity. It is a terrible thing to raise one's hand against a fellow-creature, but I could find no other means. It was all the same to me whether I killed or wounded the Prefect."

The police on this occasion, having no doubt as to the issue of the trial, took no special precautions to secure a conviction, but allowed the case to be tried by a jury in open court, with the public present. The prisoner was, however, acquitted by the jury, and although her acquittal was a plain miscarriage of justice from a legal point of view, yet the verdict was received with wild cheering in the court, and with unanimous approval throughout the country. It was a rare occasion, eagerly caught at by the people, by which their knowledge and condemnation of official tyrannies could be publicly expressed. The authorities were startled at these popular manifestations, and it is said that the Emperor himself was greatly distressed at the strong and general sympathy shown for the criminal. But nothing was learnt by the lesson. Here was a great crime committed as the only way, and with the sole object, of making grievances known, and yet the repression of public speech and public opinion which caused such means as this to be adopted was in no way relaxed. The authorities only showed anger at the prisoner's acquittal, and after having—as she afterwards alleged—made a fruitless attempt to arrest her a second time, contented themselves with an official declaration, that in future such cases as this should not be tried by a jury. Early in the present year vague reports were current in St. Petersburg as to the secret ill-treatment of a number of political prisoners who were awaiting their trial. It was impossible to openly prove the truth of the charges, and of course too dangerous to agitate for an inquiry; but on the day of the trial two suspects—one man and one woman—were not produced for the reason alleged that "they had gone mad."

A still deeper insight into the real state of affairs in Russia was given last year at a meeting of the Provincial Assembly of Nobles at St. Petersburg. At that meeting a member, M. Shadereff, stated that between 1870 and 1877 there had been 63,442 persons exiled to Siberia, and he moved to petition the Emperor to abolish the system of banishing political offenders without trial. His speech is almost a solitary instance of a man in his position daring to speak out in public, and lay bare the incredible evils of Russian tyranny. He said:—

"We live in a time when officials supersede the Courts of Justice, arrest people at their good pleasure, chiefly at night, and banish them without any judicial sentence. Russian society at first hoped that the law would be strong enough to put an end to this abuse; but it soon appeared that any lawful

resistance to the omnipotent administration was useless. . . . The ranks of the exiles were filled with young men under age, whose only crime was, in the majority of cases, to be related or known to some one whose loyalty some official suspected. How could one believe that Russia is on the path of peaceful progress when a thoughtless word, a misunderstood letter, or a false testimony of a subordinate official daily increases the list of these unfortunate exiles!"

One learns but little as to the practice in Russia by ascertaining the state of the law. The Russian criminal code, for instance, appears to be rather humane than otherwise, but its character is altered or ignored by the autocratic administration of it. In one of La Fontaine's fables is the story of the lion who banished from his kingdom all animals who had not the appendage of a tail. The ape had to leave at once, and as he was going noticed that the fox was also taking his departure. The ape tells him that surely he—the fox—must be safe, as he has, if anything, too much tail. The fox, however, replies that what the ape states is quite true, but it is impossible to say what view the monarch might take of the matter. So in Russia, the laws themselves when administered by an authority not amenable to, but above all law, are no protection to the innocent, as many a poor wretch in Siberia knows to his cost.

To such a state of things as this the political student knows that opposition is inevitable. The natural and safe form for it to take would be by open speech, formulated complaints, and peaceful demands for reforms. These manifestations, however, being denied and sternly repressed, the alternatives remain of absolute submission, or secret resistance. The Government, yielding nothing and learning nothing, continue steadily at the impossible task of damming up the stream of political progress instead of guiding it into safe and useful courses. The direct product of this policy is the movement known by the name of Nihilism, a term which conveys little or no indication of the aims and nature of the movement itself. The official description of the Nihilists is, that they are a secret society of desperate persons, enemies of order, religion, and morality, with no constructive ideas, but seeking only to destroy the existing state of things by outrage and assassination. In a country where no one is sure that he is not speaking to a spy or an enemy men are careful of touching on political matters. To the ordinary inquirer their reply is, "We see nothing, and know nothing, and do not occupy ourselves with politics." The same men, however, among themselves, or when they know well to whom they are speaking, are not wanting in communicativeness as to the political situation. From such sources as these it is easy to learn that Nihilism, and sympathy with Nihilism, are spreading rapidly, and in almost every direction. In the eyes of the Russian Government every agitator for political reform is a Nihilist, or connected with Nihilism. So that, broadly speaking, Nihilism is the expression of the unrest and the discontent

of the nation. Its ranks—as the Nihilist trials show—include various degrees; from those who are striving for political freedom, but who do not countenance, and have no sympathy with, violence and bloodshed, down to the extreme men and women—probably few in number—who, despairing of all possibility of improvement under the existing system, aim at the annihilation of that system by the destruction of those who represent it. The assertion so industriously repeated that Nihilism is a negation, a simply destructive principle, with no constructive aims and plans, is neither logical nor according to evidence. Men, educated men and women—except the insane—do not carry their lives in their hands and commit horrible deeds from mere devilry. The explanation given that they are in almost all cases very young is not sufficient, but rather points to the presence of an enthusiasm unchecked by that prudence and self-care to be found in older persons. If their statements are to be taken as evidence, the Nihilists seem singularly clear as to the ends they are pursuing. Their programme, as set forth by the Executive Committee, and widely circulated in 1880, is—to overthrow the present system of government, and transfer its power to an Assembly elected by all Russians without distinction of class or property. To this Assembly, among some fanciful and crude questions, the following reforms are to be submitted:—First, Permanent popular representation, with full power over all questions of State. Second, extensive local self-government, with officials elected by the people. Third, complete liberty of conscience, of speech, of the press, of association, and of electoral agitation. Fourth, universal suffrage. Fifth, replacement of the standing army by a territorial army. Other proclamations addressed to the nation have been adopted by the Nihilists, printed in their journals, and otherwise widely circulated. In these manifestoes the Nihilists set forth at length that the people are deprived of all rights of citizenship, are not allowed to say what they want, and have over them a herd of plunderers, placed there and supported by the Government. They argue that the empire is kept together by brute force, by soldiers, police, and officials, and they again renew their demands for self-government, freedom of the press, of speech, of public meeting, and the other items in their programme. These reforms, apart from the methods taken to secure them, do not sound alarming or revolutionary to Englishmen, who are accustomed to the exercise of the rights involved in them. Indeed, it is difficult to understand the blindness of a Government which forbids, under the penalty of the severest punishment, an open discussion of such questions as these. In the face of their oft-repeated demands there is no commoner question, both in the press and in society, with regard to the Nihilists, than, What are their aims? What do they want? During the agitation for National Education in England

some years ago, there was a cartoon in *Punch* representing a poor boy, in the last degree of raggedness and destitution, standing on the doorstep of a large mansion. The rich occupant of the house asks him, "What do you want?" And the boy, surveying himself, replies, "I guess I want everything." So with the Russian people. Their political condition might be summed up with the statement that "they want everything."

It does not appear, however, that this political movement exists, at least to any considerable extent, among the peasantry, who constitute the great bulk of the population of the country. The Russian people might be divided into three classes. The military and official class, including the vast army of trained functionaries appointed and supported by the Government, without any reference to the wishes of the people. The peasantry who, as a body, regard the Czar as almost a Deity, and who neither feel nor understand any opposition to his declared will. This sentiment, however, can scarcely be called loyalty, but is rather an extension to the person and office of the Czar, of that spirit of blind superstition which animates the Russian peasant in his religious life. But the fact that members of the peasant class were implicated in the assassination of the Emperor Alexander, and are found taking part in other plots, seems to indicate that the revolutionary movement is spreading to some extent even among the peasantry. Besides these two classes there is a third composed of a small minority of politically active men and women—including large numbers of students, teachers, traders, professional and scientific men, skilled artisans, and other workmen—which may be said to constitute the thoughtful and educated part of the nation. It is the widespread sympathy with their aims among this section of the people, which enables the Nihilists to carry on their agitation with such boldness and persistency.

In the meantime the attention of the Government has been fully occupied, not in considering the causes of Nihilism, but with gigantic efforts to crush it out. It is putting forth enormous strength, but it is as the strength of a blind giant striking widely and indiscriminately, but whose blows are eluded by the wary and the watchful. Many of the Government measures of repression must be sources of great irritation and annoyance, while their effectiveness for the purpose intended is only apparent to the official mind. No one is allowed to enter Russia without a passport duly viséd, or to leave the country without a stamped permission to do so. But these passports are easily obtained, and can be duly viséd in London and elsewhere, without personal application. They contain simply the name, without any description of the travellers; they are collected and submitted to the authorities by the captain of the ship on entering the country, and by the hotel-keeper when permission to

leave is required, and while causing great annoyance and some expense to the ordinary traveller, they seem of little use for detective purposes. The hotel-keepers at St. Petersburg are obliged, under heavy penalties, to report to the police twice a day the names of all travellers who enter or leave their hotels. Each householder in the city is compelled by the Government to have a "Dvornick" to watch his premises. These Dvornicks are men of the peasant class who sit day and night wrapped in their sheepskins at the entrance of the houses, their office being apparently that of half watchmen, half spy. An order was issued a short time ago that no one should walk in the streets of St. Petersburg without a passport, but the absurdity and annoyance of the proceeding were such as to compel the withdrawal of the order. Newspaper editors are only allowed to give, on certain subjects, such views as are permitted by the Government, and on some questions are forbidden to write at all. Foreign newspapers are stopped at the post-office, often held back altogether, and when delivered at all have any objectionable parts or paragraphs stamped out and made illegible. The *Times* frequently appears with paragraphs or portions of the columns blocked out in this manner. A gentleman received his newspaper a short time ago with the whole of it cut away with the exception of the advertisements. It would take too long to enumerate the many petty and other annoyances which official zeal imposes on the ordinary life of the Russian people, and which have to be accepted without public remonstrance or criticism. But the wide-stretching policy of repression and coercion—which seems the only resource of the vast bureaucratic machine which constitutes the Russian Administration—is answered by increased boldness in word and in deed on the part of the Nihilists, who are declared by the police themselves to be "everywhere and nowhere." Proclamations are issued by the revolutionary party which find their way into official places, and into the Palace itself. The late Emperor was formally warned that the struggle would not cease till he had yielded his power into the hands of a Constituent Assembly. His life was attempted in 1879 by Solovieff, who was no sooner hanged than the Moscow Railway was blown up, on which the Emperor was to have travelled. A few months later the daring attempt to murder the Czar by blowing up the Winter Palace showed how widespread was the agitation, and how powerless the police were to check it. In this extremity Count Melikoff was appointed as the head of an Executive Committee, with unprecedented powers for the repression of outrages and the destruction of Nihilism. Within a few weeks of his appointment he was shot at on his own doorstep. The assassin was taken and executed, and arrests were made of a character which showed that the movement was extending among the higher classes of society. Under

Count Melikoff hopes were entertained that the reactionary policy of the Government would be altered, and that reforms would be instituted, as he himself was known to be an advocate of "remedial measures" as the only permanent cure of the existing evils. These hopes, however, were soon disappointed. All political concessions were denied by the Government, and Melikoff's duties were confined to the putting down of Nihilism. It was too speedily seen that there was only a lull in the operations of the Nihilists, who soon appeared more active than ever in pursuit of their terrible objects. Elaborate and daring plans were again laid against the life of the Emperor, and in March, last year, all Europe was horrified by the news that he had been assassinated on the Catherine Canal in St. Petersburg. Six of the murderers were apprehended, tried, and condemned, and five of them were hung, or rather clumsily strangled, at St. Petersburg, in the presence of thousands of spectators. The accounts of their trial are meagre, as no reports or telegrams were allowed to be dispatched to a foreign country except such as had been approved and signed by the Procureur. It is known, however, that the prisoners did not seek to deny their crime, but dwelt at length on the miserable condition of the Russian Government, and its evil effects on society. Jelaboff, the leading spirit among them, remarked, "We were at first peaceful propagandists, but the Government made us revolutionists." Almost immediately after the death of the Czar new proclamations were issued by the Nihilist organization. The one addressed to the new Emperor, and delivered, by some agency, directly into his hands, is described as the "most terrible petition of rights ever publicly or privately presented to a sovereign." With much rhetorical display, but also with great logical clearness, it sets forth the evils of the present system of Government, and the consequent wrongs and miseries inflicted on the people. It declares that as the Government punishes all degrees of resistance to the system with exile and death, "there is no alternative left for the revolutionist but physical or moral annihilation," and it concludes with an expression of determination "either to destroy the despotism which is paralyzing Russian life, or to perish in the attempt." Since the assassination of the late Emperor the efforts of the authorities to seek out and put down Nihilism have been, if possible, increased, and the comparative quiet and peace which have recently existed are no doubt again accepted as proofs of success. But the weakness of a policy of coercion—in countries where admitted grievances exist—is that the people are against the authorities, and in sympathy with the offenders. However perfect the policy might be in theory, it must always depend for its practical administration on the officials employed to carry it out; and as a chain is only so strong as its weakest link, so the exercise of this policy is limited in effectiveness

by the character and intelligence of the commonest officials. The machinery might be grand and imposing, but the motive power, instead of being supplied by a people who are in harmony with, and supporters of, the laws it seeks to administer, is derived from the police, the informer, and the spy. A policy of repression, therefore, adopted by an absolute ruler, resolves itself into government by the lowest and poorest elements of society. Hence it is that the permanence of the present inactivity on the part of the revolutionary party is not believed in except by the official mind, which, from its nature, judges mainly from appearances and from official reports, and has but few true sources of information open to it as to the real state of things. The authorities are sitting on the safety-valve and congratulating one another that there is no escape of steam. But there are signs that a feeling of uncertainty exists in the public mind generally. The commercial and financial world is uneasy and insecure. The paper rouble, the price of which at par is 3s. 2d., has fallen to 2s. or 2s. 1d., as low as it was during the Turkish War. The report that the Emperor had returned from Moscow in an ordinary train—the special train provided for him being sent on empty—affected the price of the rouble adversely, because it indicated the distrust and uncertainty which exist even with the Czar and his immediate advisers. This distrust and fear are thought to be the reasons of the continued retirement of the Emperor, and of the repeated postponement of his coronation. Enormous preparations for the coronation were made in the churches, palace, and other places at Moscow, and it was fully expected that the ceremony would take place during the recent visit of the Emperor. It will now be postponed until next spring or summer, as it must be done in a certain church at Moscow, and with certain observances, and above all must be made the occasion of great public pomp and festivities. To do it privately, or even quietly, would be a departure from custom, and would seriously damage the prestige of the Czar in the eyes of the peasantry and poorer classes.

It is often said, and the Russian official likes it to be believed, that the situation in Russia is parallel to that in Ireland, and that the difficulties of the English and Russian Governments respectively are similar. The comparison, however, fails both in the nature of the discontent which exists and in the means adopted in dealing with it. The people of Ireland are under an outside, or foreign, government, but they can, by their representatives, make themselves heard in the English Parliament, though those representatives are too weak numerically to carry their measures. The Russian Government, on the contrary, grants a certain degree of freedom to its provinces corresponding to Ireland, and reserves its full despotic sway for its own people. The Constitution enjoyed by the Grand

Duchy of Finland, for example, if extended to Russia proper, would go far to allay the national discontent. The English Government, though still retaining a shaken and dying faith in a repressive policy in Ireland, yet is slowly but surely adopting remedial measures, and seeking the co-operation of the Irish people themselves in carrying them out. In Russia, on the other hand, the old system of repression is alone believed in and practised, the voice of the people is stifled, and a policy of concession is consistently rejected, because the very existence of any grievances is denied. The officials in Ireland, from the highest to the lowest, are closely watched, and their actions criticised in Parliament and in the press. The outrages in Ireland, with a few exceptions, were agrarian rather than political, and were for the most part committed by ignorant and suffering men who were personally the victims of a vicious land system, and who, in committing acts of violence, fully persuaded themselves that they would escape detection. But in Russia men and women deliberately give their lives for the political end they are pursuing; when arrested they reveal nothing as to the organization to which they belong, and when executed are succeeded immediately by others as desperate as themselves. So that after years of effort, after the arrest and punishment of thousands of suspects, the Government in Russia remain in helpless ignorance of the extent and the ramifications of the forces with which they are contending. In Ireland, though the disease is of centuries standing, yet it is slowly yielding to the action of just legislation in a direction demanded by the people; and the improvement, if slow, is yet perceptible and real. In Russia, on the other hand, no signs of permanent improvement can be said to exist, and there is nothing to warrant an expectation of improvement in the future.

Perhaps the most vital question with regard to the Nihilists is this—What are their chances of success in attempting to overthrow a Government so strong as that of Russia is supposed to be? With an immense military and police force, wielded by an arbitrary power, arrayed against them; with the great bulk—perhaps 70 per cent.—of the people who have for the most part nothing beyond a dim comprehension, and hardly a conscious need, of the reforms contended for, how can a small section of the nation, however able and desperate, secure and unite the forces which are necessary for successful revolution? Even a widespread rising of the people could apparently do nothing against a modern standing army, well disciplined and with scientific weapons of destruction, but would be quickly drowned in its own blood. The authorities in Russia, therefore, from a superficial view, seem justified in their confidence in the ultimate success of their drastic policy. But a revolution may exist for years in a country, working, more or less silently, before the outbreak comes which

gives it its name. Even those most closely engaged in the work cannot foresee, and are often mistaken in, the time and circumstances in which the crisis comes. The greater the misgovernment, the harder the oppression, the faster does the work progress. The Nihilists are aware of this. They are as an invisible enemy demoralizing the Government by the fears and perplexity they inspire. They defy and baffle the authorities, and occupy and monopolise almost the whole of the attention and functions of the Government. This process of revolution must gradually weaken and destroy those institutions which are the very thews and sinews which hold the Russian system together. Take, for instance, the "divine right" of the Czar, which was once universally, and is still in the main, believed in by the people, and which is the guardian spirit of Russian autocracy. That spirit once impaired can never be revived. Every day the present state of things exists awakens fresh inquiries and doubts respecting it among the people. Slowly but surely the rule of the Czar is being changed from one resting on the blind and superstitious obedience of the people to one relying on mere coercion and force.

Another important element in connection with the progress of the revolutionary movement in Russia is the condition of the peasantry. The Emancipation Act, great as it was, had all the defects and incompleteness of official legislation, and of great changes suddenly effected by one man by a "scratch of the pen." Whatever gratitude existed for this measure has given way to an increasing desire and expectation for further favours. It is said that, though generally ignorant of anything connected with foreign affairs, yet in many districts the peasants showed a most lively interest in the scanty information which reached them about the land question in Ireland. Generally speaking, they desire more land, on easier terms, and with large reductions in the present excessive taxation. The old saying of the Russian peasant in the days of his serfage, "our backs are the lord's, but the soil is our own," is held, as far as the second part of it goes, with greater force than ever. Judging from the information one can gather in the country, there exists a vast and an increasing amount of agrarian misery and discontent which affords a favourable field for revolutionary ideas to take root and flourish. In considering the development of the revolutionary principle in Russia, the attitude of the army must not be left out of account. The conscription is increasingly hateful in the eyes of the peasantry throughout the empire, and a promise of its modification or abolition as a part of any programme of reform would—when once the spirit of reform had laid hold of the peasantry—be hailed with general delight. The fact that Nihilism exists in the army, and even among the Guards, is also important, though to what extent it is spreading can only be conjectured from the signs which appear.

There are numerous and frequent arrests of soldiers and officers on the charge of Nihilism, and reports of secret court-martials for political offences, the particulars of which do not appear. Some account, however, of the trial of a young naval officer who was recently condemned and shot for Nihilism did transpire. It is related that, at the trial, even the judges were moved and affected by the vivid picture which the prisoner drew of the conditions of Russian life, as being calculated to drive enlightened and thoughtful men into discontent and rebellion. Reports of sympathy with Nihilism on the part of superior officers and men in high position are current. It is said that Skobeleff at the time of his death was actively concerned in the revolutionary movement, and that he was looked upon in certain quarters as the "general of the revolution." It is possible that from this, the military, direction the crisis will come. A soldier, like Skobeleff, with courage and enterprise, popular with the army, and appealing to the enthusiasm and the deferred hopes of the nation, might give form and unity to the revolutionary forces of the country, and lead a considerable section of the army with him. Before such a movement as this, the Russian system, weakened and paralysed to an unknown extent by the long-continued action of the forces we have been considering, would probably fall to pieces.

In spite of the fears of statesmen and the selfish opposition of officialism, the condition and experience of the Russian people seem to make them specially fit for political freedom. They are reared in the practice of local self-government, which is the best of all schools for the exercise of political rights. Everywhere the peasantry, the great bulk of the nation, are accustomed to meet, to vote, and manage their social and local affairs; to elect the managers of their commune, and to implicitly obey those whom they have elected. They have to provide, not individually, but each commune collectively, for the excessive taxation imposed by the Central Government, and in addition to bear the irritating and constant interference of a central officialism. The extension of their experience and action from local and social to political and national affairs, seems a safe and natural step. There are in fact unusual guarantees in Russia for the right exercise of political power by the people. They have few difficulties of caste, their present assemblies being representative and democratic. There is the Conservative element of a common ownership in land, each man being, as a rule, in his corporate capacity a proprietor of the soil and responsible to the commune for his individual contribution to the common welfare. Consequently they have not that most serious of all problems in their political future which other European nations have yet to solve—the existence of a vast propertyless class in the midst of an ever-increasing national wealth.

In this crisis, the one means of safety for the Emperor would be for him to throw off the fatal load of absolute power; to call the people to his aid by conceding to them political rights and representative institutions; and through the action of a constitutional Government to destroy, or rather to use and guide, the revolutionary forces which experience shows he cannot control. The policy of concession, though difficult, is safe, if, when once entered on, it is continued. The emancipation of the serfs, though imperfectly carried out, and leading as it is doing to angry and ominous demands on the part of the peasants for further rights, yet brought no danger to Alexander II. The danger was in stopping short in the path of reform, after having raised the hopes of the nation by taking such a splendid step. But it is difficult for an absolute ruler—unless a man of exceptional power and ability—to see the wisdom of the policy of concession, or voluntarily to adopt it. The Emperor is surrounded by a vast bureaucracy, which looks with distrust and hatred on the idea of political self-government, and which feels that its own existence is incompatible with popular power and free institutions. With no press, platform, or Parliament through which he can hear the direct voice of the people, or see things as they are, the Czar relies on officialism. He sees with its eyes, hears with its ears, and trusts to it for the administration of his will. Accordingly there is no response to any popular desire. In retirement and in virtual defeat the Czar still clings to the reactionary policy. It is true there is a mild form of liberalism which is permitted in Russia, and found even among the official classes and in society. When referred to in newspapers it is apt to mislead the foreign reader by indicating the existence in Russia of a recognised and progressive Liberal party. It is, however, merely a fashionable profession of a liberalism by persons who enlarge on the advantages of constitutional government as a principle for countries to which it is applicable, and who are anxious to give freedom to the people when they are fit for it, and so forth.

With grave signs of agrarian troubles in several parts of the empire, with an ever-increasing army of officials, with oppressive taxation, with annual deficits and new loans, with national credit strained almost to its limit, with a large and increasing revolutionary party which lays hold of the intellect of the country, and which cannot be kept down even by the severest methods of repression, it must be admitted that the outlook in Russian politics is a dark one. As to the issue of the perilous conflict between Czar and people, it requires but little political insight to predict that the present system in Russia cannot last. It would not be rash to add that it cannot last long.

JESSE COLLINGS.

ENGLISH ACTORS:—YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

"THE mob," says Walpole, writing of the riots that occurred in 1749, "was determined not to suffer French players, and Lord Trentham's engaging in their defence was made great use of against him at the ensuing election." Things have changed since then. The public of to-day suffers French players gladly, and until quite recently there was a common agreement among all persons pretending to authority in matters of taste that in the example of the French stage lay our only hope of salvation. We are accounted a boastful people, and perhaps with good reason, but our pride is subject to fits of depression, and it sometimes yields to a modesty that is abject and almost pathetic. For years after the first visit of the troupe of the Théatre Français it was held inadmissible to profess anything but despondency for the productions of the English stage. Those of us who had any sense of self-respect went to Paris in order to go to the play, or waited patiently until the next importation of the foreign article. Critics were divided between admiration for the excellence of the French system and enthusiasm for the talent of individual performers. In the first moments of national self-abasement, the most obscure members of the French company seemed in our eyes to be endowed with extraordinary genius; and yet so potent was the spell of a great tradition, that even the most famous among them were represented as vying with one another for the privilege of appearing in subordinate parts. For it was in the virtue of renunciation that our artists were specially invited to look to the example of the French school. To hand a letter, or to announce a guest, was held to be the pious ambition of every gifted comedian, and our playgoers, filled with the fervour of the new faith, sighed for the day when, at every well-ordered theatre, the leading "star," renouncing all personal ambition, would eagerly demand the rôle of a man-servant or a chambermaid.

The craze was extravagant enough, but it was not altogether unaccountable. The undoubted merits of the French comedians, their educated feeling for unity and harmony of effect, their reticence in expression, and the care they bestowed upon the smallest matters of detail, appealed to us at a moment when these qualities were beginning to receive attention at the hands of some of the actors of our own school. Foreign influence, it must be remembered, had already been at work, and had prepared the way for a new departure. The familiar grace and modern charm of Fechter's style had successfully invaded the very strongholds of tradition, and had shaken some of

the most cherished convictions of the actor's art. As a revolutionary force, his influence upon the fortunes of the English stage was perhaps greater than appeared at the time. Though he succeeded for awhile in rekindling the exhausted interest in the Shakespearian drama, his success was mainly due to a personal fascination of manner, a certain sentiment of romance and chivalry which formed part of his individuality as an actor, and for which he afterwards found freer and more legitimate exercise in the realm of melodrama. Fechter lives in the remembrance of playgoers by his performance in such plays as *Ruy Blas*, or *The Duke's Motto*, and not as Hamlet or Othello. But if his connection with Shakespeare was in some sense an accident, his method of interpreting his author was not without significant results. The sentimental graces of his art so far debauched the taste of the public as to render them impatient of the traditional system which he had displaced, and his daring endeavour to modernise the characters of poetical tragedy served, even in its failure, to strengthen an already growing conviction that Shakespeare was intended for the closet and not for the stage. To a certain school of young actors this was a welcome conclusion. The idea that the poetical drama was dead gave a new dignity and importance to the careful and accurate study of contemporary life and manners. And as the intellectual limitations of Fechter's art tended to discourage the belief in any ideals that he was unable to present, so also, in a purely technical sense, his foreign cadence, which so charmed the ears of his audience, had the effect of discrediting the principles of elocution, and of thus preparing the town for a faithful imitation on the stage of the broken sentences and careless enunciation of the actual world.

The revolution in dramatic art begun by Fechter was afterwards carried a step farther at the little theatre in Tottenham Street. The comedies of the late Mr. Robertson, with their monosyllabic titles and monosyllabic dialogue, supplied a clever troupe of actors with just the right material for the display of their peculiar powers. It would be an easy task at this time to make light of the earlier successes achieved under the management of Mrs. Bancroft, and to prove that they made no extravagant demand either upon the resources of her company or upon the intelligence of the public. But to judge fairly of any movement in art we must have regard to the conditions under which it is conducted, and from this point of view the part played by the Prince of Wales's Theatre in the dramatic revival will seem by no means insignificant. The jaded appetite of playgoers needed a simple diet, and for awhile, at least, it was prudent to feed them with a spoon. They were in no mood to be stirred by the exhibition of strong passion, or to be attracted by profound study of character. Their faith in the illusion of the

theatre, even in the realm of comedy, had been gravely impaired by persistence in convention, and by neglect of those minor truths which serve to bring the mimic life of the drama into contact with the actual world, and to win back the shattered confidence of society was, therefore, a first condition of success, an imperative necessity of the moment that could admit of no delay. Very skilfully, it must be confessed, was this delicate task accomplished. The mirror which art is bidden to hold up to nature was so pitched as to reflect the faces of the stalls, and to image every fact of costume and furniture by which society is enabled to reassure itself of its existence. In individual instances the portraiture went far beyond this. The talent of Mr. Hare gave the stamp of an absolute individuality to every character he embodied, and Mrs. Bancroft's rare power in comedy speedily inspired Mr. Robertson to fit her with parts that gave full scope for its exercise. In its own way, and for the special purpose for which it was employed, the more mannered art of Mr. Bancroft was scarcely less effective. The fashionable young man of the day gratefully recognised in his performances that imitation which is the sincerest form of flattery. The lisp and drawl of the voice, and the studied abstinence on the part of both author and actor from any indication of intellectual capacity, were accepted in no spirit of satire, for it was observed that in the more important matters of dress and bearing the portraiture was respectful and complete. Mr. Bancroft represented with admirable fidelity a race of young men whose hearts were in the right place, and, what was even more important at the time, whose clothes were of the right cut. He knew what to wear even in the most trying circumstances of life; and this spirit of scrupulous exactness in personal attire was carried into every detail of scenery and furniture. The effect upon the public of such a system of careful elaboration was altogether extraordinary. At last, as it seemed, a serious effort was being made to bring the theatre into harmony with nature. The heart of society was captivated by the respect that was shown on the stage for those realities of dress and manner that fill so important a place in the transactions of actual life. It was a revival in miniature, but it served the needs of the hour better than if it had been cast in a larger mould, and it is possible that a more robust form of entertainment would not so readily have won acceptance at the hands of the public, or so completely have served to restore their shaken faith in the credibility of the conceptions of the stage.

The new feeling for realism in art which lay at the root of the successes achieved by the Prince of Wales's company was obviously capable of development. From the existence of the drawing-room and the club it passed to the life of the streets, and finally sought a logical triumph in the introduction of a real cab. As first presented

to the world under the auspices of Mrs. Bancroft, its exercise was controlled by refinement and good taste. If the comedies of Mr. Robertson were devoid of the higher elements of passion and character, they were also free from the reproach of vulgarity; but in more enterprising hands the principles of art which the author and his representatives had sought to enforce were applied in a manner that was often grotesque and extravagant, and that did not seek to rise above the imitation of gross material facts. In every period of revival it always happens that the purely intellectual elements of art are the last to feel the touch of the new contact with nature. It is easier to improve in imitation of the external attributes of character and to multiply the signs of an attentive study of a particular phase of social life, than to recast the forms by which art expresses the deeper feelings of humanity. Realism must strike downward before it can venture upon a higher flight; it must convince us of its authority in the little things that appeal to common experience before we will accept its guidance in those graver matters that involve an exercise of faith. But the process of descent is so rapid, the triumph of the real cab is so quickly reached, that the reaction begins almost at once. Playgoers had no sooner satisfied themselves that the stage was capable of reproducing the important realities of furniture and dress than they began to ask for more. The first delight in a kind of drama that deliberately excluded from its scheme those outbursts of passion which were held at the time to be inconsistent with a true picture of modern manners, quickly yielded to a feeling of dissatisfaction, and Mr. Robertson was reproached for the very qualities by which he had at first won attention and esteem. At such a juncture the visit of the French players, bringing with them the stronger food of the modern French drama, could not fail to make a powerful impression. The larger scope of their art, the greater resource and variety of their method, sufficed to prove that the most punctilious attention to detail was not inconsistent with a forcible display of emotion. While preserving the lighter manifestations of character that mark differences of breeding, or serve to distinguish the social habits of the day, the French comedians proved at the same time that they were able to strike a deeper note. It was evidently no indispensable condition of a dramatic entertainment that sentiment should be always interrupted by laughter, or that it should be sweetened and diluted to suit the palate of the nursery. The effect of this discovery might have been anticipated. It had hitherto been thought more than doubtful whether the public would stand a stronger dose than that which had been administered to them under the mild régime of the Robertsonian comedy, but it now became a question whether English actors had the knowledge or skill to prepare the prescription.

Society was produced towards the close of the year 1865, the visit of the members of the Théatre Français took place in 1871, and within the twelve years that have since elapsed the advancement of the art of acting in England has been in every way remarkable. The pitiable comparisons that used to be instituted between our own players and those of the continent are now confessedly out of date. We have come to recognise the fact that in the affairs of art the best of all possible systems is dependent upon the strength of its individual supporters. With a growing knowledge of the thing we were at first content only to worship; we have learned to distinguish between bad and good, between the exercise of real talent and the dull mediocrity of a school. They are not all persons of genius who inhabit the house in the Rue Richelieu, and upon this point even the Parisian public has been forced to part with some illusions during these later days. When Sarah Bernhardt deserted the troupe, the world was gravely assured that she had imperilled her own reputation but had left the resources of the theatre intact. Such was the beauty of the system that the gap would be filled even before the truant actress had found time to repent; and yet when she returns to Paris as Fedora, she finds her place still vacant and the fickle crowd eager to welcome—that which will always prove of all things the rarest and most irresistible—the magic gift of genius.

And if in these years we have learned to modify our first extravagant estimate of the French stage, we have also been brought to study with closer attention and with increased respect the efforts of native artists. It is scarcely worth while at this time to discuss the question whether the supercilious contempt of a certain class of playgoers was ever deserved; the important fact for us to note is that such a feeling, in whatever degree it may have been warranted in the past, has now no longer any existence. Nor need we be unwilling to allow, that during the last ten or twelve years our actors, as well as the public, have undergone a process of education. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the ease with which the more eminent among them have passed from the limited sphere of art in which they first arrested the notice of playgoers to the fuller and stronger practice required by the more serious forms of drama. They have had to keep pace with a rapid development of taste, and with a growing appetite for a more masculine and vigorous form of entertainment; and the extent of the change that has taken place in this respect is in no way more clearly marked than in the occasional revivals of the Robertsonian comedy, where the infantile sentiment that once satisfied the town already seems completely out of date. Even in regard to the best of these plays, it requires something of an effort to realise the sort of enthusiasm with which they were first received, or to do justice to a writer who was driven by the taste of

the time to force his talent to run in such a narrow groove. For it was not only, or chiefly, the fault of Mr. Robertson, if passion and feeling were made to lisp in words of one syllable.

But while the quality of the work presented on the stage and the temper of our audiences have undergone a marked and radical change, the actors who still hold the foremost place in public esteem are for the most part the same as in the earlier time. The same, but with a difference; for in this brief period they have in many instances so enlarged the original resources of their art, as almost to have acquired a new individuality. It is curious to scan the bills of the London theatres to-day, and to note how many of the favourites of the present hour were also the favourites of a dozen years ago; it is curious also to compare the performances of then and now, to contrast the Irving of Bob Gassett and Chevenix with the Irving of Shylock and *Richard III.*, of *Eugene Aram* and *Charles I.*; to put side by side the Mrs. Kendal of *New Men and Old Acres,* and of *The Palace of Truth,* with the Mrs. Kendal of the *Ladies' Battle*, of *The Money Spinner* and *The Squire;* to pass from the art of Mr. Coghlan, cabined and confined in the diminutive heroes of the Robertsonian comedy, to its broader and freer exercise in the *Morte Civile,* or to the assured strength and reserve of his performance in *Comrades.* If in some instances we miss now a certain freshness and naïvete that must always be associated with the first assertion of artistic individuality, we have, by way of exchange and compensation, a ripeness of resource and a cultivated power which oftentimes avail more than the magic of mere youth. It is of course true, on the other hand, that instances might be cited where the actor has failed to respond to the enlarged demands that have been made upon him; true also, that by force of circumstances or of a misguided ambition, performers of admirable gifts of a certain order have undertaken responsibilities that lie far beyond their means. An accomplished light comedian must of necessity do himself injustice when he assumes to interpret a type of character that needs a touch of heroism and romance, or that demands for its expression some degree of emotional power: a "character" actor, again, is equally ill-advised to allow his success in this kind to tempt him into the realm of pathos. But, after all, it is not this occasional failure that most impresses the student of the contemporary stage; it is rather the steady and marked advance of the general body of the professions, the increased respect exhibited by the actor of every rank for the serious qualities of his art, and the greater degree of intelligence and taste which the manager brings to the production of the author's work.

That the Lyceum Theatre should have taken a leading part in this revival is natural enough. Long before he undertook the duties of management, Mr. Irving had given proof as an actor that he could

win attention for something stronger than the limited drama of the drawing-room. The production of *The Bells* marks an epoch in theatrical annals, for it had the immediate effect of enlarging the intellectual horizon, affording a wider scope for histrionic ambition, and liberating the public mind from the pestilent heresy that the display of passion of necessity involved the return to a conventional system which had been finally exploded. The performance was remarkable, not merely for its intellectual strength, but even more for the intensity of its realism, and it was this latter quality that at once laid hold of the town. If the play had been of a more ideal type, or if the actor had sought to soften the facts he was commissioned to present, the result would have missed a part of its significance. The public was not yet in tune for a resumption of the poetical drama, nor was the actor at that time prepared to exercise the higher artistic qualities needed for its exposition. But in a play such as this, in which the imagination was concentrated upon a single mood of feeling working through a character of no complexity, Mr. Irving was able to lay a solid foundation for future achievement. He won the confidence of his audience and renewed their faith in the possibilities of passion. Whatever may be the defects of Mr. Irving's art, it is never wanting in individuality, and can never be viewed with indifference. He gives the stamp of absolute conviction to every rôle in which he appears, and even those who dispute the justice of his conceptions are ready to acknowledge the certainty with which they are defined and expressed. The moment was peculiarly favourable for the employment of such a force in the more serious forms of drama. An excellent exponent of an earlier school of acting still survived in the person of Mr. Phelps, an actor of fine endowment and of wide and liberal cultivation. But the exercise of his talent took a shape that lacked fascination. The sterling merits of his art were overlaid by a veil of tradition that chilled the sympathies of his audience, and there was an accent of convention in his style, even when he was at his best, that struck strangely upon modern ears. Such acting might happily remind an older race of playgoers of the greater stock from which it had sprung; it might even satisfy younger students of the drama who had the courage to brush aside the artificialities of an outworn system and to penetrate to the nobler qualities that lay half hidden beneath them, but it was obviously not destined to serve as a powerful agent, either for good or for evil, in a period of revolution and revival.

In place of the formal principles of a school, Mr. Irving brought to his task the merits and the defects of a strongly defined personality. From the narrow realism of Matthias in *The Bells*, he passed to the interpretation of the characters of poetical drama, evincing at every step new and original powers of intellectual perception, and gaining with every fresh experiment increased command over the

technical resources of his art. But the peculiar idiosyncrasies of his style have followed him throughout his career, repelling those whom they do not attract, and causing a certain class of critics, who fail to perceive any deeper significance in his work, to deny his title to the place he has undoubtedly won for himself in public esteem. I cannot but think that such critics take too little account of the part which artistic individuality has always played in the triumphs of the theatre. It is sometimes said that the actor lives but for the hour, and that unlike the professors of other arts, he is unable to leave behind him any solid or enduring monument of his genius. In this there is only half a truth, for it leaves out of sight the compensating advantage to the player of enjoying a reputation which posterity can neither question nor destroy. The mannerisms of the actors of the past are lost in the tradition of their power; the recollection of their influence over the public of their time, if it does not exaggerate the reality, at least grows richer in ideal suggestion as the living form of the actor's presence loses distinctness and definition. The intellectual strength of the impersonation thus outlives the image of the man, and in our gratitude for the passion he displayed, and for the emotion he excited, we willingly banish remembrances of those marked peculiarities of style and manner, which even in the case of the greatest actors must often be inappropriate to the characters they are called upon to interpret. It is this inevitable presence of the artist in his work that renders acting, considered as a vehicle for the embodiment of the abstract conceptions of poetry, the most difficult and delicate of all the arts. The painter can take from his model just so much as he needs for the purposes of his picture; he may accept the inspiration of reality without making himself its slave; but the actor in the pursuit of an ideal invention is met at every turn by the hindrance or the help of his own personality, and from this there is no possibility of escape. An art which has to submit itself to such conditions cannot hope for faultless harmony of effect. It is enough for the actor if he can suggest to us the varied kinds of beauty which his craft is sometimes powerless to render completely, and if in special moments of inspiration he can by an intellectual effort so absolutely identify himself with his character as to efface the recollections of all that is ineffective in the inferior parts of his work. Judged according to this standard, it seems to me that Mr. Irving's fame rests on a sure foundation. The desperate calm of mingled passion and fear in the great scene of *Eugene Aram*; the controlled pathos of the closing act of *Charles I.*; the sinister comedy of *Richard III.*; Shylock's fixed and unalterable resolve of vengeance, subtly alternating in its expression between the low cunning and husbanded cruelty of a humiliated race, and the dignity that is the inalienable possession of suffering and wrong; the humour that plays upon the surface of

Iago's passionless delight in human torture; the chivalrous sympathy with sorrow, and the manly tenderness of heart, that break through the cynical armour of Benedick; these are, to my mind, memorable instances of an actor's power over his art and over his audience that will outlast the objections, however justly grounded in themselves, that can be brought against isolated passages in each or all of the performances in which they are displayed.

The successive experiments of Mr. Irving's career have provided inexhaustible material for criticism, and in this respect he has been both more and less fortunate than his fellows. There are some admirable artists of our school whose growing reputation has excited neither the same degree of enthusiasm nor an equal measure of censure, but in whose progress the steady development of our stage is no less clearly reflected. Pre-eminent amongst them is Mrs. Kendal. There is an inevitable tendency, even on the part of the admirers of a gifted actress, to dwell upon the past to the disadvantage of the present; to recall the youthful charm of earlier performances, and to undervalue the higher accomplishment of maturity. But those who would have us so judge of the art of Mrs. Kendal do her a wrong, for she was never so great as she is to-day. And never, it may be said, has the success of an actress been more amply deserved. Her whole career has been signalised by constant and earnest study, and by a steady and continuous advance. She has shown an unrivalled ability to learn all that can be taught, and an unfailing power to reproduce all that she has learnt. Her art is perhaps the highest expression of educated talent that is to be found upon our stage. If it has not the charm of genius, it is at least free from the anxieties and uncertainties of genius: our enjoyment of her acting is never harassed by any fear of failure, for her effects are always carefully planned and confidently executed; and in a weak play, or a weak company, she can sometimes take upon her own shoulders the whole weight and responsibility of a performance without flinching and without any evidence of fatigue. It must be confessed, however, that the actress's powers of endurance are sometimes sorely tried. There is a sort of superstition amongst dramatic authors, which I do not think is shared by the public, that Mrs. Kendal, like some modern Niobe, must be always in tears, and accordingly these gentlemen are apt to supply her with a fund of pathos, such as even the keenest appetite for sorrow could scarcely digest in a lifetime. As a matter of fact it is not under these conditions that the finer qualities of her art are displayed to the highest advantage. She is at her best where strong feeling is kept in check by the need of action, and where the devotion of a loyal nature quickens a woman's wit and grants her courage and resource. She is at her best, in short, in such plays as *The Ladies' Battle*, or *The Sheep in Wolf's Clothing*. And yet in passion that belongs of right to the situation and to the character, and

is not merely imported for the sake of effect—in the passion, for instance, of the great scene in *The Money Spinner*—Mrs. Kendal can strike every note of feeling with power and conviction. She can give reality to the pathos that is true, and it is not altogether the fault of the actress if she fails to grant the same sense of illusion to a sickly sentimentalism that spends itself in tears.

The actress whose art is most sharply contrasted with that of Mrs. Kendal is Miss Ellen Terry. In a certain sense Miss Terry may be said to begin where Mrs. Kendal leaves off. There is much that she cannot do at all which Mrs. Kendal does easily and well, but when she is at her best she is unapproachable. The most fortunate moments of her acting come so near to the magic of nature, the charm that she exerts at such times seems to be so completely the outcome of sudden inspiration, that there is a danger of altogether ignoring the presence of an artistic faculty which is exercised with so much subtlety and finesse. This unrivalled simplicity in touching the finer chords of feeling is associated with a personality that enters naturally into the abstract creations of poetical drama. She can cast aside without effort all those little points of dress and manner and bearing by which we are wont to identify the social life and habits of our time, and she can pass with equal ease and assurance into the freer and larger air of the world of fancy and imagination. The inherent limitation of her art lies on the side of passion; the stronger moods of feeling that spring out of a complex character deeply touched by suffering and experience, lie clearly beyond the range of her powers; but, on the other hand, there is no actress of our time who can express with equal force or refinement the tenderness of a simple nature, the pathos that belongs to suffering that is past, or the playful gaiety of a sensitive temperament where laughter may quickly change to tears. The grief of Ophelia, half remembered and half forgotten in her madness, and with every painful suggestion subdued to the service of ideal grace and beauty, gave Miss Terry an admirable opportunity for the display of her powers. The delicate realism of the impersonation enforced but did not injure the imaginative completeness of the original: it left intact all that is ideal and fanciful in the finer structure of a poet's work. Side by side with the ineffaceable recollection of such a performance as this was may be set the remembrance of Miss Terry's Olivia, a creation of faultless taste and charm, so simple in its method, and so convincing in its reality, that even the most accomplished of those who played with her seemed to expose themselves to the reproach of artifice and convention. We may recall also the heartbroken utterances of Desdemona confiding to Iago the loss of her husband's love; and with any of these souvenirs of the past we may compare without danger of disappointment the gaiety and raillery of Beatrice, falling like a veil at the sudden stroke of wrong to one

she loved, and exposing the depth and tenderness of a true woman's heart.

But it is not merely in the advancing power of individual performers that we may recognise the signs of the recent revival in dramatic art. The influence of a better spirit in such matters is seen no less clearly in the means employed by the managers of our principal theatres to deserve the critical approval of the public. For years past the visitor to the Lyceum, to the Haymarket, or to the St. James's, has felt assured at least of this, that in the preparation of the entertainment for the stage no pains have been spared to render the result satisfying and complete. The tradition of thoughtful and careful management which was first established at the Prince of Wales's, has followed Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft to their new home, and their example has served as a standard to which the conductors of other houses have been since obliged to conform. The public sometimes misses Mr. Hare from the boards of his own theatre, but his presence makes itself felt in the tact and intelligence bestowed upon the production of every piece with which his name is associated. More recent competitors for theatrical honours have worthily followed in the same path, and I may point to the manner in which Mr. Tennyson's luckless drama of *The Promise of May* was presented at the Globe Theatre, in evidence of the liberal sense in which the claims of art are now understood. The attention which Mrs. Bernard Beere's performance of Dora attracted at the time has since been amply justified by her successful impersonation of Jane Eyre. There are few actresses who have made such a rapid stride in their profession, or who have so suddenly leapt from a position of comparative obscurity to a permanent place in public esteem. In the third act of *Jane Eyre*, Mrs. Beere presents, with a force and intensity that are singularly free from exaggeration, a mood of feeling that lies outside the ordinary and conventional forms of stage passion, and the success with which her conception of the part is realised gives evidence of a direct and independent study of nature which must always rank among the rarer qualities of the actor's art. That both here and in her earlier performances at the theatre she should have been worthily supported by Mr. Kelly, will be no matter of surprise to those who have followed his career or who have rightly measured the exceptional kind of power which he possesses. Years ago on those same boards Mr. Kelly made his mark in Tom Taylor's drama of *Arkwright's Wife*, and there was already visible in his stage work of that day the rare combination of rugged strength and unforced tenderness of character which have served him so well in later years. The peculiar force of his acting was perhaps never more happily exercised than in the portrait of Gabriel Oak, in the stage version of Mr. Hardy's delightful novel; but there is indeed in every part that he attempts a certain convinc-

ing earnestness and solidity of style that imparts a sense of reality and illusion to the slightest or the most conventional studies of character.

How invaluable an actor's personality may become in the success of a play, even independently of the artistic skill and resource which he brings to the interpretation of the author's invention, is very strikingly illustrated by Mr. Coghlan's performance of Captain Darleigh at the Court Theatre. The play in which he appears has some obvious defects, but it possesses the indisputable merit of sincerity; and as the work of a young writer, unversed as yet in the mechanical requirements of the stage, it affords welcome promise of a more perfect achievement in the future. Let it be said also that the author in this case has the inestimable advantage of a singularly strong cast. If his study of emotion is without trick or artifice, the effect which it makes upon the audience is also largely due to the strength and simplicity of the representation. The acting, with scarcely an exception, may be taken as an admirable example of the present resources of our stage; but it is to Mr. Coghlan especially that is due the credit of investing the whole with an air of reality and illusion. Nothing could be more perfect in its way, or more suggestive of the new sentiment of naturalness and reserve which belongs to the best style of modern comedy, than the scene between the lovers over the chess-board, where the heroine, admirably impersonated by Miss Marion Terry, reveals her love by the manner of its denial. The appeal to the audience is so delicately made, the actors on the stage are so absorbed in one another, and so unconscious of all else, that the spectator almost feels like a guilty intruder who has become an eves-dropper against his wish, and has stumbled unawares upon an interesting situation in real life.

It would be absurd, within the limits of a single article, to attempt to give a complete picture of the contemporary stage in England. I have spoken chiefly of those points in the management of the theatre, or in the methods of representation, which most clearly mark the progress of the past ten or fifteen years, and I have singled out from the general body of the profession those individual actors whose work has been prominently associated with the process of revival. There are others who have made their mark in later years, and who might equally be held to deserve study and criticism; others, again, like Mr. Toole, whose hold upon the public favour has not been shaken by the advent of new-comers, and who has found no need to remodel the original form of his art. A genuine gift of humour exercised upon the broader types of character does not rapidly go out of fashion, and is not so easily exposed to the paralyzing conventions that afflict the exponents of the poetical drama, and penetrate into the domain of polite comedy.

J. Comyns Carr.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

I HAVE been reading over again the two articles on the House of Lords which appeared in the Fortnightly Review in the course of last year. The Lords have found a zealous defender in Mr. Kebbel; they have found an accuser no less in earnest in Mr. Leach. I do not propose either to accuse or to defend. I wish rather to look at the House of Lords as a constitutional study, as a political specimen, to see how it came about that there is such a body, charged with such and such functions and possessing such a character. In so doing, I shall have to call attention to some points, both in the past and in the present, which have not been touched upon by either writer. Mr. Kebbel hardly brings the matter within the range either of history or of comparative politics. He hardly troubles himself with the question how the House of Lords came to be in this country, or how it looks when compared with the bodies which most nearly answer to it in other countries. He simply takes the House of Lords as it is, and pronounces its panegyric. Mr. Leach, in his answer to the panegyric, goes much further on the historical and comparative road. He gives a sketch of the action of the House of Lords for some time past. He goes into the whole question of "second chambers," and draws his illustrations from a considerable range both of time and space. My own object is a smaller one. I do not wish to pronounce either the accusation or the panegyric of the House of Lords, nor yet to go at any length into the general question of second chambers. I wish rather to show how our House of Lords came to be what it is, and to draw any practical inferences that can be drawn from the facts which may thus come before us.

There is nothing to be said against the general way in which either disputant has dealt with his subject. A mere panegyric must expect to meet with an answer from those who think a bill of indictment better deserved. But a mere panegyric may be perfectly fair as far as it goes. So may a mere indictment. For every institution must in the end be preserved or abolished, according as it stands the simple test whether its actual working is good or bad. If it is so intolerably bad as to be beyond all hope of reform, no pleadings of the historical or comparative inquirer should avail to save it. But the researches of the historical and comparative inquirer may be of much practical use at an earlier stage. They may throw much light on the question whether utter destruction is needful or whether reform should still be tried. They may often help to point out the

kind of reform which is most likely to be successful. The original objects of any institution may be assumed to have been good, according to the standard of dominant opinion in the time and place when it arose. The older an institution is, the more rude and simple are the times to which we can carry it back, the more likely it is that its original object was at least single-minded, possibly not good according to our notions, but good according to the notions of the time and place when it arose. But it constantly happens in the course of time that an institution fails to fulfil the purposes for which it was originally meant. If those purposes are still approved, the question arises, Can we, by mere changes in detail, make it again fulfil its purposes, or has it gone so hopelessly wrong that it must be got rid of altogether? To determine this question, it cannot be useless to look both to the steps by which the institution fell away from its original excellence and to the experience of other countries with regard to institutions of the like kind. I assume that we shall always wish, if we can, to reform rather than to destroy; and inquiries of this kind are at least likely to help us in deciding whether we must destroy or whether it is still possible to reform. And reform which does not consider the object of the institution to be reformed, and the causes of the changes which have made it need reform, is sure to be awkward and ineffective, and is not unlikely to be inconsistent. It may even make matters worse, and may so lead to utter destruction. Or on the other hand, an institution may it course of time utterly change its character, and may come to answer objects which are wholly different from those to answer which it was originally brought into being. But it does not thereby follow that it has become useless or mischievous. It may be so or it may not. Change of circumstances may have taken away its old usefulness, and may have given it a new usefulness instead. In such cases, above all, the main question comes to be this. Is the present working of the institution, however it came about, good or bad? If it is bad, must we destroy or can we reform? When an institution has quite departed from its original objects, the strictly historical inquiry is of less direct practical importance than when the original object is still professedly aimed at. But, merely as a historical inquiry, it becomes even more curious and instructive than in the other case, and the indirect lights which it may throw on practical questions are likely to be just as useful. And in no case is the witness of the experience of other countries likely to be of greater practical use.

Now of all our institutions there is none which has so utterly drifted away from its original character as the House of Lords. Mr. Kebbel attributes to that House as it stands many merits; Mr. Leach charges it with many faults. Sometimes the disputants differ as

to facts; sometimes they agree as to the mere facts, and differ only as to their estimate of them. My position is simply that all the alleged merits of the House of Lords, and all its alleged faults—so far as either merits or faults exist in fact—have both come about by the working of purely incidental causes. At no point in our recorded history did either the people of England or any particular English king or lawgiver come to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have a House of Lords possessing any of the characters or answering any of the ends which either its champion or its accuser attributes to it. And it is no mere truism to say this. It is not quite true to say that institutions are not made, but grow. Institutions do grow; but some of them are made as well. It would be a very slight exaggeration to say of the House of Commons all that I have just denied of the House of Lords. The House of Commons has grown not a little; but it was made. We may fairly say that, at a particular time, namely in the thirteenth century, the people of England or its leaders did come to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have a House which should possess many of the characters which the House of Commons still keeps and which should answer many of the ends which the House of Commons still answers. They certainly did not put their wishes into so neat a formula, but they did something which practically came to the same thing. The House of Commons distinctly owed its being to the conviction that a political change in a particular direction was needed. The exact shape which it now takes, the exact powers which it now claims, have all grown; they have come by the gradual working of causes; they have largely come by the results of a series of experiments. But the general notion out of which they all grew came into being, and took a definite practical shape in the course of the thirteenth century. At the beginning of that century, if any prying eye can see the germs of a House of Commons, it can hardly distinguish them from the kindred germs of Trial by Jury and of other excellent things which were also already in being but still undeveloped. At the end of the century any eye may see, not the germs of the House of Commons, but what we may fairly call the House of Commons itself. There the thing is, young and imperfect doubtless, and needing a good deal of licking into shape. But there it is, already clothed with the personal identity which it still keeps, needing, down to our own day, no reconstruction, but only improvement in detail. We shall be putting things into too finished and modern a dress, but we shall not be going far from the essential truth of the case, if we say that the House of Commons was set up in the thirteenth century in order to meet certain political needs of the thirteenth century.

Now in the case of the House of Lords nothing like this ever

happened. We are told that the House of Lords is the "second chamber," the Upper House, or whatever other name may best express a body designed to act as a check on hasty legislation by another body. It is moreover the hereditary chamber. It represents the landed interest. It perhaps does a great many other things, and appears in a great many other characters, good or bad. I do not here deal with their goodness or badness; all I say is that, be the results good or bad, the House of Lords was not called into being in order to bring any of them about. We cannot say this of the House of Lords, even in that modified and general sense in which we may say that the House of Commons was called into being to bring about certain other results. And, on some at least of the points, issues of fact may easily be raised. If the final cause of the House of Lords was to be an hereditary house, it has been by no means lucky in striving after its own ideal. It is not an exclusively hereditary house even now; for many ages the hereditary element was not even predominant in it. Nor was the House of Lords called into being in order to act as an "Other House," a "second chamber," or what not, to review the acts of the House of Commons. For, as the House of Commons is unquestionably younger than the House of Lords, of two foolish propositions it would be by far the less foolish to say that the House of Commons was called into being in order to act as an "Other House," or "second chamber," which should review the acts of the House of Lords. Whatever may be the character and object of the House of Lords, that character has come to it, that object has been laid upon it, by the gradual and incidental working of historical causes. Everything about it, good or bad, has come of silent, unconscious, growth. The constitution of the House, its objects, its duties, its relations to the other House of Parliament, to the Crown, and to the nation, have all come about by accident, in the only sense in which we can allow accident to be an agent in history at all. They have come about by accident in a sense in which we could not with any fitness apply that word to the history of the House of Commons.

Now the practical question, Is the House of Lords to be retained? must in the end be decided by the answer to the question whether the accidents which gave it its character have been happy or unhappy. But the existence of the British House of Lords has had such a wide-spread effect in shaping the constitutions of other lands, it has had that effect so largely by virtue of one of its functions which is pre-eminently the result of accident, that, even from the most practical point of view, it cannot be useless to show how purely accidental that function is. I refer to the character of the House as a "second chamber," a checking, a reviewing,

body. The House of Lords, in that character—often without regard to its other characters or to its constitution—has become the parent of countless second chambers in Europe and America. Again, I am not discussing the value of a second chamber here or elsewhere; I will say only that, where there are two chambers in a federal state, oue represents the whole federal nation as such, the other represents the separate states or cantons of which the federal union is made up. In a kingdom or commonwealth which is not federal, the question between one chamber and two or three or four is simply a question in which way the business of the nation is likely to be best carried on. Mr. Leach argues against the retention of the American Senate; but he clearly sees how the American Senate came into being. On such points it did not come within Mr. Kebbel's plan to enter. With regard to our own home controversy, all that I have to do is to supply one or two arguments to each side.

First then it surely does tell somewhat in behalf of the system of two chambers that that system has been so largely followed, not only by the American Union, whose federal constitution in my view made it needful, but also by the American States—in some cases after trial of a single chamber—and very largely by the American cities. None of them can have any reason for adopting it, except that it is found to work well. We cannot leap from this to the defence of the House of Lords; for, when the question is one of working well, each case must be examined by itself to see whether it does work well. But I certainly think that the general consent of America on behalf of the two-chamber system does prove something on behalf of that system. That the State of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia both think that their public business is likely to be better done by two chambers than by one, certainly does not prove that the British House of Lords ought to be retained. But surely it proves that the House of Lords should not be abolished simply on the ground that it is a "second chamber."

But, on the other hand, the defenders of the House of Lords must not defend that House under the notion that its existence represents the wisdom of our forefathers in this matter of second chambers. As a matter of fact, we have two Houses of Parliament, and not, as some other nations, one, three, or four. As a matter of fact, of those two Houses it is the House of Lords which discharges those functions which modern political theories assign to a "second chamber." As a matter of fact, our two Houses have been the model of a number of constitutions in Europe and America in which the object has been to establish a system of two chambers. And, though the special function of a "second" or revising chamber has come upon the House of Lords only in a gradual and casual way, it may nevertheless be an useful function. I only ask that the dis-

cussion may be carried on on both sides in full remembrance of the fact that the position of the House of Lords as a "second chamber" has come upon it only in a gradual and casual way, and that it is only in the same gradual and casual way that it has come about that we have the particular number of two Houses of Parliament, and not more or fewer. The world has, during the last hundred years, got so used to the system of two chambers, it is so largely through imitations of our own Parliament that it has got used to it, that we are sometimes apt to forget how modern is the whole line of thought out of which these constitutions have arisen. We are apt to fancy that a system of two chambers is almost the necessary form that constitutional government must take; and we are apt to fancy, if only unconsciously, that our particular form of it, which has set the model to the others, must have been purposely devised to compass the objects which its reproductions have been devised to compass. Now it is quite certain that, in the American Union, in each particular State and city of the Union which has adopted the system of two chambers, in France, in Italy, in every other European country which has adopted that system, there was a moment when men said, We will have two chambers rather than one—the other alternative, of more than two, had by that time passed out of men's minds—because we think that our affairs will go on better with two than if we have only one. This is equally true when, as in America, Switzerland, and Imperial Germany, two chambers were needed to represent the two elements of the federal state, and when where, as in France, Italy, and the several States of America, the question simply was in what way public business was likely to be best done. In either case, the system of two chambers was chosen deliberately; there was a moment when the nation or its lawgivers thought over the subject, and came to the conclusion that an assembly of two chambers was the form of national assembly most likely to obtain the ends which they had in view. Now my point is that there was no moment in England when the English nation, or any English king or lawgiver, thought over the possible kinds of assemblies in this way, and came to the conclusion that an assembly of two chambers was the thing that they wanted. There was no moment in England when men made up their minds that it would be a good thing to have a second chamber, a checking, a revising chamber, to review the acts of another chamber. Least of all was there any moment when men said that it would be well to have a chamber which should specially represent the hereditary principle, because no chamber specially representing that principle exists now, or, save for a few years of the Long Parliament, ever has existed, in England.

Now all this may seem very obvious. I suppose that few people, if they were strictly pressed, would allow that they believed that the

English House of Lords was really called into being, like the American or the French Senate, at some particular moment to answer some particular purpose. Few people, if the question were put to them in that shape, would confess that they believed that some person, king or otherwise, at some stage or other of English history, ever really said, "A second chamber, a revising chamber, will be a good thing; let us make such a chamber, and let us make it hereditary and fitted specially to represent the landed interest." Nobody can avowedly and consciously believe this. Even a lawyer's dreams on constitutional history could hardly go so wide of the mark. But it is none the less true that many people practically believe all this or something very like it. They look, not only on the House of Lords itself, but on the peculiar functions of the House of Lords as they are now understood, as something altogether immemorial, something which must have had a beginning, but whose beginning is lost in the gloom of ages. They must know that the House of Lords is older than the House of Commons, and that therefore it cannot have been called into being to revise the acts of the House of Commons. They can hardly fail to know that it was only in the reign of Henry the Eighth that the hereditary element in the House of Lords came to outnumber the non-hereditary element; they therefore can hardly think that the House of Lords was called into being in order to be the special representative of hereditary succession. And yet, though they cannot help knowing these things, they practically do not know them. That is, they think and speak and act as if they did not know them. They like to fancy that the points which they most admire in their favourite institution are points which have distinguished that institution from the earliest times. The final cause of the House of Lords is to be a hereditary chamber, a revising and checking chamber. It takes somewhat away from the beauty of the picture to be told that, so far as those functions have fallen upon the existing House of Lords, they have fallen upon it wholly by accident.

Now it must be remembered that all this does not directly prove anything as a matter of practical argument. If the House of Lords be as good an institution as Mr. Kebbel says it is, it ought by all means to be kept, even though its constitution and functions could be shown to be accidents of yesterday. If it be as bad an institution as Mr. Leach says it is, it ought by all means to be got rid of, even though Alfred had invented it exactly as it stands, with the formal purpose of making it discharge the exact functions which it discharges. And yet I feel sure that Mr. Kebbel will be better pleased if everything about the House of Lords can be shown to be very old, and that Mr. Leach will be better pleased if anything about it can be shown to be very new. We all of us, of whatever

way of thinking, respect the wisdom of our forefathers when it happens to tell on our own side; we all despise it when it happens to tell on the other side. And perhaps we seldom value as we should the special wisdom of our English forefathers, the wisdom with which, while they always shrank from needless change, from change for the sake of change, they never shrank from such changes as the needs of their own time showed to be called for.

To show then that the House of Lords came by its constitution and functions by accident does not really weaken the position of its panegyrist. The wisdom of our forefathers may have been shown just as well in the adaptation of happy accidents as it could have been shown in inventing an ideal House of Lords ready made. And again, if the House of Lords, in its personal identity, without regard to its existing constitution and functions, can be shown to be as old as any of our institutions can be, that will in no way weaken the position of its accuser. For it can be shown only by showing that the wisdom of our forefathers has at various times greatly changed the constitution and functions of the House, supplying thereby precedents for changing them again, if need be.

I must start then with an old position of mine which I have often maintained in various shapes. I hold that the House of Lords is, by personal identity, by unbroken succession, the ancient Witenagemót, and further that the ancient Witenagemót was a body in which every freeman in the realm had, in theory at least, the right to attend and take a part in person. The former of these two positions I do not expect that any real scholar will dispute; the latter has been made —and I do not at all wonder at it—the subject of a good deal of dispute. The unbroken continuity of our national assemblies before and after the Norman Conquest is manifest to every one who reads English history with common care. They gradually changed in character, in composition, in range of functions; they lost powers and they won them back again; but there was no moment in England like those many moments in France when an assembly of one kind was abolished, and an assembly of another kind was set up in its stead. The real continuity of our assemblies is disguised by seeming changes of name which are often mere translations from one language to another. *Magnum concilium* is simply Latin for *mycel gemót*; when the English Chronicler says that King William held "deep *speech* with his Witan," he would, if he had been writing in French, have said that he held a *parlement*. Now the House of Lords is the body which keeps on the unbroken continuity of the ancient assemblies. Such continuity cannot be looked for in the House of Commons which manifestly grew up by the side of the House of Lords. First the knights, then the citizens and burgesses, were admitted to a share in the powers which the bishops, earls, and

other great men possessed already. They came to form a separate house, side by side with the house formed by the bishops, earls, and other great men. They came to reproduce the national assemblies of earlier days more truly than they were reproduced by the elder assembly by the side of which they grew up. But it is that elder assembly alone which can claim personal identity with the assemblies of earlier days. No line can be drawn between the existing House of Lords and those assemblies which of old times chose and deposed kings and confirmed the laws which their kings laid before them. In many things there is a wide difference between the two; but there is no change which implies any break in what we may call their corporate succession.

My other doctrine will, I know, be less readily received. In the teeth of great authorities still I have to cleave to my old belief that there was a time when the *Myc Gemót* of the kingdom was open to every freeman, and that the right of every freeman to appear in it simply died out in practice and was never formally taken away. That is to say, the existing House of Lords is, by strict corporate succession, identical with an assembly in which every freeman in the land once had a place. Certainly, if I am right in this view, no greater change can be conceived as happening in any human institution. And yet, if we look at the course of events, there is nothing inconceivable in it. It is simply an instance of what Aristotle speaks of when he tells us that some institutions are democratic in appearance but oligarchic in practice.[1] A primary assembly of a district so large that its inhabitants cannot habitually come together in one place is pre-eminently an institution of this class. As long as the whole people can habitually come together, that is, as long as the state consists only of a single town or a small district, so long a primary assembly is the most democratic of all institutions. As soon as this limit is passed, it shrinks up into oligarchy by the working of natural causes, without any formal enactment. There is no need to limit the numbers of the assembly, to shut out the mass of its members, by any formal vote; the numbers of the assembly are limited, the mass of its members are shut out, by the simple fact that they cannot come. Of itself, without any formal change, the democratic assembly shrinks up into an assembly of such of its members only as are rich enough and zealous enough to take long journeys on the public service. If the assembly is held in a great city, it may be swollen by an unusual number of the inhabitants of that city; at times of great general excitement many will come who in ordinary times stay away. But the tendency will be to shrink up into an assembly of the chief men and the chief men

(1) Politics, iv. 5, 3. *τὴν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι πολιτείαν δημοτικωτέραν, τῇ δ' ἀγωγῇ καὶ τοις σιν ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι μᾶλλον.*

only. And if the state has a kingly head, this tendency will be yet further strengthened in another way. The practice of summons will come in, and all experience shows that the establishment of the practice of summons is equivalent to the exclusion of all who are not summoned. The summons, once a mark of personal esteem, will become a matter of right. The great men of the realm, bishops, earls, and the like, will establish their right to the summons; for others it will still for a while depend on the King's will. The King will still be able to summon personally to his counsels any one whose advice he may wish to have, without binding himself always to summon the same men, and certainly without binding himself to summon their sons after them. But gradually the favour will stiffen into a right. It will be held, first, that he who has been summoned once has a right to be summoned always; next, that the son of him who has been summoned has a right to be summoned after him. By these successive and gradual changes, the assembly which was once so specially democratic will become very aristocratic indeed. From a popular assembly it becomes an official assembly; from an official assembly it becomes an assembly containing a large element which is strictly hereditary. For, while the hereditary baronage has been growing up, the earls, originally an official class just as much as the bishops and abbots, have been gradually changing into a hereditary class also. Thus the earls and the summoned barons grow into the hereditary temporal peerage, to be strengthened by smaller classes bearing the newer and more fantastic titles of duke, marquess, and viscount. The so-called spiritual peers meanwhile, the bishops and abbots, remain as vestiges of the earlier state of things. In plain matter of fact, the bishops—or more strictly those five bishops whose seats have not been touched by later enactments—sit in Parliament, neither as representatives of the Church nor as holders of baronies, but simply as the one class of English freemen who have never lost their right of personal attendance in the great council of the nation. The truth of history does indeed demand that we should heap paradox upon paradox. We first find the House of Lords to be, by unbroken personal identity, identical with the primitive democratic assembly. We next find that the Lords Spiritual, or some of them, are the only men in the realm who still keep their places in the national assembly by the old democratic right of the simple freeman. What others have lost, they have kept; what others have got again in later fashions, they have kept in the older fashion.

Such is my theory of the origin of the House of Lords. It is a democratic assembly, which the silent working of historical causes has changed into an assembly mainly hereditary, but still partly official. I have already said that parts of this theory are sure to

meet with controversy; but I feel sure that scholars in general will accept quite as much of it as is needful for my immediate purpose. The many passages in our early writers in which very popular language is used, those in which the gathering of great crowds is spoken of, still seem to me to agree better with my view than with any other. There is nothing wonderful in supposing that the great mass of the qualified members of an assembly habitually stayed away; it is much harder to believe that ever and anon crowds of unqualified persons thrust themselves into an assembly in which they had no right to appear at all. But we need not argue this point. It is enough for our present purpose if the ancient national assembly consisted formally—as in any case it for the most part did practically—only of the bishops, abbots, earls, the great officers of the king's household, and such king's thegns as lived near the place of meeting or as the king thought good to summon. Such an assembly would certainly not be a very popular assembly; but it would be almost as unlike the present House of Lords as the most popular assembly could be. The hereditary element, the supposed distinctive feature of the House of Lords, is utterly lacking. As it is lacking to this day in the Lords Spiritual, it was then altogether lacking in the predecessors of the Lords Temporal. Every man sat, not because his father had sat before him, but because of some position, personal or official, of his own. An earldom was as much an official position as a bishopric, though undoubtedly earldoms showed a tendency to become hereditary in practice in a way that bishoprics hardly could. And in this tendency of earldoms we see the beginnings of the change which has in the end made the House of Lords mainly a hereditary body. The son of the earl gradually established a right to his father's earldom, and the son of the summoned baron gradually established a right to be summoned as his father had been before him. And, as earldoms gradually lost their official character, earls and barons became the two main ranks in a body of hereditary peers. But their hereditary position came about only by virtue of general tendencies which worked hard to make all things, as far as might be, hereditary, from the Crown downwards.

Whether then we hold or not that the House of Lords is a democratic assembly which has been improved or corrupted into an aristocratic assembly, it is at any rate certain that it is an official assembly which has been improved or corrupted into a mainly hereditary assembly. The hereditary element in the House is something which has crept in unawares, without any conscious purpose, by the working of perfectly general causes. The change, whether we call it improvement or corruption, becomes fully established; a prescription of some centuries gives it an air of antiquity, and not a few

look at the finished work and admire it. And they have a perfect right so to do. If the House of Lords works as well as its admirers say that it does, it proves nothing against it to say that it has altogether changed its character from what it was many centuries back. Or rather the fact that it has thus silently changed its character may even be taken as a presumption that it has skilfully adapted itself to the varying needs of successive ages. Though the House was not devised to act as a revising chamber, it may yet do good service by acting as a revising chamber. Though it was not devised to act as a representative of the hereditary principle or of the landed interest, it may do good service by acting as a representative of the hereditary principle and of the landed interest. Whether it actually works well or ill in these characters is fair matter of discussion. My historical statement concerns their practical arguments only in this way. Neither the attack nor the defence must be made on false grounds. The champions of the House of Lords may fairly argue that it is an existing institution, and that the fact that an institution exists commonly proves something in its favour, so much at least as to claim that it should, if possible, be reformed and not destroyed. They may argue that it is an institution of respectable antiquity, and that the very changes which it has undergone really rather tell for it than against it. All these are perfectly sound and fair presumptions with which to start; only, like all other presumptions, they are liable to be outweighed by direct argument on the other side. What inquirers into earlier times require is simply that these presumptions shall not be carried beyond the truth of history, that the House, in its present state and discharging its present functions, shall not be thought to be something fixed in the eternal fitness of things, something which always has been and which always must be, something which it is sacrilege to touch or even to propose to touch. We cannot allow the champions of an institution which has changed so often and so widely to talk as if there were something wild and wicked and revolutionary in the mere thought of further change. If the House of Lords should change, either forwards, or—as so much of our very best modern legislation has done—backwards, it will be only doing what it has often done before. Let changes, if need be, be proposed; let them be argued for and against; only do not let them be argued against on any such grounds as that the wisdom of our forefathers established a hereditary revising chamber to act for ever and ever as a necessary part of our national being. What if any one should propose to keep the bishops, the privy-councillors, the law-lords, and such other peers as have been created in their own persons—therefore presumably for some merit or service—and to get rid of all those who are simply hereditary peers and nothing more? Such a scheme might be wise

or foolish; but it would at least not lack in respect for the wisdom of our forefathers. It would be bringing the House back to something not very unlike its earliest character.

The hereditary character of the House of Lords, so far as it is hereditary, and the special functions which it discharges, whether for good or for evil, are thus seen to be accidental features, which have come and which may pass away by the common working of historical causes. But we must look a step further, and see how purely accidental it is that a second chamber, a revising, a checking chamber, has been possible among us. The existence of such a chamber implies that there are two chambers and not more than two. It implies a different state of things from that of Scotland and from that of France. There could be no second chamber in Scotland, where the three estates of the realm all sat together in one chamber. There could be no second chamber in France, where the three estates of the realm sat in three quite distinct chambers. How comes it then that we, with much the same materials to arrange, have so arranged them as to make two distinct chambers and only two, and so to make the existence of a second or revising chamber possible? The story has been written by the great writers on English constitutional history; last and best, it has been written by Dr. Stubbs. King Edward the First beyond all doubt wished the English Parliament to take the same shape as the French States-General, to be a Parliament of three Houses, each representing one of the estates, Lords, Clergy, Commons. His scheme broke down through the unwillingness of the clergy to act as a strictly parliamentary estate. We therefore had two Houses, while Scotland had one, France three, and Sweden four. That special function of the House of Lords which has been imitated in countless constitutions in Europe and America was thus the result of the merest accident. The unwillingness of one estate of the realm to undertake the functions which the King wished to lay upon it rendered a certain state of things possible in England which was impossible in Scotland, France, and Sweden.

But, more than this, it is curious to mark, and it is well to remember, how the whole question of the number of the Houses of Parliament, and of the constitution of each, was a matter, not only of accident, but of experiment. It was only as the result of a number of such experiments that the two Houses settled themselves down into their present shape. The King seems to have summoned to his counsels any class of people whose advice or whose money he thought would be useful. "The lawyers and the merchants occasionally seem as likely to form an estate of the realm as the clergy or the knights."[1] But they never did come to form estates, and

(1) Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 189.

the clergy practically ceased to form one. The national assembly settled down into the two Houses of Lords and Commons, the Lords being those whom the King summoned in their own persons, the Commons being those who were chosen by those *communities*—shires, cities, boroughs—which the King called on to send representatives. The great men of the realm appear in their own persons; the smaller men appear by their representatives. For a while the House of Lords, the house of the personally summoned, the *pregadi*, remains the Upper House in fact as well as in name. Gradually the representative body wins equality and even practical superiority of powers. At last, second chamber in date, second in rank, it becomes distinctly first in authority. The elder, the more exalted, chamber sinks into the "second chamber" of modern political philosophy, the "Other House" of the plain English of Cromwell's day. The Houses have changed places. The Commons are no longer something alongside of the Lords; the Lords have become something alongside of the Commons. The great discovery has been made which is the essence of our present parliamentary system, the truth that the King's government cannot be carried on except by Ministers who have the confidence of the House of Commons, but that it matters little or nothing whether they have the confidence of the House of Lords. The House of Lords, once itself the national assembly, has come to be a body which has no powers left to it save to review the acts of the real national assembly, to reject a measure here, to alter a measure there. And then ingenious men arise to argue that this is a most useful function in the State, and that the House of Lords discharges it to admiration. And other ingenious men arise to argue that such a function is altogether mischievous, and that the House of Lords discharges it in about as mischievous a way as can be. I do not take upon myself to decide between them. I only once more ask both sides to remember that, whether the function be useful or mischievous, it has come about by sheer accident, that there was no moment when any such function was deliberately established by the wisdom of our forefathers.

The admirers of the House of Lords seem to me always to forget its chief merit in the past, and not always to remember its chief merit in the present. Granting the existence of two Houses, there can be no doubt that the hereditary character of the House of Lords combines with the narrowed range of its functions to keep up the character of the House of Commons. We see this plainly by looking across the Ocean. I quoted some time back in this Review[1] the epigrammatic saying of a distinguished American that the Senate is as superior to the House of Lords as the House of Representatives

(1) See Fortnightly Review, September, 1882, p. 326.

is inferior to the House of Commons. And I remarked that the epigram, whether we accepted it as literally true or not, certainly had truth in it. That the House of Representatives is very inferior to the House of Commons I suppose no candid person, British or American, will deny. Now I imagine that one main reason for this inferiority is that the best men in the House of Representatives have every temptation to get into the Senate, if they can, while the best men in the House of Commons have many motives which tend to keep them in the House of Commons, even though they may have the option of moving to the House of Lords. I imagine that an American statesman of the first rank would always, if he has his choice, prefer the Senate to the House. But an English statesman of the first rank will always, unless his physical strength be failing, prefer the House of Commons to the House of Lords. And, however attractive a peerage may be in other cases, a man cannot take such an hereditary position unless he is either rich or childless. In these and in other ways, not a few men are led to stay in the English House of Commons who would certainly try to make their way, as soon as they could, into an elective or nominated Senate. The hereditary character of the House of Lords, whatever may be said against it on any other grounds, certainly helps to keep up the character of the House of Commons, as compared with other popular assemblies.

But the House of Lords has in past history done far more for us than this. It is a seeming paradox which I have had to repeat more than once that it is the existence of a peerage which has, more than any other one cause, saved England from the curse of a nobility. Because we have allowed the heads of certain families to be hereditary lawgivers and hereditary judges, we have been spared the immeasurably greater evil of seeing whole families, and not merely one member of the family at a time, enjoying insulting and mischievous privileges from generation to generation. Our official assembly lived on; it changed into an assembly that was mainly hereditary; but it never became, like the assembly of the nobility of France or of any other country which had a real nobility, an assembly representing a privileged hereditary caste. Partly because the rights and privileges of the peer himself were so great, no right or privilege extended to his descendants. Where any commoner might be raised to the peerage, where the descendants of the peer came down to the rank of commoners, a nobility in the continental sense could not grow up. And its growth was further hindered by the point at which the distinction between peer and commoner was finally drawn. Of all the accidents by which the two Houses came to take their present shape, the luckiest perhaps was that which caused the line to be drawn between baron and knight. The gap between earl

and baron, the gap between knight and citizen, as those ranks stood in the thirteenth century, would seem to be immeasurably wider than the gap between baron and knight. Yet, as the houses finally settled themselves, the barons came to sit with the earls, bishops, and abbots, while the knights sat with the citizens and burgesses. The knights and esquires, who, with the barons, really answered to the continental *noblesse*, were thus driven to cast in their lot with the commons, and were cut off from all chance of forming a privileged class of the continental type. Whatever may be the faults either of the English peer or of the English squire, they are small beside those of the French *gentilhomme*.

One word as to second chambers in general. A second chamber has its use as long as men respect it; in a federal state I hold its existence to be a matter of necessity. But it is everywhere the weakest element in the state. In every state there must be an executive government of some kind; in every free state there must be a popular assembly of some kind. It is not so obvious that there need be a Senate of any kind. The other two elements are necessary; the Senate may seem to be simply ornamental. Even in a federal state, though the Senate really is as necessary as the other two, its necessity is not so obvious. Its necessity is a matter of reflexion, while the necessity of the other two elements is a matter of instinct. Mr. Leach looks forward to the abolition of the American Senate. That is, I suppose, he looks forward to a time when the United States shall be no longer the United States, but shall be rolled together into a single State. I certainly do not look for, as I assuredly do not wish for, any such change; but the question of second chambers, simply as second chambers, will be better studied in the several States and cities of the Union than in the Union itself. Mr. Leach refers to Greece, where the Senate has been abolished. Yet I have heard it whispered that the Greek assembly has sometimes passed measures which it has presently wished that it had not passed, and that the representatives of the people have contrived to let the King know that they would take it kindly if he would refuse his assent to their own bill. But I can well believe that, in a country in the condition of Greece, the Senate is on the whole better away. On the other hand, Sweden not long ago exchanged her ancient system of four estates for two houses more on the ordinary plan. Still, in any case the Senate, the upper or second or revising chamber, is sure to be the weakest power in the commonwealth. In a revolution the Senate often perishes utterly, while the two other elements are sure to come up again, either in their old shape or in some other. In our own case in the seventeenth century, the House of Lords was abolished before the Crown, and the Crown rose again in the shape of the

Protector before the House of Lords rose again in the shape of the "Other House." The constitution of the House of Lords is in theory much more unreasonable than that of many newly-devised, cut-and-dried, Senates. For that very reason it is practically stronger. The facts that it is, that it has been for so long, give it greater practical strength than the most ingeniously devised paper constitution could give it. Wisely or foolishly, we should all feel that we missed something, if the House of Lords should, like the French Chamber of Peers, "cease to exist." It would startle the nation more deeply perhaps than speculative reformers think, if the House of Lords were to be suddenly pulled down or rooted up. That an institution has lasted a long time is a *primâ-facie* reason in favour of letting it last still longer; it is not even a *primâ-facie* reason in favour of letting it last exactly as it is. The wisdom of our forefathers, ever loath to destroy, ever willing to reform, looks the other way. That the House of Lords is a very old institution is a strong presumption against exchanging it for anything altogether new. That in the course of its long life it has gone through many changes is a strong presumption in favour of changing once more in any point where change can be shown to be needed.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

THE BEGINNING OF ART.[1]

UNTIL recently archæology meant nothing more than Greek and Roman antiquities. In the days of Winckelmann, indeed, there was hardly any original Greek sculpture to be studied, and his *History of Art* is little beyond an examination of Roman copies. Ottfried Müller, in his *Handbook of Archæology*, was able to go further; but even his brilliant genius failed to leap over the Ægean to the influences that prompted Greek art. He was satisfied to regard the splendid series of artistic efforts which culminated in Phidias as a separated and isolated stream, and did not seek to discover where or how it first sprang forth, or to what confluents it owed its volume and strength. Such treatment will not satisfy the present school of archæology. Our new-born historical sense will not permit us to contemplate phenomena apart from their causes and surroundings. We have given up the hero and adopted the age; and a biography that speaks of the man without showing the predisposing influences that made him what he was, would to-day be an anachronism. In precisely the same manner we endeavour to coordinate the histories of nations. A people became what it was or is for some reason which must be sought outside itself. To find that reason is the historian's first aim, before he enters upon the history of the nation itself.

It seems natural enough to us, in the light of recent research, to see that the position of Greece made her specially open to foreign influence—that a European country joined to Asia by a bridge of stepping-stones, familiarised with Asiatic ideas and Asiatic workmanship by the Phœnician vessels that traded with the innumerable ports of her extensive coast, separated by an inconsiderable stretch of sea from the two great civilisations of the east—could not help being influenced by the culture and art of her neighbours. But it was not easy to see all this a short while since. When the elder archæologists painfully worked out their Lehrejahre, in studying the scanty materials that then offered themselves, Nineveh had not been explored by Botta and Layard; Rawlinson and Burnouf had not laid bare the secrets of the cuneiform inscriptions; Hamilton and Fellowes had not yet shown the mine of artistic genealogy that might be worked in Asia Minor; and Egypt had yet to reveal the course and epochs of her art to the industry and genius of a Lepsius, a Bruysch, a Mariette, and a Maspero. Every

(1) *A History of Art in Ancient Egypt.* From the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez. With over 600 illustrations. Translated by W. Armstrong. (Chapman & Hall, 1883.) *Cities of Egypt.* By Reginald Stuart-Poole. (Smith, Elder & Co.)

year fresh additions are made to the annals of exploration, and a new link is forged in the chain of art history. The school of Praxiteles has recently received new light from the diggings at Olympia; Pergamum has confirmed, in a startling manner, our suspicions of a dramatic epoch in Greek sculpture; Mr. Lang and General Cesnola have carried the student midway towards eastern art, and Mr. Ramsay is at this moment helping him to pursue the same route over-land. Lately, too, Mariette, whose name will ever be dear to those who know how to honour unselfish toil in the cause of learning, laid bare the almost unknown and even unsuspected monuments of the ancient empire at Memphis and Sakkarab, and enabled us to see Egyptian plastic art, in the oldest phase yet discovered, in the sculptures of five millenniums before Christ.

A comparison of these varied results with the remnants of archaic art in Greece leads more and more to one conclusion. The more we study the past, the more surely do we recognise the truth contained in those myths and traditions which betray the influence exercised upon Greece by the people of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. To confine ourselves to the plastic arts, the historian of Greek art discovers *survivals*, forms, and motives, which had been employed in previous centuries and earlier civilisations, in exact proportion to the accuracy of his researches, and to the number of his elements for comparison. He also finds that the Greeks borrowed from the same instructors those industrial processes which, although not in themselves artistic, are among the antecedent conditions of art—namely, metallurgy, ceramics, smiths' work, glass-making, weaving, embroidery, stone-working, and carving—in a word, all those trades which seem so simple when their secrets are known, but which, nevertheless, represent the accumulated efforts of countless unknown inventors. Even after Greek art had reached perfection, and was in the full enjoyment of her own individuality, we still find traces of these early borrowings. Sometimes it is a decorative motive, like the sphinx, the griffin, the palm-leaf, and many others, which, invented on the banks of the Nile or the Tigris, were transported to Greece, and there preserved, to be handed down to our modern ornamentists. The nearer we get to the fountain-head of Greek art, the more we are struck with these resemblances, which are something beyond mere coincidences. We find analogous methods of indicating the human skeleton, of accenting its articulations, of representing the drapery with which the forms are covered. Greek taste had not yet so transformed the details of ornamentation as to prevent us from recognising the motives which commerce had brought for its use over the Ægean or the mountains of Asia Minor.

M. Perrot, the Professor of Classical Archæology at Paris, in his *History of Art in Antiquity,* has undertaken to summarise the result of specialists for the use of the general scholar. He sets aside everything that does not belong to the history of art as he defines it—the art, that is, which was "born upon the banks of the Nile and crept up the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, to spread itself over the plains of Iran on the one hand and of Asia Minor on the other; while the Phœnicians carried it, with the alphabet which they had invented, and the forms of their own worship, over the whole basin of the Mediterranean." His subject is, in fact, Greek art, and the influences which contributed to its development. Egyptian art is to M. Perrot nothing more than a chapter in the prolegomena to the history of Greek art. Assyrian, Phœnician, and other Asiatic developments form other chapters in the same preface. But the history itself is that of art in Greece. That is the highest art, and to that the artistic efforts of all other nations are subsidiary or introductory. "It was our love for Greece," says M. Perrot, "that drove us to this undertaking; we desire and hope to make her life better known, to show a side of it which is not to be found in the works of her great writers, to give to our readers new and better reasons for loving and admiring her than they have had before . . . . . Our route will conduct us from the banks of the Nile to those of the Euphrates and Tigris; over the plains of Media, Persia, and Asia Minor, to the shores of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Rhodes. But beyond the obelisks and pyramids of Egypt, beyond the towers of Chaldea and the domes of Nineveh, the lofty colonnades of Persepolis, the fortresses and rock-cut tombs of Phrygia and Lycia, we shall never cease to perceive on the horizon the sacred rock of the Athenian Acropolis."

It is this point of view that gives M. Perrot's *History of Art in Ancient Egypt* a peculiar and unrivalled value. If it is asked, What are his qualifications for such a work? the answer one is tempted to make is, that he is *not* an Egyptologist. It cannot be too strongly insisted on, that for a great comparative work such as that upon which M. Perrot is engaged, the prime qualification is not specialism but universalism. The specialist sees things from his narrow standpoint in a more or less distorted and disproportioned scale. What is wanted is not learned detail, but accurate perspective. This is precisely what M. Perrot gives us. As a Greek archæologist, his eye is trained in the highest possible development of art, and from that level he surveys the various stages in artistic growth which lead up to his lofty station. The result is a well-balanced estimate of Egyptian art as a step on a ladder, not as the ladder itself; a wisely proportioned exposition of its various forms and elaborations; and at each stage of the history, wide and luminous generalisation from Egypt to Assyria and Greece. M. Perrot possesses the power

of clear exposition and generalisation in a rare degree even among Frenchmen, to whom method and lucidity seem to come naturally. Personal researches into Egyptian history, and the interpretation of hieroglyphics, are no necessary part of the work: others had already been busy in that field, and M. Perrot had but to collect their results. To do this must have involved prodigious labour, as may be derived from the innumerable references to separate brochures in the footnotes, which are, moreover, only a selection from a much larger number of authorities consulted. To analyse this immense mass of material, and reduce it to the admirably clear and well-arranged chapters of his history, must have been still more difficult. But the result is a triumphant success. M. Perrot has condensed into this one stout volume (of the French edition) almost everything that the general student of archæology ought to know, and he has condensed it without sacrificing the graces of style and even eloquence. Much of the precision and insight into designs which are displayed in the architectural part of the work are due to his collaborateur, M. Ch. Chipiez, who brings the eye of a practical architect to bear upon the principles of Egyptian building, and whose reconstruction of some of the temples and other monuments are among the most interesting illustrations of a book which abounds in exquisite drawings. Egyptologists will doubtless point to an error here and an oversight there, but these detract little from the usefulness of the book. Students of Greek archæology, for whom it is specially designed, will welcome it with something like enthusiasm; they will feel that M. Perrot has given them just that knowledge of Eastern art which is needed to illustrate and explain the art of Hellas, and enable them to feel alike the analogies and the contrasts between the two. As they read the description of Egyptian social life, as depicted on the walls of tombs, scenes so foreign to the Greek conception of the functions of art, all the riddle of Homeric art is solved, the secret of Phœnician bowls is half disclosed, and the wonderful Arcesilaus vase from Cyrene, though still unique, is no longer inexplicable. And when they see the art-representation of the religion of Egypt, and read M. Perrot's fruitful comments on the points of antithesis between the religious feeling of Egypt and Greece, they feel that it was by no mere accident that the horse-headed Demeter perished and the cat-headed Bast survived. Nothing can be more suggestive to the student of Greek sculpture than the strange reversal of the order of development to which he is accustomed. Egyptian art begins where Greek art ends, in a school of realistic portraiture. To multiply instances, however, would be wearisome: as a scholar may known his Brunn and Overbeck by heart, and yet on this very subject of Greek art may receive fresh impulse and suggestion from almost every page of

M. Perrot's history. Mr. Armstrong has done a good service to any who find an impediment in the French language by turning this work into English, and into a more convénient shape, though his free version does not quite convey the grace and precision of the original. In French or English the book must be in the library of every lover of antiquity, while its superb illustrations will probably induce many who have never before given a thought to Egyptian art to begin the study under M. Perrot's fascinating guidance.

As I close this history, however, I cannot help referring to the points where all Egyptian histories for the present must fail. M. Perrot has traced the course of artistic development in Egypt, so far as there are monuments to go upon; but there are long periods where the stream of history, like the Alpheus, seems to flow under the earth, only to reappear with renewed force. These blank spaces in Egyptian history, these lost books of the Egyptian Livy, are they really vanished, or is there yet a chance of their discovery? In a series of chapters on the biblical *Cities of Egypt*, Mr. Reginald Stuart-Poole has thrown out some noteworthy suggestions on this subject. In his chapter on Hanes, Mr. Poole points out that between the age of the Pyramid builders and the great Twelfth Dynasty, one of these great gaps in Egyptian history occurs—a blank of nearly half a thousand years, broken only by one brief statement in Manettio, in which it is said that two of the missing dynasties ruled at Heracleopolis or Hanes. Not a tablet, statue, tomb, or fragment, in any part of Egypt shows itself during this mysterious interval. Yet at Ahnâs-El-Medeeneh, Marietti says, the remains of Hanes would be found if only the money and energy were forthcoming for the exploration. Again between the Thirteenth and Eighteenth Dynasties comes another yawning abyss—the five hundred years of the rule of the Shepherds in Egypt. We have a fine monument of this period; but many more are needed to illumine the darkness which still hangs over the religion and history of the strange borderland where the Hyksos ruled. There is no more urgent duty before the student of antiquity —antiquity which M. Perrot has shown to be one and undivided— than to help in this work of recovering the lost Decades of the Egyptian Livy. The Delta must be explored, its mounds must be investigated, and no time could be more propitious than the present.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1793.

PROBABLY no event in the history of England during the last hundred years is so important as the outbreak of war with France in 1793. It led, by a chain of almost necessary consequence, to our long struggle against Napoleon I. It added millions to our debt, it caused the distress and discontent which paved the way for the Reform Bill of 1832, its results placed England at the head of the European system. From a narrower point of view it formed a turning point in the career of Pitt. Up to that time he had pursued a policy of peace, retrenchment, and reform. The most enlightened minister of his age, he promised fair to anticipate by fifty years some of the most important changes which our own age has witnessed. From that period he was the minister of war, extravagance, and coercion. His name was a synonym for blood, violence, and treachery, not only upon the Continent but among English Liberals. The war then kindled was not extinguished until it had killed him in its course. His friends saw the "Austerlitz look" on the blanched countenance of their dying chief. Passing a map of Europe in his last days, he said, "Roll up that map, we shall not want it any more."

The character of our conduct in that crisis has long been disputed amongst politicians. War was opposed in 1793 by Fox and the Liberal party who followed him, and he lost no opportunity of urging the desirability of peace. However, when he became Foreign Minister after the death of Pitt, he did not make peace. In 1853, after the death of the Duke of Wellington, the question was argued by Richard Cobden. In his pamphlet, "1793 and 1853," he tries to show that our war with France was neither necessary nor just. His arguments are those of a partisan, and the authorities which he recommends to his reverend correspondent, and on which he probably relied himself, are such ordinary books as the *Annual Register*, the *Pictorial History of England*, Alison's *History of Europe*, and the *Parliamentary Debates*. The present writer has had the opportunity of reading nearly all the dispatches in the English Record Office and the French Foreign Office which bear upon the subject; and his aim is to present as clear and impartial an account of the origin of the war as can be done in the limited space at his disposal.

It is now admitted on all hands that the war was none of our seeking. It was declared by the French Government, and would, perhaps, not have been declared by us. It may be urged that there was such a fundamental antagonism between the principles of the

French Revolution and those of the English Government that the outbreak of war was merely a question of time. But we were a grave and serious nation, dealing with a crowd of heated anarchists, unused to govern, intemperate of language. Neither their words nor their actions could be interpreted by ordinary rules. Had we exhausted every precaution; were we guilty of no false step which we might have foreseen would lead us into the path along which we had no desire to move?

From the first outbreak of the Revolution the policy of the English Ministry had been to preserve a strict neutrality. Although the contrary has often been maintained, there should be no doubt of it since the publication of the *History of the Politics of Great Britain and France in* 1800. This work, written by Herbert Marsh, the celebrated Professor of Divinity and the translator of Mosheim, is an exhaustive examination of the conduct of the English Government in its relations with France at this period. He proves, as far as could be proved from the materials within his reach: (1) that the British Government knew nothing of the Conference of Pilnitz, and that when requested in 1791 to join a coalition against France it absolutely refused to do so; (2) that we behaved with extreme friendliness to France in the affairs of San Domingo; (3) that we were one of the first to recognise the new French Constitution of 1791; (4) that in January, 1792, we took measures for reducing our armaments by sea and land; (5) that when France had declared war against Austria on April 20, 1792, the British Government took every pains to assert its neutrality; (6) that the proclamation of May 21 against seditious writings was a mere act of internal policy, and was not directed against the French.

Evidences of this position might be easily multiplied to any extent. On September 20, 1791, Lord Grenville writes from Weymouth that M. de Bintinaye, an emissary of the French *émigré* princes, is to be told "that his Majesty's resolution extends not only to the taking no part either in supporting or opposing the measures which other powers may adopt, but also to the not influencing in any manner their determination in that respect." "Sir R. Keith has been authorised to explain to the Emperor [of Germany] his Majesty's determination to take no part in the business of France unless any new circumstances should arise which might have an influence on the interests of his own subjects. This is all that has passed, and the princes ought to know it." Nor was the disposition of the French Government to us of a less friendly character. Chauvelin's instructions as Minister to England are dated April 19, 1792. He was the ostensible head of the French mission, but the moving spirit of it was Talleyrand, the famous Bishop of Autun, who could not be formally commissioned to the English court because no

member of the Assemblée Nationale of 1789 was allowed to hold public office. He is charged to use every argument to keep England out of the new coalition, and to persuade her to enter into a defensive alliance with France for the mutual guarantee of each other's possessions. England might persuade Austria and Prussia to withdraw from the league. If Spain took part against France, France and England with South America might join against her. A defensive alliance might include a ratification of the Treaty of Commerce of 1787. But above all he was to try to obtain a loan of three or four millions in England, if possible, with the guarantee of the English Government. In return for the guarantee he was to offer the cession of the isle of Tobago, almost entirely inhabited by English, of course with the consent of the inhabitants. The English Government were to be told that for their object there was no time like the present.

On August 4, 1792, Lord Gower writes to Lord Grenville that the royal family, especially the Queen, are in great danger, and he demands instructions for his conduct. Lord Grenville replies on August 9, the very eve of the attack on the Tuileries and the last day of liberty for the monarchy of France, that no instructions could be of any service to their Majesties in the present crisis, that we have been strictly neutral during the last five years, that if we could do any good matters might be different. "The King's feelings might lead him to depart from the line he has chosen. But any measure of this kind could only commit the King's name in a business in which he has hitherto kept himself unengaged without any reasonable hope of its producing a good effect; on the contrary, interference might do harm. We are not indifferent to the fate of their most Christian Majesties. Express our sentiments of regard, friendship, and good-will, but make no declaration."

We see that up to the 10th of August the British Government preserved an attitude of scrupulous neutrality. From that day the face of affairs was changed. The King was a prisoner in the Temple, the royal authority was in abeyance. The Government were compelled either to recall their ambassador or to recognise the validity of the Provisional Committee. In recalling Lord Gower they followed the example of other European nations. Indeed the massacres of September followed closely upon August 10, and the life of an intimate friend of the royal family would scarcely have been secure. The Duke of Dorset, Lord Gower's predecessor, had been forced to leave Paris because a letter written to the Comte d'Artois, congratulating the Count on his safe escape from Paris, had been found upon one of the Duke's servants. Mr. Cobden makes a great matter of this recall of Lord Gower, and says that after the deposition of Louis Philippe in 1848 our minister continued to be accredited to the French Republic. Such, however, were not the views held either in

France or England at the time. On August 28 Chauvelin wrote to Lebrun that the recall of Lord Gower need not affect the neutrality of England: "Ce rappel tient uniquement à ces raisons d'étiquette et de bienséance." Lebrun, on August 29, in his instructions to M. Noel, whom he was sending to England, says that notwithstanding the views of George III., who was rightly believed to be anxious for war, the cabinet is composed of enlightened men, and that Dundas's note recalling Lord Gower was very moderate.

The events of August 10 might well impress the English Government, when we consider the effect they produced upon Chauvelin himself. No sooner had he heard of what had occurred than he writes to Lord Grenville that criminal and disastrous events have taken place in Paris, that the security of the National Assembly has been violated, that men of violent passions have led the multitude astray. He begs the King of England to use all his influence to prevent the armies of the enemy from invading French territory, giving occasion for new excesses, and compromising still further the liberty, the safety, and even the existence of the King and of his family. No sooner has Chauvelin sent this dispatch than he discovers his mistake. A cabinet council is called to deliberate upon his letter. Chauvelin receives new intelligence from Paris. He calls Mr. Secretary Dundas and begs that the dispatch may be returned to him and may be considered as *non avenue*. Dundas writes to one of the clerks of the Foreign Office: "Mr. Aust will not allow any copies of the paper delivered this day by M. Chauvelin to get out of the office, and will inform (by circulating this note) H. M.'s confidential servants who attended the cabinet this day that M. Chauvelin having in the most earnest manner requested the paper to be returned to him, Mr. Dundas, after consulting with Mr. Pitt, thought the reasons stated impossible to be resisted." The paper was therefore returned to Chauvelin, but a copy had been taken of it which is now in the Record Office. Although Lord Gower was recalled from Paris, Chauvelin still remained in London, and it has often been asked why he did so. It has been said that although he was disowned by Ministers he knew himself to be on very good terms with the Opposition, and that he stayed in England that he might be a centre of intrigue. His dispatches give little countenance to this idea, while they supply a natural reason for delay in presenting his letters of recall. When war between France and England became imminent, Chauvelin held some communication with the Opposition by means of Sheridan, who visited him secretly. But whilst there was a hope of peace or even of alliance between the two countries, his great object was to avoid all suspicion of the kind.

There is in the French Foreign Office a dispatch dated May 23, 1792, signed by Chauvelin, but evidently composed by Talleyrand,

which, if read and pondered by Lebrun, should have deterred him for ever from such intrigues. Talleyrand writes complaining of the indiscretion of French journalists, that the terms *Ministry* and *Opposition* have a very different sense in England to that which is attributed to them abroad. "In reading French papers one would believe that the King and the partisans of privilege and of royal prerogative were on one side, and the friends of the people on the other, working incessantly, the one for authority, the other for liberty. If this were the case a revolution might be probable enough. But in fact the mass of the nation is generally indifferent to all these political discussions which make such a noise amongst ourselves. Agriculture, art, manufacture, and commerce, the rise and fall of the funds, these are the main objects of attention, the debates of Parliament only interest the people in a secondary degree. The Opposition is generally regarded as an ingredient as necessary to the constitution as the Ministry itself, but that is all, and whenever they are seen at war with each other, whatever may be the opinion which is formed of their measures, the nation feels sure of liberty. Nor is the Ministry itself as instinctively attached to the King or as zealous for the royal prerogative as is generally believed in France. Composed of different elements, it contains germs of disagreement which incline it at one time to the side of the monarchy at another to that of the people." He concludes a long dispatch by saying that they must treat with the Ministry alone, and must try to gain their confidence, and that is only to be done by showing the most firm determination to do nothing which may encourage dissension.

These weighty words ought to dispose of the opinion that Chauvelin's object in remaining in England was to intrigue with the Opposition. His real fear was lest his letters of recall should be refused by the court, and so the rupture be brought about which he and his employers were most anxious to prevent. He writes to Lebrun on August 31: "It would be natural to recall me as the English have recalled Lord Gower, and I should be glad to go; but let me make the following observation. Lord Gower's recall is due only to the motive of *delicatesse monarchique* We have no such reason; we wish to preserve the best intelligence with England. Besides, Mr. Lindsay (the secretary of legation) remains. It might be difficult for you to draw up my letters of recall, or for me to present them. How very bad it would be if I were refused an audience! what a triumph for our enemies! All the friends we have in England are agreed upon this point." Indeed the Provisional Government sent a new emissary to England in the person of M. Noel, who has made a greater reputation as a writer of school books than as a diplomatist. They at first intended to supersede Chauvelin, and as a *ci-devant* marquis they always regarded him with suspicion. On

September 6, however, they definitely tell him that he may stay, yet warn him that he must be prepared to act cordially with the different persons charged with special missions whom the Government are likely to send to London. Some of them were undoubtedly intended as spies, others were got out of the way that they might escape the fate of their brother aristocrats in the prisons.

During the autumn things remained tolerably quiet. The King was at Weymouth from August 17 to the end of September. The centre of disturbance was in the Ministry itself. The King had not given the Ministers his entire confidence. The French Revolution offended every principle and prejudice of his nature. Although we have no positive proof, we have many indications that the King was eager either to join the coalition or to take decisive steps for repressing the disorder in France, and seating his royal cousin firmly on the throne. The King was supported in the Ministry by Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, whom Pitt was obliged to get rid of, and Lord Hawkesbury, the father of a hopeful son who had just entered Parliament, and who afterwards became Lord Liverpool. Pitt depended upon his brother, Lord Chatham, First Lord of the Admiralty, a person of gentlemanly bearing, small abilities, and sententious wisdom, and the two Secretaries of State, Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas. Lord Camden, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Stafford formed a middle party, who oscillated between the two extremes. We shall see that Pitt was ready all along to make any sacrifice for the preservation of peace with France. Grenville seems to have gradually drifted to the side of the King, who, as events progressed, became still more eager for war.

The French Embassy had some hope that a coalition ministry would be formed which would be more favourable to their cause. The summer of 1792 was occupied by correspondence, interviews, and conversations, all bearing on the possibility of including Pitt and Fox in the same cabinet, and providing the country with a ministry resting on a broad foundation. The true history of these intrigues has yet to be written. The account generally given of them is that Pitt was not unwilling to receive some of the Whig party, but that the scheme shattered upon the obstinacy and impracticability of Fox. There is in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 27,918) a secret political diary of the Duke of Leeds, which gives a minute account of these transactions, and one of different complexion to that which is derived from Lord Malmesbury's diary. According to Lord Malmesbury, Pitt was eager for the coalition. There was a certain difficulty about Fox, "*perhaps* it would not be quite easy to give Fox the Foreign Department *immediately*, but that in a few months he might certainly have it." "Pitt did not come with the King's command to propose a coalition, but that he would be responsible that it

would please the King *and the Queen*, and that the only difficulty at all likely to arise was about Fox, and that difficulty entirely owing to Fox's conduct in Parliament during the last four months." The only authority for these opinions of Pitt is Lord Loughborough, the very man whose restless desire for office and unscrupulous ambition was urging the Duke of Portland to sacrifice Fox. It is certain that the idea of a coalition was mentioned to Pitt and the King in June, but the Duke of Leeds' diary shows that neither of them seriously entertained the idea, and that Fox was perfectly justified in believing it to be impossible. On Tuesday, August 14, the Duke of Leeds, who had been Foreign Minister in Pitt's Cabinet, who expected to be made Prime Minister, with Pitt and Fox serving under him as secretaries, had an interview with the King at Windsor. The Duke expounded his plans, advocating as well as he could the cause of Mr. Fox. "Whether it had any effect I am ignorant, for his Majesty did not, I believe, mention Mr. Fox's name more than once, if even that, during the whole conversation. I mentioned the several interviews which had passed between Lord Loughborough and Mr. Dundas, at one at least of which Mr. Pitt had been present, and which had been mentioned in the newspapers as affording sufficient reason to suppose his Majesty's servants not indisposed to our arrangement, and I took for granted his Majesty was informed of everything that had passed down to the present time. To my great surprise the King answered that he had not heard anything upon the subject for a long time; that Mr. Pitt had, indeed, some months ago mentioned something like an opening on the part of the Duke of Portland and his friends, to which his Majesty had answered, '*Anything complimentary to them*, but no *power*.'" The Duke of Leeds pertinently remarks upon this, "The first part of this brief but curious answer explains the circumstance of the offer of the Garter to the Duke of Portland, and of the Marquisate of Rockingham to Lord Fitzwilliam; and the latter proves but too clearly the great difficulty, if not impossibility, of succeeding in the proposed arrangement." The Duke of Leeds, unabashed by this repulse, went on to suggest that, although Pitt could not remain at the head of the Treasury, he could still be Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Secretary of State. "The King asked me who was proposed to be First Lord of the Treasury? I answered that I could not tell, but that it was meant that some one should be in that situation who was on terms of friendship and confidence with both parties. His Majesty replied it would be very awkward for Mr. Pitt after having been head of that board to descend to an inferior situation at it, and that whoever was First Lord must either be a cypher or Mr. Pitt appear as a *commis*."

On Wednesday, August 22, the Duke of Leeds had an interview with Pitt. Pitt received him very civilly, but did not appear quite at

his ease. The Duke told the same story that he had told to the King. "Mr. Pitt listened attentively to all I said, and answered, there had been no thought of any alteration in the Government, that circumstances did not call for it, nor did the people wish it, and that no new arrangement, either by a change or coalition, had ever been in contemplation." On the Duke reminding him of the reported interviews between Lord Loughborough and Dundas, at which Pitt had been present, he said that it was true, but that such meetings had not in view any change of administration. The language both of Pitt and of the King admits of no doubt, and we must conclude that the negotiations for a coalition which have been repeated in all histories of the time have, as far as Pitt is concerned, no basis but the interested imagination and creative memory of Lord Loughborough.

The King remained at Weymouth from the middle of August to the end of September, and during this time home politics were in abeyance, but events were moving rapidly in France. On September 20, the cannonade of Valmy announced, as Goethe said to those who heard it, the birth of a new era; on October 23, a salvo of artillery all along the French frontier announced that the soil of France was free from the enemy. Before the end of September the French armies marched across the frontier, Nice was taken on September 28, Spires on September 30; the attacked became the aggressors, and the French Government imagined a victorious course of mingled conquest and propaganda. These events did not appear to compromise English interests until Dumouriez began to overrun the Netherlands. The battle of Jemappes was fought on November 6, and on November 14 the capture of Brussels laid the whole of Belgium at his feet. These victories encouraged the French to take a higher tone. Chauvelin, who did not like to go to Court for fear he should be badly received, now asked his Government for credentials as Minister of the Republic. He writes to Lebrun on November 3, that the time has come to treat openly with England, and that he wishes for positive instructions.

Lebrun was clear-sighted enough to see the effect which the conquest of Belgium was likely to have in England. He writes to Chauvelin on October 30, "The army of the Republic commanded by Dumouriez is on the point of entering, if it had not already entered, the territory of the Low Countries. It is possible that Dumouriez may conquer them, and in this case it is quite possible that the inhabitants will rise in a general insurrection against the House of Austria. What would England do in this case? Would she feel bound by the convention of November 10, 1790? The Republic solemnly renounces every conquest." The next day, October 30, Lebrun orders Chauvelin to announce distinctly that "the nation will never suffer Belgium to be under foreign influence, and that it

will never annex the smallest part to the French Empire." He adds, "now we of course desire for our protection a democratic power on our frontier." On November 6 he shows a still greater desire to know what public opinion in England thinks about the conquest of the Netherlands, and he expresses the same views as before. On November 10 he writes in a similar strain to Noel. "Our policy is very simple on this point as on all others. We do not wish for conquest; we have no desire to give any nation this or that form of government. The inhabitants of Belgium will choose that which suits them best, we shall not interfere." Interested as the English might be in the fate of Belgium, they were far more interested in that of Holland. Holland was united to us by the closest ties, its friendship was the triumph of our diplomacy, the power of the Stadtholder depended upon our support, to desert it would have been an act of ingratitude as well as of weakness. At Pitt's accession to office in 1783, he found England, after the struggle with America, isolated in Europe. The main jealousy of this country was directed towards France. But France was really weak and anxious to recover something of the maritime power of which England had robbed her. With this object she turned to the strong fleet of Holland; in close alliance with the Dutch she might regain her trade, and even establish a footing in India. The mission of Lord Malmesbury was designed to counteract these plans. Arriving in Holland when the power of the Stadtholder was at its lowest ebb, he reconstructed it, discomfited the patriot party which was devoted to France, and laid the foundations of the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Prussia, which for three years gave the law to Europe. Therefore, although we might overlook the conquest of Belgium, we could not but regard the least attempt upon Holland as a case of war. Yet such was the levity of the French in this serious crisis, that Maret, afterwards Duke of Bassano, who arrived in England about November 8, having just left the victorious Dumouriez, told Chauvelin that Dumouriez had the intention of "throwing a few shells into Maestricht." Chauvelin had sense enough to see that this would make a breach inevitable.

On November 21, Maret, who was on the point of leaving England to return to France by way of Brussels, wrote a letter to Lebrun which exactly explains the situation. He proposes to tell Dumouriez that if he attacks Holland, which he certainly had in contemplation, it will inevitably mean war with England. War is certainly dreaded by the city, even if the Government desire to distract people's attention from home affairs. The *philosopher-general* will not be insensible to these arguments. He will prefer the hope of a general peace to an additional triumph. He then adds with cynical acuteness, "Whether the state of our finances make it impossible for us to go

to war, or the fear of letting loose upon society a mob of unoccupied persons by disbanding our armies makes peace impossible, in either case the feeling of England towards us is of the first importance. If we wish for peace let us make an alliance with England; if we desire war let us attempt to form a junction which will diminish the number of our enemies and which may embroil England with Spain. Chauvelin, good fellow as he is, is impossible here. Men are prejudiced against him. Send Barthélémi" (the best diplomatist the French possessed, who, in 1790, made the treaties of Bâle with Prussia and Spain) "as ambassador extraordinary, and some one else as subordinate agent. I should be very happy to take this place. Nominate Chauvelin to some first rate post. Noel could replace Barthélémi in Switzerland." If this advice had been adopted, and as we shall see this was very nearly being the case, peace between the two countries would most probably have been preserved.

We now come to the two acts of the French Government which formed the strongest case for grievance on the English side, and which are generally considered as the true causes of the war: the decree of November 19, and the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt. Each of these will require attention. The decree of November 19 was passed by the Convention in great haste and under the following circumstances. In the middle of the sitting Rhul rose and stated that the district of Darmstadt, which properly belonged to France by the Treaty of Ryswick, had assumed the national cockade and asked to become French. The Duke of Deux Ponts had marched an army to stop the movement. "The citizens of the Duchy of Limburg, in the district of Darmstadt, ask our protection against the despots; also the club of the Friends of Liberty and Equality established at Mayence have written to ask if you will grant protection to the people of Mayence, or abandon them to the mercy of the despots who threaten them." He concludes thus: "I ask that the nations who wish to fraternise with us shall be protected by the French nation." It will be seen that this proposition goes merely to the extent of defensive measures. It is then moved that Rhul's proposition be referred to the diplomatic committee, which should determine how the French should not only protect but guarantee the liberty of surrounding nations. Legendre supports the proposition. Brissot says that the diplomatic committee is about to speak on the subject on the following Friday (Nov. 19 is Monday). On Rhul urging the cause of the people of Mayence, Brissot asks that the principle of the decree shall be voted immediately. At last Larevellière-Lepeaux, that distinguished member of the Directory, who afterwards complained that it was so hard to found a new religion to take the place of Christianity, and to whom Talleyrand recommended the experiment of being crucified and rising again on the third day,

proposed the decree in the following words: "The National Convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that it will give fraternity and assistance to all peoples who shall wish to recover their liberty, and charges the executive power to give the necessary orders to the generals to carry assistance to these peoples, and to defend citizens who have been harassed, or who may be harassed in the cause of liberty." Sergent then proposed that the decree should be translated into all languages and printed. The Convention then proceeded to other business and broke up at five o'clock.

Such is the history of this famous decree. In the French manner of those days a few isolated facts repeated by a member were made the occasion for asserting a number of sweeping generalities, and the terms of the hastily passed decree went even beyond the intention and meaning of those who passed it. Was it worthy of a powerful nation like the English to treat every word of this hasty declaration, "translated into all languages," as if it were the solemn and authoritative voice of a grave and powerful legislature representing an united people?

The opening of the navigation of the Scheldt was much more serious. This is announced to Chauvelin in a letter from Lebrun dated Nov. 27. "The executive council has just freed the navigation of the Scheldt. No injury is done to the rights of the Dutch. Our reasons are that the river takes its rise in France, and that a nation which has obtained its liberty cannot recognise a system of feudalism, and still less submit to it. This need not affect the good harmony which exists between ourselves and England. Engagements which the Belgians entered into before the epoch of their present liberty naturally fall to the ground." He urges Chauvelin to counteract any bad impressions which this may produce, and say that it was done in the interest of the prosperity of Belgium. It was natural that these two measures, following so quickly upon each other, should excite strong feeling in England. The views of the English Government are given in a dispatch addressed to Chauvelin on December 31, signed, indeed, by Grenville, but bearing throughout the stamp of the stern and haughty style of William Pitt. His sentences, when once known, are unmistakable. It states that in the decree of November 19 all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. "The application of these principles to the King's dominions has been shown unequivocally by the public reception given by the promoters of sedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since on several different occasions. England cannot consider such an explanation [as has been given] satisfactory, but she must look

upon it as a frank avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an uneasiness and jealousy."

With regard to the Scheldt the trumpet-voice of the statesman sounds with no uncertain note. "France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally the other treaties between all the Powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England or her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe. England never will consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe established by solemn treaties and guaranteed by the consent of all the Powers. This Government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself either directly or indirectly the sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbiter of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining peace and friendship with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other Governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." Chatham could not have spoken more plainly or more worthily. In these sentences is contained the whole opposition of England to the encroachments of the Revolution, to the spoliation of Napoleon.

At the same time it may be argued whether the opening of the Scheldt was a question on which the English were bound to go to war. We appealed on our side to the law of nations, the French on theirs to the law of nature. Both these appeals may be disregarded in the inquiry. Our treaty with Holland of 1788 bound us to guarantee the Dutch possessions from attack or from the threat of attack. But in this instance the Dutch did not protest against the action of the French, nor did they call upon us for our assistance. Therefore it was a matter with which we had no immediate concern. That we should not have considered it as a *casus belli* in the last resort is shown by the fact that negotiations were impending between the Dutch and Dumouriez under the sanction of Lord Auckland at the time when the war eventually broke out. The idea of opening the Scheldt to commerce was not a new one. It had been threatened by Joseph II., and only laid aside upon French persuasion. At this time we had instructed our ambassador at Vienna to inform the Emperor personally that there was no object of his ambition which we should not be ready to further, provided he would break his alliance with France. This had been written by Lord Carmarthen,

while Pitt was still Prime Minister. It was scarcely reasonable to regard as an inexpiable insult to England the carrying out by one power of a measure which we had ourselves suggested to another. Other proofs are not wanting that neither the decree of November 19 nor the opening of the Scheldt would have been regarded as sufficient reasons for going to war on the part of England. Chauvelin had a long interview with Grenville on November 29, which left this impression upon his mind. Still more explicit is a letter of Maret, dated December 2, in which he gives account of two interviews, one with William Smith, Pitt's private secretary, and the other with Pitt himself. From the first interview Maret derived the impression that England had negotiated with Spain, that Pitt was extremely reluctant to go to war, and the recognition of the French Republic was not at all unlikely.

The interview with Pitt was more momentous. Pitt began by speaking of his fears about Holland, of his determination to support the allies of England, and to enforce the rigorous execution of the treaties which unite her with other powers. He expressed a sincere desire to avoid a war which would be fatal to the repose and to the prosperity of the two nations, and asked if the same desire was shared by the French Government. On Maret giving satisfactory assurances of this, Pitt said, "If the French Government would authorise some one to confer with us we should be disposed to listen to him, and to treat him with cordiality and confidence." *Maret.* "You speak of a secret agent, there is not such a one here. If there had been one in London I would rather that he had come here than myself." *Pitt.* "I mean a person with whom we could communicate cordially and frankly, and who would not repel our confidence." Maret said that in that case England would have to recognise the Republic. Pitt replied that that course must be avoided, probably to spare the susceptibilities of the King. "Do not reject this offer and we will examine everything carefully." Maret said that he would urge Lebrun to send some one. Pitt replied, "Why not yourself? Write at once to Paris, moments are precious." Maret promised to do so. Pitt spoke again of Holland, and as Maret was going away Pitt called him back and alluded to the question of the Scheldt. Maret avoided discussion on this point, and Pitt mentioned the decree of November 19. Maret gave the same answer that he had given to Smith, namely, that it only applied to powers at war with France, then Pitt cried, "If an interpretation of this kind were possible the effect would be excellent." Maret assured Pitt that the Government had nothing to do with the decree, that it was the work of a few exalted spirits, made in a burst of enthusiasm, and without discussion. Pitt concluded by urging Maret not to lose a moment in communicating with Lebrun.

This interview shows that on December 1 peace between the

two countries was quite possible, that it was ardently desired by Pitt, and that the really burning question was the invasion of Holland, whereas the other two grievances of the Scheldt and of the decree of November 19 might have been satisfactorily arranged. It is tantalizing to reflect how nearly the arrangement which Pitt suggested was taking effect. On December 7 Lebrun determined to move Chauvelin to the Hague, and to authorise Maret to treat secretly with the English Government. He presents his project at the meeting of the executive council, but by some wave of infatuation it is rejected. We may read in the archives of the French Foreign Office the original minute of the Conseil Executif Provisoire, signed by Danton, Barière, and others, which runs in these terms: "The Conseil Executif Provisoire determines that, while making no declaration about Holland, the conference with Pitt may be continued, provided that it is done through Chauvelin, the accredited minister." The French Government probably thought that England could be terrified, that the Opposition were as powerful as they represented themselves to be, and that a revolution in Ireland was imminent—a revolution which Lebrun had certainly been at infinite pain to stir up. Can we wonder that the face of Pitt appeared to Chauvelin to express anxiety, embarrassment, and disquietude. On December 14 Maret saw Pitt again at eight o'clock in the evening. The interview was short. After a few words Pitt said, "Our conversation must be a private one. I am not authorised to say any more on State affairs."

There exists in the English Record Office proof that the English Government was sincere in desiring the resumption of friendly relations with France, and that in spite of Burke and the *émigrés* they now contemplated sending a Minister to Paris. At the end of the volume of French papers for December, 1792, are the imperfect drafts of two dispatches intended for some one proceeding as envoy to France. It does not appear for whom they were intended, and they have no date. But from internal evidence they may be referred to December, 1792.

On December 15, the day after Pitt's second interview with Maret, the Alien Bill was introduced by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords. The conditions of the Bill were stringent: an account and description of all foreigners arriving in the kingdom was to be taken at the several ports; foreigners were not to bring with them arms or ammunition; they were not to depart from the place in which they first arrived without a passport from the chief magistrate or the justice of the peace specifying the place they are going to; on altering a passport or obtaining it under a false name they were to be banished the realm, and if they returned be transported for life; the Secretary of State might give any suspected aliens in charge to one of his Majesty's messengers, to be by him conducted out of the

realm; his Majesty may, by proclamation, order in Council, or sign manual, direct all aliens who arrived since January, 1792, other than merchants and their menial servants, to reside in such districts as he shall think necessary for the public security; they were then only to reside in these places under certain stringent conditions. This measure was strongly resisted in Parliament by Fox and the Opposition, on the ground that the dangers against which it was directed were imaginary, or at least greatly exaggerated. It was supported with vehemence by Burke, who in this debate threw a Brummagem dagger on the floor of the House, saying that we must keep French principles from our minds and French daggers from our hearts.

Events moved hastily towards war. The troubled state of Europe justified calling out the militia. Parliament, which by statute must be summoned shortly after this, met on December 13. On December 15 Noel writes to Lebrun that he has had an affecting interview with William Smith, who is terribly distressed. "It is absolutely impossible for the British Government to bear with Chauvelin, every one says so. Why are you so obstinate? Why plunge two nations into a war?" He writes again on the following day that he has seen Smith again and urges some concessions with regard to the Scheldt. It was afterwards suggested that this question might safely sleep if the executive council did nothing to enforce their decree. The French Government persevered in their system. On Jan. 7 letters of credence were dispatched to Chauvelin and he was ordered to present them. Chauvelin had an interview with Lord Grenville with regard to this on January 13. Both the French and English accounts of this conversation are before us, and they show that Chauvelin was not entirely veracious. His position was indeed a difficult one. The face of Lord Grenville grew dark at the proposal, and he said that he must refer it to his colleagues. Chauvelin began to feel that peace was impossible, and begged for his recall.

On January 20 he received a letter from Lord Grenville, which must have removed any lingering doubt. He had written to ask—first, whether his letters of credence would be received; and, secondly, whether the provisions of the Alien Bill are to apply to him or not; in his present position he cannot possibly be regarded as subject to this law; it would be an insult to his nation. Lord Grenville answers that his letters of credence cannot be received; that as minister from the most Christian King he would have enjoyed all the exemptions which the law grants to public ministers, but that, as a private person, he cannot but return to the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

On January 21 Louis XVI. was executed. It is a mistake to suppose that this event of itself caused the war, although undoubtedly it profoundly affected George III. It was rather used by the

Ministry as a popular opportunity for taking a step which had been already decided. The news reached London at five o'clock on January 23. The King and Queen, who were going to the theatre, gave up their intention. At the Haymarket it was announced that there would be no performance the next day; upon which the audience shouted, "No farce, no farce!" and rose and went out. On January 24 Chauvelin was peremptorily bidden by an Order in Council to leave the kingdom. He writes, on receiving it, that it will certainly be regarded as a declaration of war, and that it was an unexpected step. This dismissal of Chauvelin cannot be defended. It was a punishment of an insulting nature inflicted on the French nation for having done what the English nation had done a century and a half before—executed their king after trial. To drive an accredited minister from the country as a *suspected* alien was a blow which no nation could brook, and which the French would certainly not put up with in their present state of feverish excitement. It was, as Chauvelin said, "*un coup de canon*," equivalent to a declaration of war. It bears rather the trace of the vehemence of Burke and the narrow obstinacy of the King than of the calm self-restraint of the Prime Minister.

If the Government had waited a little longer this hasty step would have been unnecessary.

On January 22, two days before Lord Grenville's letter, Chauvelin was ordered by his own Government to leave London without delay. Chauvelin met the courier conveying this dispatch at Blackheath. He was to send a note to Lord Grenville, saying that the French are still willing to preserve a good intelligence, and to avoid a rupture. Maret, who was known to be popular with the English Government, was sent as *chargé d'affaires* to pave the way for Dumouriez, who was to come to England after he had visited Holland. The cause of this sudden change must be sought in the internal politics of Paris. The Government was divided between the Girondists and the Jacobins, the first somewhat weakened by their defeat on the King's trial, but still able to hold their own, and anxious for peace with England. The most active of the Girondists was General Dumouriez, who knew that Chauvelin was distasteful to the English Ministry, and he persuaded the executive council to recall him, and to send Maret in his place.

Maret passed Chauvelin on the way from Paris to Calais, close to Montreuil. He and his servants were asleep in their carriages, and they did not notice Chauvelin's liveries, so that it was not until his arrival at Dover on the 29th that he heard of Chauvelin's dismissal. Whatever instructions had been given to him were now useless. He sent a note to Lord Grenville to announce his arrival in England, and waited for new dispatches from Lebrun and for the coming of Dumouriez. It is difficult to say whether peace was still possible.

Some statesmen, including Lord Lansdowne, were not without hope of averting war; not so, however, the Prince of Wales. Some one meeting him at supper with the Duchess of York said, "There is a curious report abroad that Maret is come to London. The Frenchman who has arrived is a very different person." Upon which the Prince replied, "We know that well; but if he were God Almighty himself he comes too late, and perhaps they will ask him to go away. Before three weeks war will be declared. Five of my brothers will fight at sea, I shall leave on March 10 to put myself at the head of the troops on the coast, and 50,000 foreign troops will enter Holland. The time is past; we must make an end of these murderers." At the same time Maret's presence in England caused considerable alarm to the *émigrés*. Maret himself was not without hopes of peace. He said that the sudden dismissal of Chauvelin was regretted by the Ministry as a precipitate act.

In the meantime Chauvelin had arrived at Paris. His report decided the vacillating committee. Dumouriez was ordered to proceed to Antwerp and to invade Holland, and on February 1 war was declared against England and Holland.

We are now in a position to decide the question as to who was most to blame for the rupture. No doubt the English had ample provocation, but it may be questioned whether the English Government maintained to the last that system of dignified abstention and neutrality which they had at first displayed. The death of the King was not so entirely different to the events which had preceded it —the riots of October 5, the acceptance of the new constitution, the storming of the Tuilleries on August 10—as to justify action of a new and violent kind. The Ministry exaggerated the importance of French bombast and of English sedition. By allying ourselves with the small but distinguished minority in the French Government we might have restrained their impetuous rivals from provoking two new and dangerous enemies. We ought to have accredited a minister to the French Republic, we ought to have continued diplomatic relations with Chauvelin, we certainly ought not to have ordered him out of the country as a suspected alien. The influence of Burke and the *émigrés* was very powerful, but they warned us against the wrong dangers. We needed protection, not against the poison of French Republicanism, but against the rapacity of French armies and of the statesmen who directed them. Could we have remained neutral France would not have invaded Holland, and the history of Europe might not have been sullied with the crimes of Napoleon. These speculations are of little use; but even to those who believe that what has happened must have happened, it is interesting to trace the momentous effect of small divergencies, and to place our finger on the point at which the scale of fate seemed to tremble as it swerved.

OSCAR BROWNING.

MEXICO AND HER RAILWAYS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extent to which it has lately occupied the attention of our Foreign Office, Mexico is hardly better known to most Englishmen than Central Africa. A few prominent names of men and places, and a few vague reminiscences, sum up all the word conveys to the average Briton who is not specially devoted to trade or travel. Cortez, Montezuma, Popocatepetl, silver mines, brigands, revolutions, form the concise but not luminous summary of Mexico, its history and productions. It is not so with the people of the United States. A great and increasing interest in all things Mexican exists at present, not only at the trade centres nearer the Mexican border, such as Galveston and New Orleans, but further off at St. Louis, Boston, Chicago, and New York. All these cities are vying with each other to secure the lion's share of the Mexican trade; and steps are being taken to set up in each a Mexican exchange, with a view to obtain this object.

The reason for this is not far to seek. Travel develops education. All Americans are educated up to a certain point, nearly all Americans travel, and their ideas are not cramped by local surroundings. The commercial instinct is universal, and the whole of a large continent is looked upon as a field for their enterprise. Moreover, since the conclusion of the civil war, the prudence to plan, skill to combine, and perseverance to carry out, have been turned into channels of industrial and mercantile enterprise. Presidents of a nation become presidents of railways, and generals of division are turned into general managers. Cincinnatus, as of old, betakes himself to agricultural pursuits, but on a more extended scale. The historic half-acre of turnips is represented by a cattle ranche in Texas or a wheat farm in Nebraska, measured not by acres but by square miles.

Colorado, with its treasure vaults of gold and silver, has been called the strong box of the United States. To continue the metaphor, Mexico becomes their grocery store. In Mexico the Americans fancy they see an opening for commercial enterprise lying at their doors, unoccupied by other nations, and promising a traffic unequalled in variety and extent in any other part of the continent. It is, they tell us, the same as if England should suddenly find a Japan or India on her border, and separated only by the Tweed and an invisible frontier line. All tropical produce now gathered from

the East Indies, from China, from lands beyond "the bridge of the world," is to be cultivated on their own continent, and relatively close at hand. There is at once, they say, an outlet for American manufactures, and a garden and home farm to supply them with coffee, sugar, fruit, drugs, and tobacco, without the time and risk interposed by the necessity of a sea-voyage.

To bring about this desirable consummation, the first step is to join the two countries by a railway. The city of Mexico must be brought within a few days' journey of St. Louis and New York. A direct highway must be provided for unbroken interchange of the varied products, mineral, vegetable, and animal, of Mexico's three zones on the one hand, and the mining and agricultural machinery, the clothes, furniture, and domestic appliances, the thousand and one articles of comfort, luxury, and necessity comprised in the term "dry goods and notions," on the other.

The American merchant is, of all the race of gain-seeking men, the most quick to divine where the conditions of profitable trade exist, and by no means slow in acting upon his convictions. With characteristic promptness, as soon as a settled government was proved to be established in Mexico, they prepared to build railways, and subscribed for that purpose several millions of dollars. The Americans, with all their passion for making money, have no idea of hoarding it. The dollar is almighty only as long as it can breed. It is a part of the Yankee faith that if you cast your bread upon the waters, if they flow in ascertained business channels, you will find it, in this age of rapid development, before many days. In undertakings of a novel character, it is their way not to wait till others have tried the ground, but to be first on the field, and to monopolize all they can before competitors overtake them.

So far all seems reasonable. A country productive and populous crying aloud for a market. A neighbouring country swarming with intelligent merchants and manufacturers, equally anxious to barter goods for mutual profit. A channel of intercourse is the first necessity; and means are soon forthcoming to build one. But by the time the project has assumed a form the idea has got beyond the intelligent few. It has spread in exaggerated shape among the public. Not one railway but many are projected; and the multitude rush blindly in to secure a stake, without discriminating between the merits of one scheme and another.

A note of warning has been recently sounded by a writer in a popular magazine,[1] so plaintive and lugubrious, that it would seem to urge an instant and ignominious retreat, rather than a cautious advance towards these hoped-for victories of peace. The

(1) *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1882.

alarm thus sounded appears to have caused a great flutter among the busy crowd of merchants, workers, and speculators in the United States who had turned their attention towards a closer commercial intercourse with the sister republic. Among those who, speaking with authority, take a more hopeful view of the future of Mexico is Señor Don Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to Washington, who has put forth his conclusions and the premises from which he draws them in an interesting pamphlet, published at Washington in October, 1882. I propose to consider some of the most important statements on both sides, and to see what independent judgment may be formed by a comparison of the somewhat conflicting evidence.

To understand the relations between the two countries as far as they depend on physical grounds, we must know something of the geography of the country. Mexico occupies the southern portion of the North American continent, narrowing southwards to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and broadening towards the north-west and east with the breadth of the continent through about fifteen degrees of latitude, until it reaches the boundary of the United States. This is an imaginary line stretching from about San Diego on the Pacific, to Matamoros on the Gulf of Mexico. This line, running nearly 2,000 miles, divides Mexico from California, Arizona, and Texas. For the whole length of the Texas frontier it follows the Rio Grande River down to its mouth. Less than fifty years ago Mexico included California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Southern Wyoming, and Texas; continuing, in fact, the high plateau which occupies the central part of Mexico, and which, widening northward, embraces the mesa of the Rocky Mountains, as far north as the latitude of Salt Lake, where it is now crossed by the trunk line of the Union Pacific. This great tableland, although diversified with mountains and valleys, yet lies at an average altitude of about 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. Eastward it slopes gradually across the prairies to the level of the Missouri and Mississippi. In Mexico proper it sinks by successive steps and steep escarpments to the lowlands that border on the Gulfs of Mexico and California, and the Pacific.

Being narrowed in the area of the Mexican States, and nearer the Equator, the land presents in a smaller compass all the variety of climate and produce of the tropics, the temperate and the colder zones. Hence the well-known division of Mexico into the tierras calientes, tierras templadas, and tierras frias. A glance at the map will show that the states nearest the capital are the most thickly peopled. Tlascala, Morelos, Hidalgo, Queretaro, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, are studded with names of towns, which become more sparse towards the north and north-west. A government estimate taken in 1880 gives the following figures:—

	Population.	Assessed valuation of real Estate. dols.	Gold and Silver Export. dols.	cents.
Whole of Mexico	9,701,288	338,901,888	21,903,429	
Coahuila . . .	121,825	2,950,693		
Guanajuato . .	729,988	30,002,994	4,118,632	27
Hidalgo . . .	427,350	13,077,139	3,734,986	90
Jalisco	984,213	24,793,322	1,600,917	12
Mexico	710,579	22,598,918	348,446	11
Michoacan . . .	661,534	20,849,385	237,626	1
S. Luis Potosi .	516,486	13,553,656	3,053,109	62
Zacatecas . . .	422,502	15,615,652	1,592,097	90
Lower California .	28,746	7,598,682		

The political constitution of Mexico and its form of government are fashioned after the general plan of those of the United States. Mexico is a confederated republic of twenty-seven states, one territory, namely New California, and one federal district, that of Mexico. It comprehends a total area of 741,800 square miles, an area greater than that of the combined territories of France, Spain, the entire German Empire, Great Britain and Ireland. Its population is now ten millions, exceeding, that is, the population of Belgium and Holland.

For many years before and since the intrusion of Maximilian Mexico was a prey to revolutions. These have gradually ceased. Under the régime of the existing President, Gonzalez, and his predecessor, Diaz, there has been no political disturbance of any moment. The thoughts of all classes, tired of continual change, have been directed to social and material improvement; the value of a stable government is daily more and more appreciated; and public opinion is so firmly set in favour of a continuance in the present path of tranquillity and progress, that there would seem to be but little fear of a recurrence of revolutions. It was the knowledge of this improved state of things that persuaded the wide-awake people of the United States that the time had come for opening up Mexico to American commerce. Enlightened Mexican statesmen like Diaz and Romero were found ready to respond, and showed a desire to encourage the introduction of American trade and American capital into the country. But public opinion had to be educated up to the mark, and time had to be allowed for the expansive force of American commerce working, as by an inevitable law, to force its way down into Mexico, when the providing of railways would be proved to be an absolute necessity. Accordingly events brought on the time. In 1880 concessions were granted on a fresh basis for the construction of two main lines connecting Mexico City with the United States—one branching to the north-west and striking the frontier in Arizona; the other running by the shortest route to Laredo on the Rio Grande, there connecting with the general railway system of the United States, and so giving uninterrupted communication with New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago,

and New York. This latter, the Mexican National Railway, is also chartered to continue from Mexico City to Manzanillo on the Pacific. It will thus, in connection with the Vera Cruz line, give a through route across the continent. These pioneers of commerce, the projectors of the Mexican national highway, having overcome, by long and sustained exertions, the preliminary difficulties, at length achieved a beginning. And soon they had many imitators. Their success was a signal for crowds of enterprising spirits to flock in and apply to the Mexican Government for concessions and subsidies. A career was opened for ingenious promoters, whose plan was to start a railway on paper; to advertise their concession at an opportune moment; if possible, to get bought out by *bonâ fide* companies, or to secure black mail in some form or other; and then, having recouped themselves, to leave the railroad to take care of itself. Numerous lines of this character were projected.

So at present the original invaders remain masters of the field. Their efforts have deserved the success they have achieved. The far-seeing intelligence, the Argus-eyed watchfulness, the courage, energy, and perseverance required to plan, build, and protect a railway on the American continent, are such as in another sphere would make a railway president a field-marshal or an emperor. But beyond all the incidental difficulties an honourable man has to contend against, there is an element, if not peculiar to the United States, at least more virulent there than elsewhere—that is, the machinations of the horde of Wall Street gamblers, wreckers, black-mailers, and suborned newspaper-writers, that are, as honest Americans admit, the very curse of the country. It is the influence of these men—and some of the leviathans among them are possessed of unprecedented wealth and power, so great as to suggest the expediency of some kind of legal ostracism—that has so damaged the credit of American investments among the English public.

The actual state of railway progress in Mexico, then, at the present time is as follows:—First, there is the English-built line from the port of Vera Cruz to the capital, a distance of 264 miles. This line has been in operation since 1873, and is earning good dividends. Next, the Mexican National Railway, with 550 miles completed and partly in operation, viz. from Mexico City, through Toluca, towards Maravatio, Morelia, and Patzcuaro, and from Laredo southwards past Monterey to Saltillo, besides branches at Zacatecas and Manzanillo. Thirdly, the Mexican Central, open from Mexico City to Lagos and Leon, and reaching from the frontier at El Paso 260 miles into the interior. Fourthly, the line from Guaymas to Magdalena on the Gulf of California. Fifthly, the Sinaloa and Durango line, 32 miles. Besides these five lines there are over twenty local lines and tramways, mostly built by the Mexicans themselves.

The physical character of a country is important in its bearing on railways. One peculiarity of Mexico is that it has no navigable rivers, and the configuration of its surface makes it all but impossible to construct canals. The snow-born streams that rise in the interior supply a valuable amount of water-power for mills and machinery; they also afford the means of irrigating and fertilising land brought under cultivation; but they can never compete with railroads as channels of traffic. The broken and mountainous character of parts of the Republic renders railway building laborious and costly; but, in an extended system, this is compensated by long stretches of level plain where construction is cheap and rapid. The line from Vera Cruz to Mexico, having to climb the huge mountain barrier that locks in the valley of Mexico, was exceptionally expensive. But the difficult nature of the ground, while entailing greater cost, is in some degree a safeguard against competition.

In respect to a country of such great extent it is unsafe to make sweeping statements about its climate, soil, and productions. Some writers represent Mexico as a waste of bleak steppes, bounded by strips of pestilential sea-board. Others are enthusiastic in praise of its salubrity. The state of Michoacan and the lands that overlook the great southward facing slope are exceptionally favoured. Forests of timber, including many of the precious woods, clothe the upland, which produces also crops of wheat, maize, barley, and beans. Streams of clear water descend over ledges and benches to the belt below, where coffee and sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and rice are grown. The Bajio is another fertile and populous district, occupying the heart of Mexico. At Salvatierra the Lerma valley widens out into an alluvial plain of many hundred miles in extent, stretching to Leon on the north, Queretaro on the east, and Lake Chapala on the west. The Bajio is without timber, but most of it is under cultivation.

Coffee is likely to be grown in much larger quantity, both for home consumption and for exportation. It is stated in a monthly report of the department of Agriculture by the Hon. J. W. Foster, United States Minister in Mexico, that the export of coffee from Vera Cruz between June 1871 and June 1875, increased from 672,588 lbs. to 5,373,678 lbs. The coffee-producing regions are found along the entire line of the sea-slope of the mountains, from Guatemala to a line in the state of Sinaloa, where occasional frosts endanger the crop; and also for more than a thousand miles on the Gulf Coast, from Yucatan to Tamaulipas. The valley of Uruapan, in the state of Michoacan, is famed for its coffee; but the most valued is the coffee of Colima.

An agriculturist of great experience in grain-raising in the north-west has recorded his conviction that there are thirty millions of acres

along the route between Monterey and Mexico capable of producing wheat. If this is the case it would open up a new field for the wheat supply of Europe. The distance from any part of this district to Liverpool is less than from Oregon, California, Nebraska, and Manitoba, across the continent of America and the Atlantic Ocean; while the land carriage, which is the most expensive item, would be much less, even if the wheat were carried the whole length of the National Railway to the port of Corpus Christi, than from any of the states above mentioned to an Atlantic port. Steamers are already running from Corpus Christi to Liverpool. But hitherto there has been no outlet for the agricultural produce of Mexico. Where no market existed all surplus was mere waste. The natives have remained satisfied with raising crops at the least outlay of labour and capital, enough to supply their own wants and no more. So meagre and costly are the means of transport, that almost all the seaboard states of Mexico use flour imported from the United States, while the harvests of exceptionally good seasons are running to waste in the interior. And while timber and firewood are so dear in the city of Mexico, there are large virgin forests in a neighbouring state; and the poor people in some localities are known to use for cooking and household purposes such precious woods as ebony, mahogany, rosewood, and cedar.

The climate, soil, and topography of a country have always counted as important factors in modifying the character of its people and shaping their development. Hence it has been argued that the Mexicans will always remain Mexican, and incapable of high civilization. These forces, however, are less powerful than they were in the old days of national isolation. Now that distant parts of the world are brought into close connection by steam and electricity, and people run to and fro over the face of the earth, differences are gradually disappearing. The human animal, wherever his habitat may be, is learning to feed on the same food and wear the same kind of clothing. Even the poor Indios of Mexico aspire to the luxury of ready-made shoes and Yankee pants.

Therefore we may expect that arguments such as the following will not long have any weight as education and material comforts spread, viz. that the native Mexican population will contribute neither travel nor traffic to railways because they are poor and ignorant; they wear no shoes or stockings, neither they nor their forefathers to the third and fourth generation; most of them cannot read; they live on less a day than a farm-horse would cost in New England; and, benighted creatures, they do not fully appreciate the privilege of a vote.

In regard to voting, and the implied political apathy (a certain class of people seem to believe that man was made for politics, not

politics for man), Señor Romero, who treats the argument seriously, writes as follows:—

"In Mexico there is no direct vote; that is, no Mexican can vote directly for his candidate for office (although every inhabitant enjoys the electoral franchise), but he votes for an elector, and the electors vote for the magistrate or official. In accordance with the Act of the 12th February, 1857, which is in force at present, each 500 inhabitants have a right to choose an elector, and these electors meet afterwards to make an election. It will be seen, therefore, that 12,000 votes cast in one election does not mean that only about 12,000 votes of inhabitants of Mexico had been cast, but that the votes of 6,000,000 inhabitants are represented by 12,000 electors. In former elections over 15,000 votes have been cast, which represent a vote of 7,500,000 of inhabitants."

The more remote districts of Chihuahua, Sonora, and also of Arizona, are still infested by savage Indians. The name Indian is misleading. We Britons, with patronizing impartiality, call the red man and the black, the peon and the mild Hindoo, the rovers of the American prairies and Canadian forests, the inhabitants of the most eastern east and the most western west, and the isles of the sea, all alike Indians. But the Indio has no more in common with the Apache than an honest Cornish miner with the simian savages of Tipperary. The Indios mansos are the docile, industrious people that form the bulk of the Mexican population, the ruling minority being of Spanish descent. The Apaches, as long as history has known them, have been the implacable foes of civilisation. These wild marauders, devoid of all sweetness and light, have been a thorn in the side of Toltecs, Aztecs, Pueblos, Spaniards alike. Even now they give employment to detachments of Mexican and American troops stationed on either side of the frontier. A reciprocal right of pursuit across the border has been conceded by the two governments.

If it is said that the Indians are generally poor and ignorant and live upon very little, it may be replied that a great part of the population of British India resemble them in these points, and that notwithstanding railways in Hindustan are on the whole very prosperous. As regards want of education, the percentage of illiterates in Mexico is two above that of Russia and two below that of India, and in no case does their want of education prevent the natives using the railways. As soon as the railroad to Celayo was opened, we are told by an eye-witness, the trains were well filled, and that, too, almost entirely with second and third-class passengers, for the poorer classes in Mexico have always been great travellers, the roads are crowded with them.

The record of the National immediately after it was opened to Toluca is to the same effect. The earnings on the Toluca division, 46 miles, from passengers alone, are reported as follows:—

During the month of September, 18,000 dols.
During the first two weeks of October, 9,500 dols.

The very anticipation of the coming railways has stimulated the whole population into new life and activity. Four or five years ago the nation was stagnant compared with what it is to-day. There is now more business vitality. Every steamer from the United States brings in farming and other machinery; sewing-machines have come into general use; the tramways of the capital have occupied most of the principal streets, and have extended long distances into the suburbs, and the cars are well filled. They are said to pay 20 or 30 per cent. The price of land has risen. New mills are being erected. Banks have been established. The postal service has been remodelled and the rates reduced. More than one town is lighted by the electric light. The army has been reduced, and the soldiery is now in effect the police force of the nation. Schools are being multiplied, and the number of newspapers is increasing, so fast that one of the older journals exclaims on the announcement of yet another weekly, "llueven periodicos."

Experience shows that railways not only stimulate and augment existing traffic, but actually create new traffic. A line in a new country feeds and fertilises, grows and promotes growth—

"Mobilitate viget viresque acquirit eundo."

The great trunk lines that first pushed out into the wilderness, and stretched across desolate prairies without a sign of life, except wild beasts and wild men, have built up a chain of thriving towns, farms, and manufactories. Setting out amid forebodings of failure from the many, confronted by the incessant hostility of savage Indians, built under fire, so to speak, still they persevered and prospered, and drew civilisation in their wake.

This, it will be said, was due to immigration, and there is no prospect of immigration on a large scale into Mexico. The latter statement may prove true and it may not. But when fifty millions of restless, enterprising Americans are elbowing their outside ranks over an imaginary border, and the great marts of the Mississippi valley are competing with New York to push their custom into a neighbouring land with ten millions of people, living in large cities, with universities, cathedrals, mines, manufactures, and all the resources and conditions of an old-established civilisation, the actual need of immigration to support a railway is not so apparent. Now, however, with a view to the cultivation of the vine, cotton, coffee, and to promote special industries, the government is holding out inducements to immigration, chiefly of skilled labourers, and several colonies have been already established. These are mostly of Latin race, as might have been expected; for migration follows certain lines of latitude. The natives of a cold climate or a mountainous region emigrate to lands where similar physical conditions

exist; the Scandinavian seeks a more fertile Scandinavia in the new north-west; the Italians, Spaniards, French, and Portuguese would naturally gravitate towards Mexico.

It is quoted as an encouraging sign by the advocates of railway extension into Mexico that the Mexicans themselves are not only building several local lines with their own money, but are also freely investing in the great Americano-Mexican lines. Being on the spot, it is argued, they can judge best how great the need is and the volume of traffic that is likely to flow in from various sources. *El Correo de las Doce*, a Mexican journal of good repute, grows quite enthusiastic over the progress of railway enterprise. After enumerating twenty-seven lines of railways and tramways in Mexico of the aggregate length of 1,650 miles, the *Correo* goes on to say:—

"This length of road is actually railed and finished. The National is progressing at the rate of two kilomètres a day. The other lines are pushing their work actively; and it is with no little pride that one states that, of the twenty-seven lines of railroad mentioned in the foregoing statement, thirteen are being built by Mexican capital, furnished by Mexican companies, organized in the City of Mexico. While ready to confess that this spirit of enterprise, this desire to invest our native capital in railroads is the result of seeing American enterprise and capital coming into our republic, we claim it as a notable sign of Mexico's progress, an unequivocal proof of the stability of our government, and a fact that makes an era in our history."

In China fanaticism proved fatal to the general expansion of the railway system. A feeling of reverence for their ancestors, in itself respectable, prevented railway lines from intruding on any place where previous generations of Chinese had been buried in however remote times. But the foreigners refused to respect these scruples, and the consequence was that an insulted and infuriated people tore up the rails and destroyed the line that had disturbed the bones of their venerated relations. China being so old and populous an empire must, by this time, be one vast graveyard, and so the railway had but little choice. However that consideration did not save them. Is there likely to be any similar opposition on religious grounds to the introduction of railways in Mexico? The danger is said to exist. "It deserves to be mentioned," says the writer in *Harper's Magazine*, "that the Latin Church, though no longer so formidable for mischief as it used to be, is still the dominant church of the country, and its influence is used, and very effectively, among the masses of people to discourage the railway invasion of Mexico." Alas if—

"Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum!"

But the assertion seems not to be borne out by the facts. It is known that in other Roman Catholic countries, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, for instance, the influence of the clergy has been exercised in favour of

railways. A bishop or priest was generally found to bless the engine on its first entrance into a principal town. Coming nearer to the country under discussion, in New Mexico, when the Denver and Rio Grande Railway was building there, the calls for labourers were read out in the parish churches by the parish priests after mass; and one of the good friends of the builders was the venerable archbishop of the diocese.

And now, what happened in Old Mexico in the summer of the current year? The governor of Chihuahua, as we read in a contemporary newspaper, has announced an eight days' jubilee in honour of the completion of the railway to the city of Chihuahua. The proclamation runs thus—

> "This great event impels Chihuahua to be happy and to rejoice herself during eight days of fair and festivities, which shall commence from the day when the supreme authorities of the State shall lay the last rail which may confirm the arrival of the locomotive to this city; a day of great satisfaction and emotion for the whole state. In order to solemnize duly such happy event, there will be prepared for those eight days, illuminations, popular festivals, theatres, acrobats, concerts, horse races, military parades, music in the park, serenades at night, balls and entertainments, all kinds of games permitted by law, and everything that the municipal corporation may provide in order to manifest the joys of those days."

Either then the clergy have not used their influence among the people to discourage the railway invasion, or they have used it in vain.

This last incident goes far to prove that the feeling of the Govern ment, both Federal and State, is sincere in favour of railway building by Americans. Indeed the movement has been sustained from the beginning by the good-will of the Government, who are as anxious as the Americans themselves for the completion of these arteries for circulating the blessings of civilization. People have a right to be judged by their acts rather than by *a priori* statements of what they are likely to do. The authorities, in dealing with the American engineers and builders, have shown themselves disposed, as in the case of the Vera Cruz Railway also, rather to condone default for the sake of the general result desired by all than to be strictly exacting. The new railways are undoubtedly popular. The railroad feeling runs strong among all classes. There is no trouble with the landholders whose properties are invaded (less even than in the United States). Fairness is secured by the clause in the concessions making the previous year's appraisement of taxation the basis of valuation when condemned. There is so far little of that undue official interference and over-exactness which might have been feared. The Government inspectors, as well as the heads of departments and the people, all appear too much interested in the progress and success of the lines to think of imposing useless standards and formalities.

The question of a coal supply is one of supreme importance to every railway. In Mexico it is a question of national importance. The Government are showing a praiseworthy zeal in fitting out scientific parties to exploit for coal, and in offering encouragement to private landowners to do the same. But little is yet worked in any of the Southern States, although it is known to exist, and samples have been found in Michoacan. But in the north, near Lampazos, coal has been mined and is now being mined in considerable quantities. One Mexican owner, near Lampazos, offers to supply coal at $6 a ton. Ninety miles away from this point the Candela Mines are opened, one of the veins being six and a half feet thick. This mine supplies several smelting furnaces with coal. The fact is, there is a coal-field of vast extent underlying Southern Texas and a great part of the Mexican States of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon. It crops out on the banks of the Rio Grande, about ninety miles further up than Laredo, and is there extensively worked. It is an excellent steam coal, and is used regularly by the Mexican National engine-drivers to drive the engines over their three hundred and forty miles of road between the port of Corpus Christi and Monterey. The following is the Report given of it after a first trial, in October, 1881, by Superintendent Hungerford:—

"A short time since, I filled up one of our new Baldwin Mogul engines to burn coal exclusively. The coal we have here at Corpus is English coal. This we used on the trip west-bound going from Corpus to Laredo. On the home trip I used the Laredo coal. It was that taken from the main drift, or gang-way of the mine. The coal has performed wonderfully well. The second train that the engine pulled, burning this coal, out of Laredo, consisted of thirty-eight cars. Four, I think it was, were loaded.

"This coal kept up an uniform steam-pressure of 135 lbs. to the square inch, and the train made its schedule time all the way up the grade from Laredo to the summit, a distance of about forty miles, and took the same train into Corpus on schedule time.

"This coal is better than the Westmoreland coal we received last spring; and far superior to the English coal. It burns with a white, clean, intensely hot blaze, and with comparatively little smoke. In fact, I know that a ton of it will go as far as a ton of the best Westmoreland coal, and as it burns much freer, it is better fuel by a good deal for locomotive use."

This treasury of coal supplies an item of traffic to the National Railway, the value of which cannot be over-rated. The scarcity of fuel throughout Mexico, and particularly in Mexico City, the presence of iron and other mines in the Northern States of Mexico, requiring only coal to build up a great industry, the saving in the feed of locomotives, the demand already existing in all the regions south of it—all these considerations show the enormous importance of the discovery. Between Monterey and Lampazos, there exist producing copper and silver-lead mines, while the coal and iron ore, which are factors to regenerate Mexico, and may prove to be more important than any element in the long list of articles of commerce elsewhere

enumerated, are found also in this neighbourhood. Unless good coal is found between here and the tierra caliente of Michoacan, it is not unlikely that the iron for Mexico will be manufactured on this section. Important as will be the timber trade from the forests of Michoacan to the Bajio, the capital, and the mines of the far north —the carriage of tropical produce and fruits to central and northern Mexico and the United States—the cotton trade from Texas and the Lagunas to the forty or fifty cotton mills which are already counted up on the lines of the Mexican National Railway Company—the cattle trade from Michoacan and the Bajio to Corpus Christi—and that in the national cereals—and the transportation of machinery, tools, and hardware of every description from the United States to distribute throughout Mexico—this *coal trade* seems likely to exceed all in tonnage.

The success of the Vera Cruz line is so well known in England, and its prosperity and stability are so thoroughly appreciated by the British public, judging from the market quotations in the daily papers, that it may be said to have solved the problem as to whether railways in Mexico can become a remunerative class of property. It was constructed and for some years worked under great disadvantages. It is well known that it cost an enormous sum to build: four or five times as much per mile as the narrow-gauge lines now building in Mexico cost. This means that the 10 per cent. now paid to the shareholders of the English line would be 40 or 50 per cent. on the American lines if they had the same earnings.

To sum up, then, all the facts and most of the arguments bearing upon the development of Mexico by means of railways, and the profits likely to accrue to those railways in the process, whether based on a consideration of the character of the country, the people, and the Government, or on a comparison with the experience of railroads already built, seem to point to a great and successful career for the few great lines already built or partly built, and a bright future of progress and prosperity for Mexico itself.

And having travelled for a moment into the region of prophecy, I would even forecast a time when the defaulting Republic, that lost Pleiad of the financial firmament, shall again recover her place in the European system. Perhaps she may yet find a way to make terms with her creditors. Then, washed white with the whitewash of diplomacy, she may be welcomed back by a chorus of beatified bondholders, all jubilant over the return of that one penitent to the paths of rectitude and solvency.

J. Y. SARGENT.

GAMBETTA.[1]

I HAVE been requested by the Editor of the Fortnightly Review to write a few memorial pages on the great Democrat and the great Frenchman, to whom I was attached as much by the links of personal affection as by those of political opinions. I should have hesitated to do this, so early after the premature death of my chief and friend, were it not for my conviction that the true story of his character and career has not yet been told, and that it were well it were told quickly. Amongst the tributes of admiration paid to his memory, none have been more generous than those which came from the English side of the Channel. His English friends and admirers in all classes of society were numerous, and they have done their duty to his remains. To those who knew him only by his public acts, it will be a source of satisfaction to learn, from one who enjoyed his intimacy, that English sympathy was true in its instinct. No statesman in France entertained greater esteem and admiration for Englishmen and English institutions than Gambetta; no one did more than he to destroy old prejudices and establish the friendship of the two nations on a basis of something more than words, and I do not fear contradiction when I say that if France has been bereaved of a great statesman and a great patriot, England has lost in Gambetta a powerful and enlightened friend.

The present lines are written under the impression of deep emotion. Those who read them must therefore excuse the writer if they detect an absence of method in his impressions. They will find therein rather information as to the man than criticism of his acts, and perhaps they will fail to discover the amount of impartiality without which a man of his breadth and power cannot be definitely judged. I will avow at once that I knew Gambetta too well to be wholly unprejudiced when his name comes under my pen. In making this confession, I probably indicate one of the reasons of the extraordinary ascendancy Gambetta exercised not only over his countrymen but over all those whom he saw and who heard him. I have often tried to analyze the reason of that ascendancy. It was due in a great part, no doubt, to his varied powers of speech; to his extensive knowledge of affairs and men; to his insight into human character, which enabled him instinctively to treat each man according to his temperament. But, in addition to this, he was endowed

(1) This article is written by one of the most intimate friends and political followers of the late M. Gambetta. The author wishes his name withheld; but his ability, knowledge, and sincerity are obvious.

by nature with the gift of imparting in a very few words and as few moments his faith to his hearers. Another source of personal attraction, and of his influence over men, was that he was devoid of prejudice as to the opinions, the origin, and the bent of those whom he met. Democracy, in his eye, was not a sect, a church—not even a party; it was France itself; it was the only form of government which he thought compatible with the greatness of his country: to establish this democracy on a firm basis, and thereby to contribute to the development of France, he was ready to work with anybody and everybody. No personal or political bias could keep him from extending his hand to a foe who would contribute to the success of the common cause. To a political friend he would say, "We cannot govern France with one class and a limited set of men; let us relinquish our prejudices and accept the services even of those who hold an opinion different from our own." To a political enemy, "We differ in political creed, but we have one common object—the prosperity and greatness of the country. Strive towards that object. I ask no more of you." Hence the extraordinary influence Gambetta wielded even amongst the opponents of Republican institutions. Hence, also, the curious fact that beyond the pale of Republicanism there was a numerous camp of admirers who, although attached to other forms of government, were genuine Gambettists—ready to follow him almost on any ground, however much their opinions might differ from his. "He works for the Republic; that we know," they would say; "but then he works for France; he develops her powers; he loves the army. He is a Republican, but he is above all things a Frenchman." For this broad-minded generosity he was often blamed by his own partisans, or rather by that portion of the Republican party whose wisdom consists in the pure and simple application of a dogma, whether it fits or not the national disposition, with weakness and lax principles. They are now finding out that but for the great strength he exerted to conciliate opponents, or to disarm their ill-will, he could not have saved the French Republic, and afterwards established it on popularity. I recollect the bitterness with which certain Republicans viewed his relations with certain generals known for the cruel severity they displayed in the defeat of the insurrection of the Commune. Many Republicans knew not, or would not understand, that, when M. de Broglie conspired against the national will in the period known as the crisis of the 16th of May, Gambetta, by his personal ascendancy over those influential officers, prevented them from joining the conspirators, and thereby saved the Republic. "I may tell you now," said to me one of those generals two days after Gambetta's death, "that but for Gambetta we would have passed over to M. de Broglie and monarchy."

And yet such is the irony of events, and the folly of party prejudices, that this invaluable connection of Gambetta's with several influential members of the army was the chief cause of his most recent political failures, and of his celebrated check at Belleville. By conciliating and restraining generals who might at a critical period have turned the scales in favour of monarchy, he incurred the charge of preparing a *coup d'état.* Because he wished to teach his friends and followers that the first safeguard of French democracy was the organization of a strong constitutional government he was called a dictator. Even his private life was pried into and his personal honesty challenged. This will be considered by history as one of the dark pages of the growth of French democracy, and I would avoid referring to this strange period of folly were it not that it had a decisive influence on the destinies of Gambetta. When last year Gambetta was violently assailed by a large section of the Republican party, no one noticed that it produced any effect on his mind. I may as well say that his callousness on that occasion was only external, and that he was touched to the heart by the denunciations of the men whose battles he had fought and won. It was the only time, save on his mother's death, when he was seen by a few friends with tears in his eyes. For he was not as stoical as people generally believed him; his indifference at certain insults was only skin-deep, and was inconsistent with the chivalry of his nature. He could bear without flinching the insults of the enemies of Republican institutions, they only stimulated his powers of combativeness; but the obloquy of Republicans touched him deeply; on that occasion they went straight to his heart. Yet he was not prone to reckon overmuch on national thankfulness and personal gratitude, and he said recently to a friend, with a melancholy yet sarcastic smile, "You ask me why I forgive M. X——, who attacked me so wantonly after receiving so many boons at my hands; whom have I not had to forgive since these last ten years?" Gambetta forgave his accusers—all save one, who now lives satisfied and prosperous. Yet even with him Gambetta was generous. He might have broken him as a reed. His revenge went no farther than to forbid him his door, deeming that on this earth he could never face him again.

He was infinitely generous and loving to his private friends, and even went to the length, on their behalf, of sacrificing his private means and risking his popularity. He might have profited by his public position to improve his private fortune; indeed he was credited by a large portion of the public with having done so. His personal wealth was put down at a million pounds at least; he leaves hardly a million francs—£40,000—entirely derived from the premium realised on his shares in the two newspapers inspired by him—the *République Française* and *Petite République*. Under the circum-

stances, no one will be surprised to hear that he was at some pains, considering the requirements of his position, to make both ends meet, and that the bloated millionaire of Ville d'Avray, whose prodigalities and enormous fortune were so loudly denounced in monarchical and radical pamphlets, was not infrequently the victim of pecuniary embarrassment. This was to him no deprivation, for hard days, in his youth, had been known by the man of three-and-forty, who had risen like a blaze of fire to notoriety at his thirtieth year, and had ever since amazed the world by his superb gifts of energy, courage, patriotism and political acumen. Hard days were those when his family refused to allow him to leave Cahors and the grocer's shop for Paris and the School of Law; when as a consequence of family displeasure the young Gambetta had to study and live on the scantiest means with his old aunt, Mademoiselle Massabie. But he never thought of fortune or money. He read hard and well, and never ceased to the last day of his life to study and learn. No doubt his rich, impetuous southern nature relished the enjoyments of life, but these were to him altogether secondary. He thought so little of himself, that the necessity of sparing his bodily strength never really struck him. For years, and particularly during his latest years, he seldom slept more than four hours a night, throwing away, for the benefit of his country and party, his strength, his health, and powers of existence. To his friends his ability to bear such a strain was a constant subject of wonder, but he bore it so well and so gallantly that they had got to believe that what he did was not beyond his strength of endurance. They were sadly mistaken. One small wound sufficed to cast down his fatigued frame, and was as the drop of water which makes the glass overflow.

It had been vain on their part to intercede with him and ask him to work after another system. To struggle, to throw himself body and soul in the strife, to be active with the pen and the tongue, to negotiate in the morning, address multitudes in the evening, and discharge the duties of a diplomatist and a man of action, all this was life to Gambetta; of this thirst for work and action, he was hardly a master; and even had he been willing to divert some of his time from politics, the pressure of public business which bore down straight and sure upon him would have prevented him from doing so. It was felt everywhere in France that in his hands lay the veritable source of government, whether he was or was not in power. It found him, with his manifold faculties and ardour of temperament, only too ready to answer the appeal. "This impetuosity of blood," he once told me recently, "I have constantly applied myself to quell, and I have not yet quite succeeded. It was my mother's gift; for my temperament, I know, I owe it almost entirely to her." Gambetta was closely attached to his old father, whose health and

welfare were paramount in his mind almost to his last breath: but by race and temper he was far more a Massabie (his mother's maiden name) than a Gambetta. Yet the adjunction of a few drops of Italian blood had produced a deep impression on his Gascon nature. It had thrown in a power of self-restraint, a depth of calculation, and an indefinable charm of manner, the contrast of which, when compared with his impetuous and impulsive disposition and other attributes of southern French blood, always surprised and struck those who knew him longest and best. There was ever something new about Gambetta—something unforeseen and really genial to be got out of him. The numerous resources of his mind ever threw unwonted light on the question discussed in conversation as well as in the political arena. If a political combination failed to succeed, his mind, instead of losing time in the expression of bootless regret, was immediately at work to discover some other means of conquering the obstacles placed in his way or his party's.

One thing, indeed, never changed in him—his extraordinary patriotism. His love for his country was intense and overpowering. Those who heard his patriotic outbursts, a mere reflex of the flame that burned within the orator, retain a vivid recollection of their fervency and fire. Even they, however, cannot imagine the climax to which, amongst intimate friends, he could attain when dwelling on this painful subject. Then it was dreadful and splendid to hear him speak of the eastern frontier; and now, as I am writing, it seems to me as if I had still in my ear the magnificent and heart-rending accents which revealed the depth of the wound which the fatal events of 1870-71 had wrought in his breast.

II.

Gambetta's public career has measured exactly thirteen years. It is within this extraordinarily short period that he did everything which secured him the attention of the world. For the name of Gambetta was unknown before the Baudin affair, save by a few private friends and schoolfellows who long before had marked him out for fame. Amongst the qualities he displayed during his rapid passage through French contemporary history, few hitherto have remained unchallenged. I will presently deal with the various criticisms upon him. There is, however, one superiority which is nowhere contested, his mastery in the art of speech. That he was the greatest orator of his age, "the greatest orator of continental Europe," said the *Daily News*, none who have read his speeches will deny. Many of these speeches I have read in the text just after hearing their delivery. Masterly as they are, they give but an incomplete impression of the effect produced on those who listened to them. There are many sorts of eloquence; that of Gambetta was of

a peculiar kind. Eloquence in him was a native gift; it came without preparation, in private conversation, at the tribune, in parliamentary committees, at the breakfast table. He spoke as Patti sings, spontaneously, without effort, and his oratory constantly varied in colour, in accent, in intonation. Gifted with an organ of great compass, which adapted itself exactly to the particular emotion or passion felt by the orator, he was equally impressive when speaking almost in a whisper or replying to an opponent with a sharp and caustic repartee, as when the demon of eloquence raged within him and goaded him to the most passionate outbursts. The sight he offered when in the tribune of the House of Deputies, particularly in these last years, will ever be remembered by his contemporaries. Surely no modern Frenchman ever gave such a picture of strength and grandeur. He usually began in a thick, husky voice, in a few heavy sentences; then suddenly he seemed to cast aside, as if by one effort, all carnal trammels, and he rushed off impetuously into his brilliant course, which henceforth nothing could check or embarrass. The short, thick-set, bull-necked athlete, who had ponderously ascended the steps of the tribune, was another man. Pacing the tribune with alacrity, his enormous head sunk in his shoulders, his single eye flashing fire, his hands clutching the marble slab of the tribune as if he would crush it to powder, or raised above his head in tragic gesture, he struck his hearers with fear, anger, or admiration; and then, with an enormous effort, he would carry away friends and foes—Monarchists, Imperialists, and Republicans—into a wild burst of enthusiasm. Madame de Staël relates how she once went to the National Assembly to hear Mirabeau attack her father, Necker. She hated Mirabeau, and listened at first to his denunciations with pangs of fierce and malignant anger; but, as the speaker's eloquence rose higher and higher, she forgot her father who was being trampled under foot, herself, her feelings, everything, and madly applauded him. Such, doubtless, was the case with Gambetta's political enemies when he wrung from them their applause. And in his loudest and most violent outbursts there was nothing theatrical, nor vulgar, nor excessive; it was all genial and spontaneous. Then, unexpectedly checking himself, he would enter into the elucidation of a point of political or administrative business; alter his manner, his voice, his attitude; point out the fallacies of his opponent's thesis; recur, by degrees, to his former manner, hurl his adversary violently to the ground, and in one final burst carry everything before him. That he felt in the tribune none of that emotion which affects some of the boldest and most practised speakers was obvious enough. I questioned him once on the subject after the delivery of one of his speeches. "I feel no emotion when I ascend the tribune," he

answered; "it is only in great debates, when I catch the President's eye, ten minutes before opening my mouth, that I am affected. Then I am shaken by an internal tremor about the head and spine, which is extremely painful, but does not last more than half a minute, after which I am myself again." That his speeches were not previously studied and prepared, I had myself a conclusive proof last year. It was on the 26th of January, on the day of the parliamentary collapse of the Gambetta cabinet over the *scrutin de liste* question. The sitting was to commence at two o'clock; at twelve a few friends, amongst whom I was, were talking at breakfast with Gambetta of the probabilities of the forthcoming battle. Our host grew by degrees animated, and, impelled by objections intentionally put forth, he said what he intended to say in the House, and made an admirable speech. My surprise was great, a few hours later, when I heard him deliver from the tribune a speech wholly different. It was admirable also, and the gist of it was the same; yet it was a quite different speech. This curious instance of improvisation was the commentary of what he told me on another memorable occasion—his speech on the Egyptian question. "I never prepare my discourses; I never think of the speech itself. The speech is nothing to me; the idea I want to put forth and demonstrate is all that I think of in advance. For the remainder I trust to myself, to whatever advantages I may derive from opportunity." He never cultivated eloquence for the sake of eloquence.

Such was Gambetta as an orator, one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest master of oratorical power who ever appeared in French political assemblies. His masterly eloquence has become so identified with his individuality that it has, to some extent, thrown in the shade his qualities as a statesman. On this subject I will say of him what he said of himself: his gifts of speech were only a means, not an object. He had undertaken to found democratic institutions on a firm basis, to reform the spirit, the ideas, and, above all, the political method of the Republican party; to accomplish such a task, eloquence was only one of the tools of this great workman. He brought it to bear on men and events; but what was it in comparison with the political sagacity he displayed in disciplining the masses of universal suffrage, in obliging every class of French society to contribute to the erection of the political and national monument it was the ambition of his life to establish? It is not as an orator that Gambetta will be remembered, at least in France: it is as the Founder of the French Republic.

To measure what he accomplished in the way of statesmanship, it will be sufficient to recall the state in which the Franco-German war and the insurrection of the Commune had left France.

Politically speaking, nothing remained standing, and the Government of France was nameless, because it partook of the character of all régimes. The State was handed over to the bitterest enemies of democratic institutions, and their hostility was backed by a strong reaction caused by the excesses of the Parisian rebellion. The question was not whether monarchy was to be proclaimed, but what monarch would secure the crown. The Bonapartists meditated a second descent at Boulogne; the Orleanists were negotiating with the Count de Chambord and making up old quarrels; and meanwhile the army and the administration were handed over to all the anti-democratic influences rampant in France. It was then that Gambetta reappeared in the political field, and took the lead of the Republican party. He was essentially a creator; he had proved it in the provinces, where in less than three months he sent more than 600,000 men in the field, and kept the invading armies at bay. The difficulties he had now to contend with were scarcely less great. Circumstances and men were against him. Whilst the reactionary collision of the National Assembly strived to ruin and dishonour him, he had to discipline his friends, to teach them the advantages of discretion and union. More than one challenged his leadership; Louis Blanc, that political idealist, was foremost to challenge his system. Louis Blanc and his friends wanted everything or nothing. By dint of patience, foresight, and constant remonstrance, the young statesman brought them to understand, at least for a time, that the essence of politics consists in obtaining of public opinion and of circumstances what is really obtainable. His next effort was to show the French *bourgeoisie* that the Republic was not a myth, a chronic state of revolution, a mere opening for the experiment of more or less absurd socialistic Utopias, but a form of government founded on the wants of all classes, and offering to rich and poor sufficient guarantees of stability. Was he a mere orator, the man who thus rekindled the spirit of his party, and by sheer good sense, opportune boldness, and shrewd moderation, converted his countrymen and brought victory to his side, although the State, the army, and the whole potent strength of the executive were in the hands of his opponents? Political speakers, we have had plenty in France, and of the most brilliant description. The orations of the Berryers, the Jules Favres, the Ledru Rollins, the Guizots, the Thiers, are still within the remembrance of the living; but who amongst these men possessed the rare and choice faculty of accomplishing great things, as well as indicating them? Who amongst the great figures of French democracy ever united the power of theory and that of execution? If that is not statesmanship, and of the highest order, I cannot say what it is.

For much M. Gambetta trusted to opportunity to favour and

further his designs; the main object he pursued was quite definite and settled in his own mind, and I do not think he ever swerved from it. He was deeply convinced that democracy was the only form of government compatible with the fortunes and growth of France. But he was also persuaded that democracy, renouncing apish imitations of the first revolution, and the dogmatic errors of the revolution of 1848, could only thrive by being practical. Hence his untiring efforts to conciliate all Republicans of the same bent of mind as his own, and to convert those who saw in the acts of the Convention the gospel of French modern democracy. Not that he rejected any of the principles consecrated by the great revolution; what he rejected was their exaggeration and the permanent revolutionary character which was wholly out of place at this period of the present century. Knowing the dangers of political proselytism, he was averse to any propaganda beyond the French frontiers. He rightly thought that the definite success of republican institutions in France would eventually carry sufficient weight to dispense with meddling with other people's affairs.

He believed also—and this conviction, in spite of his premature death, he has succeeded in instilling in the most important section of the republican party—that centralisation, political and administrative, was not the necessary result of monarchical institutions, but that it was the indispensable attribute of the French nation. Without this centralisation, he thought, France could not exist. History and events had confirmed him in this belief, which was the basis of his political system. Far from destroying centralisation, the first revolution had maintained and remodelled it, and it was chiefly to this that the Convention was enabled to resist not only an European coalition, but a formidable rebellion. In the course of the Franco-German war, he had witnessed and repelled in the south (at Marseilles and Lyons) alarming attempts at secession. From this, and other historical circumstances, he concluded that a nation composed, like France, of so many different elements, could only be threatened in its very existence by decentralisation. As a natural consequence Gambetta was an uncompromising partisan of State rights. "It is all very well," he was once wont to say, "to speak of decentralisation in countries naturally protected by their boundaries. Give me the geographical position of England and I will try decentralisation as much as you please." Hence also his preference for an electoral system which would free, in a reasonable degree, the national representation from the trammels of local influence. With the system of *scrutin d'arrondissement*, he maintained that it would ever be impossible to constitute a governmental majority. Experience has only too well realised his forecasts. *Scrutin de liste* was not, to him, an *instrumentum regni*, but the only manner of insuring govern-

mental stability in a democracy which, much as it may have done, has yet a great deal to learn. For the same reason Gambetta was resolved by every loyal means, until popular instruction had remodelled the mind of the forthcoming generation, to resist the transgressions of the Roman Catholic Church. Personally Gambetta was a confirmed freethinker; he belonged, though without any sectarianism, to that section of the Comtist school of which Littré was the exponent and M. Laffite the chief. His religion, in a spiritual sense, was patriotism, and that he carried, as I have said before, to an extraordinary climax of enthusiasm. He was tolerant in his intentions towards all species of religious beliefs, but to nothing was he more sternly hostile than to the trespass of the Church into politics. He would not allow that there could be a power claiming to be above the State and bending only to ultramontane authority. The State, in Gambetta's view, was France itself, and none could be allowed to defy its sovereign authority. "Let the Catholic Church," he often said to Nuncio Czacki (who, curiously enough, was almost on intimate terms with him), "let the Catholic Church remain in the Church, let the clergy confine themselves to their spiritual avocations, and they shall have nothing to fear at my hands." It will easily be understood how, these being his ideas, he was irritated by the *levée en masse* of the congregations of monks against the Republican government; and there is no doubt that he was the chief instigator of the execution of the decrees of March. This radical measure, in his opinion, was urgently required for two reasons—the first was that if the Government capitulated before the clerical conspiracy, whereof the monkish insurrection was only the offshoot, it was doomed to become the prisoner of clericalism; the second reason was that the Republican government should not lose so momentous an opportunity of affirming its power before the country. In this his native sagacity and deep knowledge of the national bent served him well. The dispersion of the congregations certainly wounded to the quick many religious convictions, many sincere believers, who have not yet come to distinguish between clericalism and religion; and yet this act of authority immensely strengthened the Government and the Republic. Government in France is never more respected by the masses than when it shows itself possessed of decision and authority. This very notion that Gambetta was essentially a man of government and authority was the chief source of his immense popularity amongst his countrymen. He knew that, beyond and above a limited number of theoretical Republicans and *révolutionnaires*, the enormous mass of French democracy could only believe in the duration of the Republic if the Republic showed itself qualified to govern with a strong and resolute hand. He knew, as the country knows, that Republican government is only possible in France if it couples

authority with liberty, and that constitutional government under the Republic cannot last unless this principle be understood and promptly applied by those who are at the helm of public affairs.

Thus it will be perceived that Gambetta's system of government was not directed against the Church, but that one of its chief points consisted in maintaining the State above the Church, which is very different. Let it not be forgotten by those foreign critics who are at pains to explain the militant attitude of the French Republic in connection with the Roman Catholic clergy, that France is the scene of a phenomenon almost obsolete in the Roman Catholic world. In Austria, in Hungary, in Italy, in almost every country devoted to the Catholic creed, the clergy is national, and submits to the laws of the country. Not so the French episcopacy, who, although bound to submit to the common law, and to counsel the respect thereof by an arrangement which has the force of a treaty, attack the Government from the pulpit, conspire with pretenders, and recognise no other authority than the Pope's. And when Leo XIII.—a pontiff as politic and shrewd and far-seeing as his predecessor was impetuous and fanatical—counsels moderation and observance of the Concordat, the coalition of French bishops respectfully disregard his injunctions. This chronic insurrection of the clergy, their hostility to republican institutions, their defiance of national supremacy is what is called in France clericalism; and when Gambetta exclaimed, four years ago, "*Cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi,*" he was not formulating an excommunication against Roman Catholicism, but against that sinister conspiracy which uses the forms of religion to sap and extinguish free institutions in France.

III.

And now that this great and powerful individuality, feared and respected by all the enemies of the French Republic, has prematurely disappeared, it will be asked to what extent his demise affects the security of the political edifice whereof he was the most active and successful workman.

Gambetta's death is beyond question a heavy blow to France. In less than thirteen years he had achieved that which perhaps no man accomplished before him. It would be idle to deny that he leaves in the ranks of the Republicans a place which cannot be filled, and which no one amongst its most distinguished members will attempt to fill. As a creator, as a national force, Gambetta cannot be replaced. The question is whether his death endangers the Republic. Much as I am conscious of the incomparable loss suffered by France, much as I am disposed to admit that the Republicans, as a governmental party, have yet much to acquire, I do not hesitate to answer in the negative, and I will attempt to prove it.

The Republic, in the art of government, I readily admit once more, is still in its teens. But it has passed that critical period when its existence could be affected by the death of one man, however great. When Thiers died, it was thought that the days of French democracy were counted. Since then it has steadily increased in influence and organization. Gambetta's death is, it is true, an incomparably greater loss to the Republic than Thiers's; but then the Republic is incomparably stronger now, thanks to the great patriot whose death France mourns, than it was when Thiers was stricken down. Its progress will be retarded by Gambetta's absence; it will be more fitful, more contested, less orderly than if he were still at his country's side; but it cannot be stopped. The immense mass of the French people have really become attached to the present form of Government; they have tasted the sweets of liberty and independence; it would require enormous faults on the part of their Republican leaders to forfeit their favour and good-will, and these I cannot foresee. I can well imagine, and I could almost predict one by one the errors the Republicans are still likely to commit; yet they are sufficiently wise not to commit those errors which it is not in the nature of things a nation could condone. The real and genuine anger spontaneously manifested throughout France by the manifesto of a Pretender,[1] the surly suspicions entertained against other members of a royal stock, are presently confirming these forecasts. Gambetta was not spared long enough to lead his party and country sufficiently far in the path of safety and national greatness; but it will be to his eternal honour that he laid down the principles of practical Republican Government.

It was believed after his death that the particular section of the Parliamentary majority which obeyed his leadership — the *Union Républicaine*—must fall to pieces after his death. The *Union Républicaine* forms the most numerous and powerful portion of the Parliamentary majority, and it had been significant if it had been dissolved by the demise of its leader. Nothing of the kind has taken place; it has even been swelled by new adherents. The reason is obvious to those who follow closely the progress of French politics. The *Union Républicaine* can no more be broken up by the death of Gambetta than the English Conservative party was dislocated by the death of Lord Beaconsfield, for the simple reason that it is constituted on definite and settled principles of government. It counts the picked men of the Chambers, those who are proficient in parliamentary and committee work, and who are apt to shine most in public discussion—men like M. Ferry, Waldeck Rousseau, Naquet, Raynal, Léon Renaud, Rouvier, Spullere, Allain Targé, Challemel Lacour, Humbert, Cazot, &c., all marked out for future office. There

(1) Prince Napoleon.

are no sectarians amongst them; none but men of business and practical sense. They invariably vote in the same way, and form the governmental strength of the Republican party. And should perchance universal suffrage vary in its manifestations, is there not a higher Chamber which disposes of a powerful and temperate Republican majority—a Senate, rightly described by Gambetta as the bulwark of Republican institutions, which would correct and moderate such transient fluctuations in public opinion? And are not all the public administrations filled with Republicans?

There is still, it is true, a factor, which some put down as an unknown quantity—the army. Those who incline to think that France is still at the mercy of a military *pronunciamento* forget two facts of paramount importance. In the first place, the French army is no longer what it used to be; not even what it was seven years ago, when M. de Broglie and his clerical and monarchical friends attempted to force monarchy down the country's throat. Compulsory service has rendered the army an exact reflex of the nation; it is essentially national in constitution as well as in temperament; and whilst the soldiers would follow blindly their chiefs in a foreign strife, I strongly doubt that a foolhardy general could bring out into the street three regiments to attempt a *coup d'état.* In the second place, it should be borne in mind that a *coup d'état* was never possible in France except when such chaos and confusion prevailed in governmental circles that national displeasure and indifference favoured an appeal to force. France is far from such a hopeless condition. It has an administration strongly imbued with democratic ideas, an army wherein faith in republicanism is rapibly prevailing, politicians able, brilliant, and courageous. None have felt more than they the immense loss they have sustained by the death of France's greatest statesman and noblest son; but they understand the responsibilities which so heavy a misfortune entails for them, and they believe that the task now devolving upon them is not beyond their strength, wisdom, and patriotism.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE approach of the Parliamentary Session has been heralded by the customary signs of reviving political animation. Sir Charles Dilke's re-election on acceptance of his new office was prefaced by a series of addresses; Mr. Chamberlain has appeared before his constituents at Birmingham; Lord Hartington has been heard by the electors of North-east Lancashire. The speeches delivered by the Secretary of State for War and by the President of the Board of Trade respectively, are held in some quarters to illustrate the depth of the line of cleavage which traverses the Cabinet. But in such a contrast of opinion, real or imaginary, there is nothing new. There are, and always have been, in the Liberal party, two elements, and the representatives of each section must and do speak in a different tone. It does not follow that either represents the actual course of the Government, which is necessarily a resultant of two forces. Both parties make sacrifices for union—the Whigs going further than they would do, if pressure were not placed upon them, and the Radicals moderating their pace to suit the Whigs. Mr. Gladstone is recovering from his indisposition, but his illness, slight though it may have been, has served to bring the contingency of his retirement into fresh prominence, and to create much speculation as to the position in which such an event will leave the Liberal party. Into these questions we need not now enter at length; it is enough to say that Mr. Gladstone's retirement, whenever it may come, must involve a readjustment of the relations existing between the different sections of the Liberal party.

The County Franchise has naturally figured largely in the extra-Parliamentary speeches of the last few weeks. The Parliament called into existence in 1880 is about to enter upon its fourth session; it is not too soon, therefore, to consider the grave and complicated issues involved in the electoral reform which must precede, and may precipitate, its end. Foremost among these is the problem of the redistribution of seats, and the relation in which this branch of the reform should stand to the simpler work of the enfranchisement. Should the two go hand-in-hand, and be effected by a single measure; or should enfranchisement precede redistribution? Already the question has been raised on the platform and has found its way into the press. It is urged by one party that as enfranchisement and redistribution were effected simultaneously in both the previous Reform Bills,

the same course should be followed here; the more especially, it is pointed out, since the separation of the two branches of the reform was on a former occasion made the successful pretext for the virtual rejection of a Reform Bill in the House of Commons, and the overthrow of the Government which had introduced it. To this, however, it is rejoined that the precedent of 1832 is too remote in time and altogether too dissimilar in circumstances to apply; that no argument can be founded on the precedent of 1867, inasmuch as the framers of the Reform Bill of that date were a Ministry in a minority who had no choice but to accommodate their policy to the demands, or anticipated demands, of the Opposition; and lastly, that the danger of defeat in the House of Commons is, in this instance—whether the Government elect to follow or to depart from the precedent in question—too infinitesimal to be worth taking into account. It is the contingency of defeat in the House of Lords which has to be reckoned with, and it is with reference to this consideration alone that the Ministerial tactics should be determined.

Regarded, however, from this point of view, the question becomes twofold. The Government, in other words, will have to decide whether to adopt the course which is the more likely to avert defeat in the House of Lords, or that which is calculated to minimise its injurious consequences. And no doubt if the former object were to be deemed paramount, the introduction of a "double-barrelled" Bill would be the best mode of attempting to compass it. The separation of enfranchisement from redistribution would undoubtedly create a plausible pretext for the rejection of the Ministerial plan, and the Lords might possibly take advantage of it. But the real question is whether it is possible to exclude the risk of defeat in the Upper House by any amount of ingenuity in framing the measure and whether, therefore, it would not be the most prudent course for Ministers to lay their account with the rejection of their Bill, and so to frame it as to give themselves the best chances of success upon the appeal to the country, which in that case must of necessity ensue. But if this be the most judicious line of Ministerial tactics, there can be no hesitation between a "double" and "single-barrelled" Bill. Supposing the Government to introduce a measure of the former kind, and to fail to carry it through the Lords, they would be forced to appeal to a considerable number of tribunals which they had themselves proposed to destroy. They would have drawn up and published their proscription-list, so to speak, and would have to fight their battle before a whole batch of doomed constituencies, every one of which would be conscious that, in returning a Liberal candidate, it would be countersigning its own death-warrant. Should Ministers, on the other hand, proceed with their enfranchising measure first, the Lords

will either accept it, in which case the appeal from any subsequent refusal of a redistribution scheme would lie to an enlarged and as yet not actually resentful electorate; or in case of their rejecting it, the Government would be able to refer their measure to an electoral body which they had at any rate done nothing to prejudice against themselves. Nor is there much more than apparent force in the argument that the constituencies which must ultimately be disfranchised, or lose a portion of their representation, would foresee their fate, whether it had been definitely announced to them in a Bill or not. Mankind ought theoretically to be prepared for death at any moment, but in practice every man behaves as though he believed himself to be immortal. With the exception of a few notoriously hopeless cases, it may be doubted whether any constituency will regard its doom as certain. By far the larger number will contrive to cherish a hope of escape until the death sentence has been absolutely pronounced upon them, and it will make all the difference in the world whether this sentence has been pronounced before a general election, or postponed until after that contest is over. It is true of course, as has been recently pointed out, that whereas the first Reform Bill disfranchised a large number of electors, no disfranchisement of individuals will under a County Franchise Bill take place at all; but it is not a truth of much practical importance. The voters who will lose their borough vote under the redistribution scheme might, if consulted singly on the matter, avow themselves fully satisfied with the compensation of a county vote; but a constituency has a corporate life in which each individual voter is conscious of sharing, and, collectively, they contrive to inspire one another with a personal resentment at its extinction. The fact that a Conservative leader has already exclaimed in tones of affected indignation against political tactics so entirely legitimate is the best proof that the opponents of the Government appreciate the discretion of the course now foreshadowed.

The administrative policy of the Government in Ireland cannot be regarded with unmixed satisfaction. In one important branch of its work indeed, that of the detection of political conspiracy, the Irish executive seem to be acting with vigour and success. The extensive arrest of suspected conspirators which took place in the middle of last month, appears, so far as can be judged from the startling evidence produced, to have been a well-warranted step, and should the charges preferred be sustained, a blow will have been struck at the organization of crime in the Irish capital from which it is scarcely likely to recover. It is in the higher departments of administration that the action by the executive is open to criticism. The best proof that the prosecution of Mr. O'Brien was a

mistake is the result of the Mallow election; the proceedings against Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy have invested each of them with a fresh degree of importance in the eyes of their countrymen; the prosecution of Mr. Biggar is a transparent blunder. The very success of the efforts that are being directed against the secret societies is the measure of the impolicy of such proceedings as these. Root out the criminal organizations in Ireland, and the Irish incendiary orator will have no material upon which to work. But to set the criminal law in motion against any loose-tongued agitator who may have chanced to go a little farther than his fellows in the use of inflammatory language, is to give an appearance of panic to the action of the executive, and to create the suspicion that Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan are gradually succumbing to those influences which exercised so malign an influence during the administration of Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster.

In Egypt events are gradually developing themselves upon the lines we have from the first anticipated. The Government may be trusted to carry out shortly the reform indicated in Lord Granville's circular, and then, notwithstanding the predictions and protests of most French and many English newspapers, we shall leave the country —just as we left Candahar and left the Transvaal. This will be in strict accordance with the statements made by Mr. Gladstone and other members of the Government. Lord Dufferin has already formulated his plan of a constitution, and transmitted it to the Foreign Office for consideration. This scheme proposes the creation of a Legislative Council, composed of fourteen members, one half nominated by the Khedive, and the other half chosen by a system of double election. To this is to be added a second and larger assembly wholly elective in character, which is to be convened occasionally for the discussion of special subjects; and which, though taking no direct part in the work of legislation, will nevertheless assist it by giving utterance to the voice of classes hitherto inarticulate or unheard. The initiative of legislation is still to be retained by the Council of Ministers, but other projects will have to be submitted to the Legislative Council before becoming law. With the settlement of this matter, one-half of our work in Egypt will be finished; and it will then only remain to dispose of the questions of judicial organization and police, with the latter of which the military question is of course very closely connected. The administration of justice has to be placed upon a new footing, and the country awaits the establishment of an army and police force, moderate in numbers, and recruited chiefly in Egypt, though in the first instance partly officered and instructed by English military men.

While the attitude of France towards the Egyptian policy of

England is one of ostentatious dissatisfaction, the Green Book,[1] recently published, shows that the irritation of Italy has subsided. It is evident that the Italian Ministers were as much taken by surprise on the first outbreak of the Egyptian disturbances as the statesmen of all other countries. As Turkey hung back, and France refused to join England in the action which had become an urgent necessity, her Majesty's Government turned to Italy. But the Italian Ministers did not consider themselves free agents in the matter. Their resolutions, they conceived, were subordinate to the consent of the Powers sitting in bootless deliberation at Constantinople; and though England broke through the trammels of that much-mystified Conference, and was ready to brave the displeasure of the rival Powers, Italian prudence could not be unmindful of the saying, "One man may steal a sheep, and another must not even look over the hedge."

The first hint of a desire on the part of England to enlist Italy among the States she wished to have as sharers in her Egyptian expedition, was given some time before France had absolutely renounced all participation in that action on her part. The original proposal was that Italy should co-operate with England, and also with France, for the protection of the Suez Canal.[2] It was only on the 27th of July that the Italian Government was informed that "Lord Granville had invited Italy to join England in a military intervention, intended to restore order in Egypt," and by that time it was understood that France "had refused her co-operation." The Governments of France and Italy, though thoroughly at peace, were not on the most cordial and amicable terms. The Italian Ministers were not perfectly reassured as to the open attitude or the secret intentions of France. They thought that, had Lord Granville's offer been accepted, and had Italy consented to go to Egypt with England, the emulous instincts of France towards Italy would have roused her from inaction, and urged her to be beforehand both with Italy and with England herself in the occupation of Egypt. Had such a complication arisen, had France stolen a march upon England, and, possibly, made common cause with Arabi, who could have calculated the consequences? And that the apprehensions of the Italians were not ill-grounded, may be argued from the fact that France even now shows little disposition to acquiesce in what had been ultimately done in Egypt and cannot be undone.

It is not easy to foresee to what extent the conquest of Tunis by

(1) See the *Green Book*, or *Documenti Diplomatici*, on the Egyptian Question, laid before the Italian Chamber of Deputies by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Mancini, on December 14th, 1882: No. cdxli. p. 385.

(2) See the *Green Book*, No. cdxxix. p. 376.

France may injure the interests of the Italian colony in that Regency; but in Egypt Italy may feel confident that the material, social, and moral well-being of Italian residents or new settlers will gain in every respect from the establishment of English ascendency. The trade, not only of Italy but of the whole world, both in Egypt and in all British trans-Isthmical possessions, will receive ample encouragement in obedience to that free commercial policy to which Italy is indissolubly bound, and for which English farmers, land-owners, and land-labourers are just now paying so dire a price. It is not for her own only, but for the world's benefit, that England has seized the Suez Canal. That most important water-way is now, in time of peace, open to Italy, that country among the large communities of Europe whose ports are nearer to its mouth. In war times the Canal will be neutralised; that is, open to the war-ships of every nation, friend or foe to England, who will be allowed to go through it, of course, if they can get to it at either end. For as in the case of all other straits, sounds, and channels, the approaches must always be at the discretion of the Power that wields the sceptre of the seas. For the settlement of this part of the question, connected with England's occupation of the valley of the Nile, the world is indebted to the sagacity and tact of M. Mancini, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, a highly distinguished jurist, and one of the most eloquent orators in the Italian Parliament, who has in these Egyptian transactions displayed first-rate statesman-like abilities. The neutralisation of the Suez Canal is known among diplomatists as the "Italian scheme," the Italian Minister having taken the initiative in the negotiation.

The general aspect of Continental affairs continues to be closely affected by the internal condition for the time being of France, which is once again in the throes of a ministerial crisis, precipitated by the alternations between panic and vigour of M. Duclerc's Cabinet. It is as true now as at any time that whatever makes for political contentment and constitutional stability in that country reacts in a tranquilising and reassuring sense upon Europe, and that disquietude in France is the sure forerunner of European unrest. Anything, indeed, which even tends to add to the uncertainties of the French future has a disturbing influence on the general Continental situation; and apart, therefore, from our naturally close interest in the fortunes of our nearest neighbour, the present phase of French politics is being watched with just anxiety in England. We need be in no hurry to believe the prophecies of evil in which the enemies of the Republic are just now so freely indulging; but its friends in England would undoubtedly feel more confidence in its stability if French Republicans appeared to show more confidence in it them-

selves. It is impossible not to feel that the action both of the Republican party and, though in a somewhat less degree, of the French Government themselves, during the past month has borne a disagreeable resemblance to panic. The policy of the so-called "Anarchist prosecutions" is not in itself beyond question, and even if the proceedings are to be justified, the sentences passed upon some of the prisoners appear wholly indefensible.

The history, again, of Prince Napoleon's escapade and its results—that paste-pot *coup d'etat*, as one of the Radical journals has styled it, with a contempt which the Government might more wisely have imitated—is deplorable. Overt State action against this pinchbeck Pretender may be just conceivably defended; but the spirit in which these proceedings were taken is only too clearly indicated in the sequel. Proposals for the expulsion from France of all the members of any family that had ever reigned there, and demands, more specifically aimed at the Orleans princes, for the expulsion of such persons from the army, have followed each other in quick succession; the supply being stimulated in the meantime by an absurd scare of a threatened Legitimist rising. Allowance must of course be made for the difference between an Englishman's and a Frenchman's point of view in regarding such remote dangers as these; but, giving the fullest weight to the distinction, it is certainly discouraging to find that the founders and guardians of a Republic which passed triumphantly through the terrible crisis of 1877 should be unnerved so easily as this. What a reactionary Government, commanded by one or two of the ablest and most unscrupulous of French politicians, and with the control of the whole machinery of administration, failed to effect in 1877, is hardly likely to be accomplished by a despised and discredited intriguer in Paris, or by an elderly and unadventurous exile at Frohsdroff. The President of the Chamber took occasion to declare with dignity at M. Gambetta's funeral that no man, however illustrious, was indispensable to the Republic. It is a pity that the Ministers and the Chamber should, so soon after M. Gambetta's death, have shown themselves lacking in that high political courage which he not only possessed himself, but with which he more than once proved his ability to inspire the whole French nation.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF PARIS.

Some of the municipal questions which are about to engage the attention of the English Parliament—chief amongst them the Prefecture of the police—have during many years been much discussed in France. The Municipal Council of Paris has declared war against the Prefecture without truce or quarter, and its attitude towards the functionaries who have been summoned in succession to defend the threatened institution, recalls the celebrated speech of Massin to the Austrians: "We do not ask you to reform yourselves, we ask you to be gone!" "The Prefecture of Police," wrote one M. Depasse recently, "must disappear, no trace of it must remain, and its very name must be effaced."

The fortress, while awaiting the final assault, is dismantled. The Paris police, incessantly attacked and but feebly defended, dreading the future with good reason, hesitating between its present chiefs and their probable successors, are visibly weakened. The result of this state of things is already apparent; foreign visitors who have not seen Paris for some years, are astonished at the condition of our streets and boulevards, and, although we may reject the statements of certain journals as exaggerated, it is indisputably true that the safety of the capital is by no means so secure as it formerly was.

Nothing could be more fatal than the prolongation of a state of things by which the dignity of the Government and the security of the citizens are equally compromised. The Prefecture of Police, like most of our great administrative institutions, goes back to the Consulate, and had its origin in the old monarchy. A definition of its principal functions will be found among those which were conferred by Louis XIV. and Colbert on Nicolas de la Beynie. In the edict of the 15th of March, 1667, by which the new office was created, there is the following: "Police, which consists of securing the quiet of the public and of individuals, of purging the city of whatsoever may cause disorder, of procuring abundance, and making each person to live according to his condition and his duty, requires a special

magistrate who can be present at all." Mirony de Crosnes, the last of the successors of de la Beynie, resigned his functions, two days after the taking of the Bastille, into the hands of the permanent Commission which was sitting at the Hôtel de Ville. At the close of the revolutionary period, during which the Jacobins had displayed, both on the committees of the Convention and in the bosom of the Commune of Paris, their characteristic talent for police work, the Directory endeavoured to reunite the greater part of the functions of the former Lieutenant-General of Police, under the direction of a *Bureau Central*; and, lastly, the law of 28 Pluviose, year 8, constituted the Prefecture of Police under that name, and endowed it for Paris with the police powers that had been conferred on the municipal bodies by the laws of the 16—24 August, 1790, and 19—22 July, 1791. The functions assigned by this law to the Prefect of Police, and which he was to exercise *under the authority of the ministers*, were clearly defined by the enactment of the Government of the 12 Messidor, year 8, which, with the exception of some modifications of detail, is still in force.

Those functions may be ranged under three principal heads. To Political police, properly so called, belongs everything in which the safety of the State is directly concerned, the surveillance of meetings and associations, and that of refugees, questions relating to printing, book publishing, and advertisement. Administrative police, which embraces a vast number of the most various objects, comprises everything that relates to the public health, subsistence, and provisioning; to sewerage, navigation, establishments for the purposes of unwholesome industries, public vehicles, fires, the labour of children employed in manufactures, and the protection of children of tender age. Under this head are to be ranged the administration of the prisons of Paris, asylums for the insane, the police of theatres and public places, and the delicate and important functions of the *Service des Mœurs*. Judiciary police is concerned with crimes, misdemeanours, and the arrest of malefactors.[1] The Code of Criminal Instructions, the right to take personally, or to require the officers of the Judiciary police to take the necessary steps for the purpose of verifying crimes, offences, and contraventions, and of handing over the offenders to the tribunals.

The means of action at the disposal of the Prefecture of Police are proportionate to the importance of its mission. The estimates of this department for 1882 exceed twenty-three millions of francs. Its staff includes ten thousand agents, or functionaries of every kind. The bureaux of the central administration receive the appeals, complaints, and demands of the public, prepare the decisions of the Prefect, and transmit them to the agents of the active service who have to carry them into execution. Seventy commissaries of

(1) The total of these arrests has exceeded thirty-five thousand in a single year.

police placed in the different quarters of Paris, and twenty-four in the suburban communes, exercise the functions of Judiciary police, superintending the execution of the laws and ordinances, and carrying out the judicial inquiries or administration which are intrusted to them. The Municipal police, which comprises no less than eight thousand agents (peace officers, guardians of the peace, and inspectors), forms the active and militant portion of the Paris police. Independently of the special services which it includes, and to which important functions are confided, such as the *Service des mœurs*, the *Service des garnis* (or furnished lodging-house inspection), and the *Service de sûreté*, especially charged with the capture of malefactors, this body comprises the corps of guardians of the peace, who are mostly old soldiers, are armed, wear uniform, and are subjected to an almost military discipline. The guardians of the peace are spread over every part of Paris, and keep up an unremitting surveillance by day and night.

Each of the agents gives an account to his immediate superior of all the facts that come to his knowledge, and these reports are at once transmitted and centralized by the telegraph which connects all the police posts with the Prefecture, so that the Prefect is kept in constant possession of everything that concerns the public security. To appreciate as it deserves the perfection of this mechanism, its wonderful unity, the firmness and precision of the springs that move it, and the strict solidarity of the system of wheel within wheel of which it is composed, one would need to have made a close and careful study of the mechanism of this great institution. It would be impossible to overrate or overpraise the remarkable intelligence, the rare probity, the zeal, which will stand any test, and the profound sense of professional duty which are the leading characteristics of the whole of this immense body of officials. It is fitting that this truth be recorded here, in order to dispose of certain legends and prejudices which have unfortunately gained credit through the ignorance of the public, and have been kept up by the memories of another epoch. We are very far indeed from the time when the direction of the *Police de la Sûreté* was intrusted to the ex-convict Vidocq, and we are not less far removed in the political order, from the odious imperial police system of provocation. One of the recent prefects is credited with having said that, "The present Prefecture ought to be no more like the former than the Boulevard du Palais ought to be like the Rue de Jérusalem."

If this sentiment was really expressed, the speaker did not intend so much to utter a wish as to state an indisputable fact. It is, indeed, difficult to understand how the Prefecture of Police, while preserving its strong organization, has been so profoundly influenced by our political institutions. Police, as it was made in their image by the successive régimes of *lettres de cachet*, State prisons,

the *Cabinet Noir*, got-up plots, and "white blouses," has nothing in common with police as practised by free governments; only by a monstrous injustice and a gross anachronism could it be confounded with the upright, enlightened, and progressive administration that did so much honour to M. Delessert, under the constitutional monarchy, nor with that reconstituted by the government of M. Thiers, after the defeat of the Commune, and which has carried out so many useful and liberal reforms during the last ten years.

Is this institution destined to disappear? The historian whom we have already quoted, and who is the authorised interpreter of the claims of the Municipal Council, represents it as irrevocably condemned. "The necessity exists," he says, "of changing *an old, rusty, creaking spring*, which is unbearable to the Parisian people, and putting in its place an entirely new one, which will be more appropriate to the whole structure of our machinery, and better adapted to the 'susceptibilities' of a free people." A very simple recipe for doing this desirable thing has been suggested: it is merely to leave the State police to the Government, and to intrust what is called the Municipal police to the representative of the Parisian municipality.

If the recipe be simple it must be added that the idea is not novel. It was put forward and developed in the first instance by M. de Kératry, who, having exercised the functions of Prefect of Police for five or six weeks after the revolution of the 4th, resigned his post, and published a report in the *Journal Officiel* of the 6th October, 1870, in which he proposed to the Government of National Defence that "the suppression and liquidation of the Prefecture of Police should be taken into immediate consideration." He declared the existence of that institution incompatible with republican institutions, and the exceptional situation which it created at Paris "contrary to the true principles of equality," and he urges that not theoretical decentralization but effective liberty should be achieved by "restoring the Judiciary police to the magistrature, the general secret police to the Minister of the Interior, the Municipal police, and the management of the interests that concern it, to the Mairie of Paris, and their administrative life to the departments." In short, he demands the suppression of "all that political intervention which has diverted police from its real destination and purpose."

This report was followed by a project of decree and a plan for a repartition of the functions of the Prefecture of Police among the different ministries, the Prefecture of the Seine, the departmental prefectures, the Mairie of Paris, the mairies of the arrondissements, and the mairies of the suburban communes. This was not only the destruction of the edifice, it was the dispersion, and, so to speak, the pulverisation of its fragments. The publication of this document, in the midst of the toil and anxiety of the siege, did not produce so great an effect as it would doubtless have produced under

other circumstances. Nevertheless, M. Ducoux, a veteran soldier of the republican cause, who had been Prefect of Police in 1848, considered it his duty to address a letter upon the subject to General Trochu, President of the Government of National Defence. The following passage occurs in the document:—"This measure would be an immense error at any epoch and under any form of government. At the present time it would be either a criminal or an insensate act, for which the memory of all those who had taken a part in it would have to suffer."

Not one of those who under the various régimes have had the honour to preside at the Prefecture of Police, would hesitate to concur in the judgment pronounced by M. Ducoux upon the proposition of M. de Kératry. We may be allowed to suppose that the Government of National Defence, although it complimented the latter upon his "bold initiative" in a note inserted in the *Journal Officiel*, was by no means eager to proceed to the realisation of his project, as it remained a dead letter, and two prefects of police were appointed in succession by that Government, after the retirement of M. de Kératry, without the slightest alteration being made in the functions of the institution at whose head they were placed. This is the less surprising for the reason that three members of the Government, M. Gambetta, Jules Ferry, and Emmanuel Arago, who had submitted a project of law for the creation of a municipal council to the Corps Législatif a few months previously, had taken care to lay it down in the preamble that the Municipality of Paris should be "strictly confined, by the very law of its institution, within purely financial and administrative functions, *without action on police and on the armed force.*"

The authors of this project of law had pronounced upon the point in question thus distinctly, because they perfectly understood the impossibility of drawing, at Paris, a line of demarcation between Municipal and State police. Nevertheless this idea, which is equally dangerous and chimerical, formed, in 1870, the basis of the propositions of M. de Kératry; in 1871, that of the amendment of M. Brisson; and more recently, on the 11th of April, 1881, that of the "order of the day" of M. Spuller and the Paris deputies, tending to the suppression of the Prefecture of Police, the transfer to the Ministry of the Interior of such of its functions as concern the general safety, and the attaching of the remainder to the Prefecture of the Seine.

The difficulty does not reside in the theoretical distinction to be drawn between ordinary crimes and offences, and those which possess a political character: it consists in dividing that mission of foresight which is the proper task of police, and whose aim is the removal of all causes of disturbance of every kind. Whether the maintenance of the public peace or the securing of safety to persons

and property be concerned, this surveillance must be effected by the same agents, and most frequently in the same places. It is from the ranks of vagrants and returned convicts that soldiers for the social war, as well as the ranks of vulgar malefactors, have at all times been recruited. These can be reached only by descending into the very lowest stratum of the population of the great city, and penetrating into those *couches sociales* in which all the elements of disorder exist in a state of ferment. Under the present condition of the police of Paris, all the services of the Prefectures co-operate in the execution of this common task, which is facilitated by the diversity of the means of action, and by the unity of will which presides over all these forces and sets them in motion. If, for this concentration of effort, there should be substituted a dualism which would speedily assume the appearance of rivalry, and perhaps that of hostility; if two systems of police should be confronted with each other, under different chiefs, but liable to meet perpetually upon the same ground; if to these a third system of police should be added by placing in the hands of the Procureur de la République all the functions of Judiciary police, and especially the direction of the Service of Public Safety, a permanent conflict would be organized, and the forces which are now bound together as a fasces would be reduced to powerlessness, to the great detriment of all the public interests.

Have the singular results which would be produced on occasions of popular effervescence by this ingenious system of a division of powers ever been seriously contemplated? Has any one lived to realise the spectacle of a column of insurgents or "manifestors" marching on the Elysée, or the Palais Bourbon, while the guardians of the peace stand by and look on passively, until the Minister of the Interior, to whom belongs the sole charge of the safety of the State, should send a detachment of the special body of police placed under his orders, to the spot? Is it supposed that the same agents, serving two masters at the same time, are to represent the Municipal or the State police according to circumstances? Let us, in that case, imagine the strange situation of this force, which would be harassed by the contradictory directions of the Hôtel de Ville and the Place Beauveau, and condemned to play the awkward and ridiculous part of the servant in an old comedy, who had to don the livery of a footman and the stable-jacket of a groom, in order to execute his master's orders.

The idea of this division of the police force under whatever form it might be effected cannot stand before a serious examination. We must do the "autonomists" of the Municipal Council the justice to admit that they have not thought of putting it forward. While they urge the suppression of the Prefecture of Police they have no intention of handing over any of its functions to the State; they do not demand the razing of the citadel, but they want to place a garri-

son within it, and they do not forget the formidable power that was wielded, under the Commune, by *the delegate to the ex-Prefecture of Police.* They have the irresistible force of logic on their side; and they have also revolutionary tradition, when they demand that (as in 1792) the police, in its entirety, and without distinction, should be handed "over to the municipalities," and especially to the Municipality of Paris.

This solution will be accepted, and will triumph over the mongrel and illogical systems of the deputies for Paris and the opportunist councillors, on that day when the Prefecture of Police, breached by their common efforts, shall finally succumb. This it is which renders the question of the central Mairie of Paris so extremely grave, and explains the determined resistance of its adversaries. There is a great deal to be learned from the history of the Revolution in connection with this subject. The Commune of Paris engaged in successive struggles against constitutional royalty in 1791, and the omnipotent Convention, and came out of both conflicts victorious. "King Petion" disposed easily of the authority of Louis XVI.; the Mairie of Paris led the bands of the 20th of June and the 10th of August to the assault of the Tuileries; the Commune dictated the law to the majority of the Convention on the 31st of May, and forced from them the prescription of the Girondins. Why should not the same causes produce similar effects? Supposing that once more a contest should arise between the public powers which represent France and the municipal authority which claims to be the Parisian Parliament, and, if that assembly were personified in a mayor chosen from among its number, if it possessed in its police force a veritable armed body placed under its orders, who could entertain a doubt of the issue of such a duel? How should the Commune of Paris, with power to confirm or to suppress the freedom of the Assemblies and of the national Government, fail to be invested with sovereignty as a matter of fact?

On the 6th of May, 1793, Thomas Payne wrote to Danton as follows:—

> "During the American revolution, I ascertained the enormous objections that attach to the residence of Government and Congress *within the precincts of any municipal jurisdiction whatsoever.* In every place in which the Government resided, the municipal authority opposed that of Congress by both public and private means, and the people in every case expected to be reckoned and considered by Congress as entitled to a larger share than was really their due in a confederation of equal States. The same disadvantages are now arising in France, but in greater excess."

This letter, which was written by Thomas Payne a few days before the attack about to be made by the Parisian Municipality upon the national representatives (31 May, 1793), is remarkable for the political insight and the sagacity of its observations. He considers, as a general thesis, that the complete development of the

municipal régime in the capital of a great State with difficulty can be rendered compatible with the security of the public authorities resident there, and he not unreasonably regards the risks of such a régime as greater in France than in any other country. France is, in fact, and will always remain, under every form of government, a country of political centralization. In the capital of France all the governing forces are concentrated, and he who makes himself master of the capital is master of the nation. The peculiar temperament of the Parisian population contributes to the creation of an exceptional position for the city. Paris, at every epoch of its history, has claimed a place apart in the country, and the right of exercising a sort of tribunitial *veto* upon all the regularly expressed desires of the nation. "Paris," said Danton, on the 31st of May, "is the advanced sentinel of the nation." "Paris," added another Jacobin orator, "is the extract of all the departments, and the mirror of opinion." Hence the right which they claimed on behalf of the people of Paris to impose its will on the national representation. This theory of *the rights of Paris* has always formed an article of the revolutionary creed; it appears constantly in the deliberations of the present Municipal Council; it is professed not by the autonomists only; M. Depasse, who belongs to a more moderate section, concludes the pamphlet which we have already quoted with the following sentence:—"The Municipal Council of Paris, with its mayor and its police, will always be, no matter what may be attempted to be done, *a political assembly, unique of its kind, as Paris is an unique commune.*"

The whole matter of the Central Mairie is contained in this passage; it would be out of the question that the political assemblies elected by the whole nation should see another political assembly, "unique of its kind," arise in front of them; it would be intolerable that the chief and delegate of that assembly, representing a capital with two millions of inhabitants, surrounded by an army of functionaries, and having a public force at his disposal, should enthrone himself in front of the constitutional head of the Republic.

The Chamber of Deputies was alive to the danger, and before it rose, pronounced, by a strongly supported order of the day, against the establishment of the Central Mairie of Paris. By this vote the Chamber has recognised the fact that Paris, the seat of the Government of the Republic, cannot be regarded as an ordinary commune, and that the maintenance of a special municipal organization in the capital of France is the necessary guarantee of freedom for the public authorities. This vote must have a consequence which will not, doubtless, escape the observation of the politicians who have brought it about. The considerations which have induced them to place Paris under an exceptional régime, "contrary to the principles of

equality" which were invoked by M. de Kératry in 1870, ought to lead them equally to recognise that the question of the police of Paris is not a municipal but a State question.

It must come to this, if the problem of the Prefecture of Police is to receive the solution which it demands. We have said that the present situation cannot be prolonged. However unfavourably the pretensions of the Municipal Council of Paris may be regarded, justice requires it to be admitted that all the faults are not on its side exclusively. It is called upon every year to vote the budget of the Prefecture of Police, which for the current year amounts to 23,350,000 francs. But when the Council requires explanations respecting the organization and the working of the services which are paid by this immense budget; when, for instance, it seeks, as it did last year, to interrogate the Prefect of Police upon the state of the public safety in Paris, the answer is given, law in hand—as in the case of M. Andrieux—that the matter is one with which the Council has nothing whatever to do, and that the Prefect is charged with the care of the safety of Paris under the sole authority of the ministers. Thus the Council and the Prefect are always in the attitude of a pair of adversaries in an ending duel, and their weapons are two contradictory legislations.

This is simply anarchy of the worst kind, anarchy against which the prestige of no government can stand, if it be prolonged; but the fault rests not so much with the men as with the situation that has been created by a bad administrative régime. Not but those who are ignorant of the most elementary notions of political history can fail to know that the root of the full sovereignty of the Assemblies is in *the power of the purse*, and that it springs from that root by a natural and irresistible consequence. If the Municipal Council of Paris is to preserve the right of voting the budget of the Prefecture of Police, it may be confidently predicted that with the Municipal Council, which has logic on its side, will rest the final success in a struggle that has already resulted in the defeat of more than one prefect and more than one minister.

The law of the 14th of August, 1871, gave to the Council the right of voting the budget of the expenses of the Municipal police, to which the State contributes one-half. This is an absolute recognition of the municipal character of the Paris police, and the subordination of the interest of the State to the Communal intérest; it is the confirmation of the principle whose consequences are evolved by the Municipal Council with pitiless logic. The question has been placed upon its true footing since the discussion of that law. M. Léon Say, to whose clear political insight the vices and dangers of this system were plainly evident, proposed that the budget of the Prefecture should be attached to that of the Ministry of the Interior,

and, consequently, that the police of Paris should be removed from the control of the Municipal Council.

"We have considered," said M. Léon Say, "that the action of the Prefecture of Police had often been, and might frequently be, traversed and harassed by the meddling of the Municipal Council with the budget of the Prefecture of Police. It may be necessary—and I, for my own part, believe that it will be so—to define the functions of the Municipality of Paris by special legislation."

The amendment of M. Léon Say was rejected by the Assembly in 1871, and the special legislation which he demanded for Paris is still wanting. This is not the place in which to discuss its bases; but when it is projected and arranged, it will have boldly to define the exceptional character of the Paris Municipality, to make the Prefecture of Police a State institution, and therefore to attach its budget to that of the Ministry of the Interior. This reform, the only one which can put an end to the difficulties of the present situation, was demanded in vain in 1879, at the beginning of the crisis through which the Prefecture of Police is still passing, and on the eve of the reopening of the Chambers in Paris. The opportunity was a favourable one, and it is much to be regretted that the Waddington Cabinet failed to take advantage of it. Since then the Government has made a timid attempt to enter on the right path by the project of law proposed in 1881, after the conflict between M. Andrieux and the Municipal Council; but this hastily prepared and ill-conceived project, which would have entailed the dismemberment of the Prefecture, in order to remove the police of Paris from the control of the Municipal Council, has no chance of being adopted, and will not, judging from appearances, encounter the trial of a public discussion.

Things have now reached a point at which a prompt and decisive solution is indispensable. Unless the Prefecture of Police be placed, without delay, under the direct and exclusive authority of the State; unless there is a prompt recognition of the impossibility of dividing its functions, and also of the danger of leaving the guarding of the Assemblies and the Government in the hands of the Municipality of Paris, events will speedily solve the problem before which legislators stand hesitating. The Government will witness the self-made wreck of the institution of the Prefecture of Police before any law shall have decreed its suppression; and a little sooner or a little later the creation of the Central Mairie will be forced upon it. Once entered upon that course, whether it be or be not allowed, no mistake can possibly be made about the final result. We may recoil before the name, but we shall submit to the thing: that day the Commune is a fact.

ALBERT GIGOT.

A POLITICIAN IN TROUBLE ABOUT HIS SOUL.

"For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"

THE Irish Land Bill had just passed through Committee in the House of Commons, and members were pouring out of the House, much in the fashion and temper of schoolboys released from school.

"Breakfast to-morrow with Angus," said Geoffrey Lewin to a group of three or four other men, who, having secured their coats, were lighting cigars before dispersing homewards. Geoffrey Lewin was a young member belonging to the advanced Radicals. He had lived a good deal abroad; was well informed and well read; had worked hard and systematically at different subjects; was dry, clear, and positive in his views, and perhaps was rather more aware than was pleasant to his friends of the state of ignorance in which the world around him generally lived. He was a fairly regular supporter of the Government, of which he approved less for what it was in itself than for those future enlargements of the same policy, and those bolder Governments, which he believed it would render possible. He had sympathies of an intellectually cultivated kind with the mass of the people, "grown in rather thin soil with plenty of manure," as one of his friends said; he believed in the dogma of a supreme Government; looked forward, to use his own words, to the establishment of collectivity; and frankly avowed that he should belong to the socialist party in England had the nation known enough of its own wants and beliefs to form such a party. The friends to whom he spoke were Angus Bramston, Walter Pennell, Lord Holmshill, and John Danby. Angus Bramston was a young member sitting with Geoffrey Lewin below the gangway, not very constant in his support of the Government or settled in his political opinions, but occupied by many doubts and inquiries about all things in general and the Liberal party in particular. Danby had sat and grumbled for many years on the benches somewhere behind the Government, gave them a vote on all the more important divisions, but was not supposed by those who knew him well to do it from any excess of loving-kindness towards them. Lord Holmshill was another young member returned in the Parliament of 1874, a Whig by birth and training, eldest son and heir to large estates, but not overmuch wedded to these; looking with rather hopeless eyes on the present situation, and wanting as much in active desire to preserve an old order and avert changes, as in enthusiasm for the

new things which were taking its place. Walter Pennell sat on the other side of the House, but thought and acted in a borderland between the two parties, occasionally voting with the Liberals, and well known by his friends to hope for the formation of a third moderate party, as the remedy of all political evils. They were all intimate friends, bound by ties of different kinds to each other; none of them very strict party men, but possessed of sufficient philosophy to discuss with great plainness of speech their own opinions and the questions of the day. Of them all, Geoffrey Lewin was the one who saw his own way the most distinctly, and knew, or professed to know, what he wanted. Angus Bramston's mental attitude was in strong contrast to that of Lewin. He was unsettled and tentative in his opinions, but was being constantly spurred on by a strong perception that there were great problems to solve, which could not be left without some definite attempt at their solution. He had had no intention of entering Parliament for some years, but an accident had put him unexpectedly in possession of a seat. And now being transferred from a life of watching others and comparing opinions into a life of action, he was becoming aware of the mental difficulties which surrounded him. He had formed a strong opinion on the special controversy which occupied the constituencies in the 1880 election, and had been able without difficulty to give a clear answer in his own mind to the single questions: "Shall England view with favour or with jealousy the rising nationalities of the East? Shall she pursue an aggressive or non-aggressive policy abroad?" But he now found himself face to face with subjects of a different order, which, involving social reconstruction, could not fail to be full of perplexities and enigmas for philosophers still looking about for mental foundations, and were not made easier by the way, as it seemed to him, in which Mr. Gladstone and the party assumed that such a matter as an Irish Land Bill only required a well-balanced arrangement of details, and care that all the parts of the new mechanism should work without excessive friction.

Breakfast was finished, chairs were pushed back from the table, and cigars lighted.

"Have you been supporting the Government lately in most of their divisions?" asked Walter Pennell of Danby, who by right of prescription was occupying the most comfortable arm-chair in the room.

"Yes, always, whenever I voted."

"And yet you do not like the Bill?"

"No, I don't like the Bill; who does? It has almost every fault crowded into it that a Bill could have; but I have supported it, and I suppose I shall support the Government if the Lords insist on having a trial of strength over it."

"That is the true Liberal way of going on! You hate the Bill, and yet you support it. How can you defend such flagrant treachery to your own opinions?" retorted Pennell.

"Wait a moment," said Angus; "before he clears his character, let him first tell us why he does not like the Bill."

"Why should you make me tell you?" answered Danby. "Pennell's friends have been telling you over and over again during the last few weeks, and most of the things they have said are substantially true. Except Argyll and Lansdowne, nobody could have said truer things about it than Gibson did. The Bill is not a straightforward measure; it seems ashamed of its own meaning. It is a mass of complications, just as if Gladstone did not like it to be said that he was giving the three F's after having denounced them so vigorously in old days, and therefore he wanted both to do the thing and not to do it; in which difficult performance he can succeed better than most of us; and the greatest courage it shows is in its hypocrisy, since it sanctimoniously pronounces it a crime in the landlord to sell what he has got at the best price he can get for it, a crime which every trader and every workman, every person, rich, poor, Radical and Conservative, is committing every day to the best of his ability. Of course the object has been to buy the tenants over from the Nationalists, and make them love the English Liberal party in return for certain practical advantages, representing a considerable money value; and the whole machinery of these interminable clauses is little more than a piece of decorative work to hide what the Government cannot afford to put into plain words."

"You are daubing on your black paint thickly enough," interposed Bramston.

"My dear Angus, you are still in the age of innocency. Don't you think," went on Danby, "it would have been a simpler way of doing business, if the Bill had only had one clause in it, to say that the Irish tenant, or whoever the tenant likes to put in his place, should pay for the next fifteen years to his landlord twenty per cent. less rent, or whatever figure Gladstone chose to fix upon? Some forty words would have arranged the whole matter, and everybody would have known what they were doing. Great heavens! Pennell, what a number of headaches it would have saved some worthy men on your side in trying to put together Gladstone's wonderful new puzzle of landlord and tenant. Our men were wiser, they never troubled themselves to understand any part of it. It is quite touching to see their faith in Gladstone when he is operating on an Irish landlord. But I suppose a Bill of one clause would have had a brutal look about it, and would have shocked our dear respectable nation; and perhaps Gladstone, for the sake of his own feelings, likes plenty of conventional wrappings. The Bill without any of its fig-

leaves would have been called indecent, and even in the case of a landlord it is best to save appearances."

"Have you more to say?" asked Pennell.

"Yes, of course I have. There is no adjective expressing mental or moral stupidity which does not apply to some part of the Bill. It has been bespattered all over by the praise of the Gladstone-worshippers, but it is easy to see that in messing over details and entangling himself in contrivances to check this dodge of the landlord and that dodge of the tenant, Gladstone has never really faced the great underlying difficulty of the question. Everybody who keeps his common-sense in the matter asks, 'If there was over-competition for land in the past, will there not be over-competition in the future? If the tenant was reckless about engaging to pay rent, will he suddenly, to suit Mr. Gladstone's political reputation, become moderate and prudent in buying the tenant's interest?' No attempt is made to answer this question. It is left to answer itself; and Gladstone simply buys off the Irish question for the moment with the landlord's purse. Of course some day the difficulty will return on his successor in an aggravated form. It is likely enough, when good seasons return, that under the stimulated competition for land the tenant's interest will become a millstone about the neck of the farmers, enormous sums having been recklessly spent in buying, and only a small part of the real value received. The true verdict on the Bill will never be pronounced until that unfortunate successor of Gladstone has the whole mess to deal with again in another period of depression like the present, and then perhaps the nation will begin to learn what an expensive process it is apt to be when political leaders have a genius for constructive legislation, and a fancy for putting feathers in their cap. But in any case it will end in a third slice being cut out of the landlord."

"But what would you have done?" asked Holmshill.

"Why, clearly," said Danby, "if you were to have a Bill of this kind, which is a large question in itself, as it was a case of disputed rights, you should have arranged for the tenant buying up at a fair value such of these rights as were most necessary to him, as, for example, the ownership of all improvements. You could not do the tenant a worse turn than simply transferring to him rights by Act of Parliament. He will think for the next twenty years that it is both more profitable and more amusing to be a politician than to follow his own dull trade of butter and cattle growing."

"What I am half puzzled and half angered about," said Bramston, "is why we have been legislating for so many months about the tenant and have done nothing for the labourer. I dare say we are wrong in all we have been doing, but if we are to help anybody the labourer ought to have the best claim. He is certainly the most down in the world."

"I fear you are the freshest of young men up from the country, Angus," said Danby. "What has the labourer to give Gladstone? He has not got a vote; he is not organized; he has not even learnt how to shoot at the tenant; our newspapers and the English public are scarcely aware of his existence; and at present he has not been quoted and is quite without value in the political market. Rightly or wrongly, Heaven only knows, the Government calculate that if the tenants can once be detached from the National party, they will keep the labourers in order. So the labourer may be left for the present to stew in his own juice. Had you watched Gladstone as long as I have done you would know that he never buys stock except in a rising market. When once he buys, then he buys boldly. He is always a little slow at first, but he never lets the market slip. You may be quite content, if ever the Irish labourer is worth looking after, our political leaders will take him in hand."

"But as the labourer is at present," said Walter Pennell, "it was like wringing blood from a stone, to get anything from the Government for him. When we pressed for something to be done for him the other night, the Government almost had a relapse of political economy."

"Ah! I remember that your party was in a very philanthropic mood that night," remarked Danby. "They always are whenever the Government is in difficulties. If Gladstone succeeds in nothing else, he will have succeeded in teaching your party some very sound views. If ever they let me write his epitaph I will duly record the amount of your debts to him. You have already learnt to believe in freedom of contract, and to love the Irish labourer. My own belief is that Gladstone has done more for your mental development in a twelvemonth than Dizzy did in a lifetime."

"I can't flatter your party by saying they have learnt from anybody," said Pennell. "They show more aptitude for unlearning than learning just at present. But have you other faults to find with the Bill?"

"Other faults?" said Danby. "Why the whole thing is made up of faults. Gladstone has gone out of his way to give the Conservatives the best of the argument throughout the whole Session, and has left the Liberal party and himself nothing but the dirty end of the stick. And after it all we are not going to succeed. Of course the Irishmen will take all that they can get out of the Bill, and for three or four years there may be a lull, if Mr. Gladstone keeps his temper and does not put Parnell too often in prison. But the lull won't last. Every sick man in a fever has his quiet moments whilst he is getting up steam for another outburst. In Ireland it is just the same; first a lull, then an outburst, then a heroic remedy; always the same series in the same order. And I think we have

some right to complain of our party-managers. As they were determined to go in for national bribery, they might as well have managed their delectable business successfully. But I see no sign that the Irish are less inclined to spit in our faces after the Bill than before it. As they can see exactly how much our generosity at the landlords' expense has cost us, I think their want of gratitude to the Liberal party does credit to their intelligence. But why should I give you a second-reading speech? You know all the moral and economical lies we have been telling this session, and so does everybody else, and so would Gladstone himself if he were not stung with a gadfly about any new matter he has in hand, to the utter exclusion of all other considerations and their banishment to the farther planets."

"We'll forgive you the second-reading speech," said Bramston, "if you will now make your own confessions and tell us why you have supported the Bill."

"Well, that wants very little answer," said Danby. "I don't see anybody offering anything else. Everybody wants something done, but nobody on one side or the other tries to see distinctly what should be done, or if he sees it, has the courage to put it into words. We all blame Gladstone, but we all have a sneaking belief that we have got to swallow Parnell in some form or another, and the country seems to like the Gladstone sauce as much as any other. If we were not all of us given over, body and soul, to quackery and the medicine-men, and if we were not always being driven, like a herd of slaves, by our political necessities along the road which we like the world to think that we choose of our own free-will and choice; and if—greatest of all ifs—there were any party that spoke the truth, served the truth, and tried to save its own soul, why then, perhaps, I should not have voted as I have done. But I suppose I am philosopher enough to see that political parties are about as anxious to know and follow what is true, as the churches are; and I suppose I have been in the House long enough to see that when our leaders are in the higher regions of their eloquence on the subjects of justice and generosity and all the other virtues, they are only doing their best to win the odd trick for the party. There may be some shades of difference between parties; but a politician of any party nowadays would have to make as wry a face as Thomas the Rhymer did, were he offered the gift of "the tongue that can never lee"—to cheat himself about his own motives is his first necessity, if he is to succeed—and so you see, *faute de mieux*, I support the Government. What other choice is there? As for all the eloquent speeches we have heard from Pennell's friends lately, they are true enough, but I want to know how long those who make them will care for us to remember them? What greater reality is there in the eloquence of one side than the

other? Who ever heard of Pennell's party believing in free contract, or free trade, or peasant proprietorship, or any other sensible sort of a thing, unless it were to buy off something from the hands of the enemy that they were afraid of losing? Their political virtue, of whatever kind it is, is always the child of necessity, and never outlives the special moment which called it into existence. How much political economy shall we hear, do you think, from Gibson, when Pennell's friends return in two or three years to power, and Chaplin, as the new Minister of Agriculture, is dishing Mr. James Howard, as Gladstone has dished Parnell?"

"I admit something of what you say," replied Pennell, "about our side. As we are at present, we are ceasing to be the stupid party only to be the dodgey party. The absurd thing about the whole of the present matter is, that a mere chance would have reversed the parts that we have each played this session. Had Dizzy lived, and had he remained in power, it is likely enough that our party would have been dealing with the Irish question, and that all the moral, and economical, and common-sense speeches would have come from your benches. What a picture Gladstone would have given us of the tenant called away from his sober industry by the political bribes flaunted in his face; what tempests of denunciation he would have poured on our heads for offering him a new and royal road to property! I am often tempted to despair about ourselves Our misfortunes seem to do us no good; they give us no steadiness of purpose; we show none of the better qualities which belong to minorities; our highest aim seems to be to make a damaging speech against Gladstone—and how can you damage a man whose supporters are all caucussed?—or to make some new combination, some flank movement, or do some clever sleight-of-hand. Our leaders are always ready at a moment's notice to pour out any quantity of criticism, as if they were engaged to do it by the piece, and they are good enough to throw in a certain number of epigrams for us without charge; but even the epigrams, when we get them, only seem to leave us in much the same unimproving condition of mental health after as before. Of any distinct leading, of any attempt to rally the party to definite opinions, to touch our reason and redeem us with a faith,—of these things there is no spark to be seen in our darkness. All that happens is material for party criticism, and nothing more. But low in the world as we are, I still hope more from our men than from yours. There is an incurable 'Sand-the-sugar and come-to-prayers' snuffle about your Government, which they share with the grocer of pious and practical habits. I suppose you can't help it; and perhaps some day, when you are all republicans and atheists, and are no longer half-ashamed of your own opinions, and are not trimming between two or three sets of supporters, you will get rid of

it. But I want to know how Lewin has been voting lately. Have you supported the Government, Lewin? and are you glad that the Bill is so far safe?"

"Yes," replied Lewin, "I voted steadily for the Bill. I don't say that I like its shape, but it goes in the right direction. Of course the Bill is a bit of cumbersome machinery, which was to be expected, considering the ecclesiastical-metaphysical machine-yards from which it came; and I don't expect it to last even half of the time that the much-praised and little-performing machine of 1870 lasted. However, you may throw all the hard names at it you like, and most of them may be just enough—I don't know, and I don't care—still, depend upon it, long after the checks and counter-checks, dodges and counter-dodges cease to mean anything, and have been sold off as old iron, the principle that is in it will remain and bear its fruit—I mean that Government is a bigger thing than the landlords, and can remodel all havings and belongings, all rights of property and all social arrangements, as it thinks best. We have got to come to this, and we have taken one right good step at least towards it. The Bill is probably all you say, but perhaps you forget that the metaphysics in it are not only the necessary product of an age of confused intelligence, but are specially adapted for spreading a useful mist round the changes that are taking place, and preventing our seeing too clearly what we are doing; they are therefore by no means altogether useless. The great function of a Liberal leader at the present moment is to lead us just as we are going, without making us aware, or even without being aware himself, if possible, of the true readings of the compass. The present is essentially a transition moment, requiring very delicate adaptations, and in Gladstone we have probably found the suitable instrument, just as other times have produced other leaders who were exactly fitted to their special circumstances. Everybody can see that three hundred years of Protestantism were a preparation to help us to pass from a superstitious state to a rational state of mind, and Gladstone, like the Protestants, is making the same transition easy for us in social politics. We wanted at that time a race of theologians sufficiently irreverent-minded and sufficiently enterprising to break up the old authority, but not so logical, or consistent, or thorough-going in their views as to be tempted to travel in one day's journey to the end of the new road that was opened before them. Men of greater mental hardihood, who would not have overleapt one formula to stop in front of the next, would have spoilt the slow preparation that was wanted; perhaps would have ended in refixing the old fetters upon us. It is the same in social politics now. We want a transition leader who can reconcile us gently to the inconsistencies of thought and action that are involved in the changes we are making, and that would

startle the world if the passage from the old to the new were abruptly made. Were I given the task to describe the kind of leader most suited to the present moment, I should say that he must be confident in his own constructive enterprises, committed to a policy of satisfying wants and difficulties as they arise, fitting into the English habit of mind of not looking beyond the twenty-four hours as regards the further consequences of an action, with a reputation that he cannot afford to lose for being the people's friend, with a dash of the political spendthrift about him, fluid in character but powerful in impulse, and whilst ready to devote superabundant powers with enthusiasm to the movements which the people force upon him, always abiding by Frederic Harrison's precept of using the old terms to which we are accustomed, so that we may get as few joltings as possible in our passage from the old to the new beliefs. I have a perfect faith in natural selection producing for us in politics as in everything else the instrument which is wanted ; and whenever I listen to Gladstone lubricating for the English middle-class the process of stripping the Irish landlord, I feel the same thrill of delight that watching the apparatus of an insect-eating plant or any other bit of beautifully adapted machinery gives me. The co-ordinations in the political world are fully as perfect and admirable as those in the plant and animal world."

"I don't know whether to envy you," said Angus, "or to believe that you also are of those who know nothing about their own direction. You are always satisfied and contented with whatever happens ; you always see yourself one step nearer the end which you desire ; you tell us quite plainly what that end is, but still I cannot help asking myself whether your plain words really make you see any plainer. When Government has passed its last Land Bill and performed its last operation on the landlords, when what you call collectivity is fairly established, and when we are all under its direction, is not that only the beginning rather than the end of things? How do you know what form the will and pleasure of the collective agency will take? Have you the least idea on what principles, by what methods it will act? Have you even distinct wishes as to what it should be? If you have not, are you not as much obeying forces as Gladstone is?—perhaps deceiving yourself a little more than he does, since you set up a claim to know clearly what you mean, and Gladstone, as Danby says, has never yet had time, with so many speeches to make and so many bills to pass, even to consider whether he does know or does not know what he means. I cannot see that it helps us much to know that we are being carried nearer the collective agency, unless we are told what kind of a thing it is to be."

"Your challenge is fair enough," said Lewin, "but I don't intend to attempt to reply to it. To answer such questions as you propose would

require that I should know the secrets of evolution. The little marsupial of a few inches long that lived at the time of the Purbeck beds near Swanage might have told you what he thought was best for himself, but he could not have told you what would be best for the great race of mammals who were to tread so closely in his small footsteps. I can only say that to me the collective agency is the best instrument for general happiness; that it is better that people should agree by a majority as to what they want, and then proceed to carry it out, than that every man should be ceaselessly labouring to fashion his own muck-heap after his own special fancy, or to make it a little broader or longer than his neighbour's. That is all I can tell you. Collective agency seems to me a better agency than individual action; and the work of modern politics is to accustom the mind of all classes to the idea. Without agreeing in all details with Karl Marx, I agree far more with him than with Gladstone. But I should greatly prefer Gladstone as Prime Minister under our special circumstances. Marx would do us infinite harm. Gladstone does as much good by involving all that we are doing in general indistinctness. He is always the last man to be convinced of the step which he is taking; and when convinced, the most fervent in expounding the necessity under which he is acting. There is no finer method for sapping settled convictions. His regrets and hesitations, his appeals to the principles he is overthrowing, his skilful handling of the old familiar phrases, and his perorations in which democratic sentiment, religion, communism, and conservatism are all mixed up together, are a work of art, which none of you sufficiently understand to admire as you ought. But even Gladstone, I think, would fail in disguising what wants disguising, if it had not been for the sort of theology on which the nation has been fed over so long a period. An ordinary Englishman cannot think unless he has a certain amount of fog hanging about his brain. There is no shrewder or more capable class than our well-to-do English Dissenters—they are the money-makers of the nation—but in politics you can do almost what you like with them, if you only tickle their ears with the right sort of words to which they are accustomed in their chapels."

"Here is Bramston asking you for bread," said Danby, "and you only give the poor fellow a stone. Is this wretched pittance of information all you have to offer us? Have you no picture to give of the life we are all to live and the happiness we are all to enjoy when you have established the collective agency? We want to hear some practical details; we want to know, now that we have started with Government inspectors to direct us in all that we do, and Irish Land Bills for turning tenants into owners, if we are to arrive in due course at State ownership of all instruments of production and State employment for everybody. Please to tell us if any class or if any persons are to be allowed to exist in independence of the Govern-

ment; is everybody to receive an official salary for what he does, or perhaps I should say, in the case of the idle and unprofitable people like myself, for what he does not do? Are we still to live, each man under his own fig-tree, or are we all to club together under one family roof—may I suggest corrugated iron to the collective agency as a cheap and expeditious way of roofing us all in? Are we still to be allowed to marry when we like, or are we only to become happy fathers of families when we can get a certificate of collective agency permission? You are a very uncommunicative prophet of the new faith. Please do something for our conversion by telling us a little more of your new kingdom-come; and especially of the methods by which you propose to extract a week's work—in return for the payment you are so generously going to give, I believe—from five such ornamental and useless members of society as have just been breakfasting together in this room."

"All such questions are simply idle," said Lewin. "Were I to try to answer them, I should only use words and cheat myself as much as our present leaders cheat themselves. There is no man living who can tell you what the collective agency will do. It will probably, as everybody can see, be protective in its nature at first; but when society has once been remodelled, and a new start given to every one, what form of protection it will develop afterwards, or whether it will be protective at all, can only be answered by guesswork. All that I can affirm is, that it is best for men to act as an organized body; for them to agree on what they consider happiness, and then to carry it out by organized means. It is the natural tendency of human nature to make use of the collective power, and therefore it is wise to recognise its use in the most complete form possible. It is the greatest of human forces; and to tell men to live in its presence and yet not to use it is like telling them that the forces of steam and electricity surround them on all sides, but must not be employed in their service. But to tell you what men will consider happiness when they are free to construct it, is not a task I pretend to undertake."

"Well," said Danby, "we are all of us very much disappointed. I am of opinion that we are not going to be better off under the new than we were under the old leadership. If I try to interpret Mr. Gladstone, there are many volumes a year to read, and I confess that what the sum total amounts to in the matter of spiritual guidance, how much or how little it all means, lies altogether beyond my powers of discernment. I may at once confess that I have not the least idea where I am to be led this year, next year, or any other year. I do not know, as I follow my leader, whether I shall remain a free-trader, or shall develop into the brilliant discoverer of some new form of protection; whether I am the column and support of Established Churches, or their declared enemy; whether I am going to back the

Lords, or give them a sly kick if occasion serves; whether I am going to construct a new system of State education that is to begin with the babies and end with the graduates, or whether I believe in letting people educate themselves; whether I am going to enlarge our system of Poor-law relief, and generously offer free-living to all who wish for it, or whether I shall be rigidly virtuous and economical, and take my stand on the House and nothing but the House; whether I am going to let Mr. Parnell take his coat off as many times as he likes in the day and welcome, or whether I am politely going to give him my best help in putting it on; whether I am in my inner consciousness an Imperialist, or a Federalist, or a Separatist; whether I abhor blood-guiltiness, or am on the side of the Queen's authority; whether I am the friend of the English tenant, or of the English labourer—I am quite clear for the moment that I am dead against the landlord; whether I am going to present the public with new wines from Spain and Portugal and perhaps some other part of the world, or whether I am going to fine and imprison some thousands of my countrymen for wishing to take a glass of beer; whether I am going with the doctors for vaccinating and registering the people, or whether I shall throw doctors and registers overboard and support the liberty of the subject; whether I am going to preach economy and save the public money, or whether I am going to enter on a career of constructive enterprises, and spend with both hands. This year I have been the apostle of peace, and pledged to nationalities and moralities; next year I expect to be marching shoulder to shoulder with the Jingoes into the heart of Africa, annexing the Congo, and placing Bartle Frere on a black throne. I am quite humble-minded in the matter, I bear myself like a weaned child, I am quite conscious that I have no knowledge as to what my own opinions and actions will be for any five minutes in advance of the present moment, and I have long ago given up the effort to make any connection between our mental zigzags of to-day and our zigzags of yesterday. Many years of practice and some philosophy have at last brought me to this state. But when a young prophet invites me to strike out a new path, and, with himself as my leader, says quietly, 'I know absolutely nothing,' as if that was the best way to inspire me with sufficient confidence to leap after him into all the dark holes for which he seems to have a fancy, I may be excused for doubting if I shall not be as comfortable where I am."

"Don't mind Danby," said Bramston, "he is only digesting his breakfast, which never agrees with his temper. Go on, Lewin, with what you were saying."

"There is not much more to say," said Lewin. "The rule of the majority is the principle that is being evolved at this moment of the world's history; it is the principle of the future, by which the world's destiny is to be definitely shaped; and it is already running its

course before our eyes. The majority, with all their wishes and wants, are learning to give some real effect to their rule. And whatever phrases the party leaders of the day may use, whatever credit they like to take to themselves for their Land Bills and social constructions and generous gifts, you may look on these little bits of ingenious statesmanship as the first blind acknowledgment of the force that is acting upon us all. All our phrases make no real difference to the fact that whatever the majority thinks adds to their happiness, that henceforward they intend to have or to do. This is a fact which, if you don't yet see, you had better all of you see as quickly as you can, and then perhaps you will understand why I vote for a Bill that I don't take the trouble to defend from Danby's attacks, that creaks and groans in all its cumbersome parts like a Spanish peasant's cart, and of which the one merit is, that in unsettling everything and settling nothing, it accustoms one part of the people to want and to ask, and the other part to give up the bone to their bigger brother; and this is conveniently done without the use of too much plain language. Perhaps you all suppose that there is a reality in the distinctions which our intelligent Liberal spokesmen like to draw between land and other kinds of property. Yes, there is a distinction; but it is not the metaphysical one which they draw so glibly and to their own self-content. The distinction is that land is the most visible, the most easily seized, the most easily divided up, and the worst defended of all kinds of property. It is exactly fitted for the first meal, and when eaten it will leave a noble appetite for the other more difficult morsels. *Vive l'appétit!* Perhaps you all comfort yourselves by repeating what those same intelligent spokesmen are always telling us, that in England there is a stronger belief in property than in other countries. My own suspicion is that England will be the first country to try a real experiment in Socialism, not simply because property lies in few hands, but because our people have such an infinite faculty for covering up and disguising what they do with words. If only the words are right, they are quite satisfied. Once call a thing by a good name—no matter what it is—christen it in public as a just and generous measure, and the English people will be enthusiastic in its behalf. Do you remember Elmore's French cook, who used to say that he could turn horseflesh into woodcock if you let him make the sauce? Well, Gladstone is quite as good in his own way. I should consider him the equal of the French artist, if the English nation had not a certain natural aptitude for being led by the nose. Criticism of all kinds is an unknown art in this country, and so long as there is plenty of political seasoning, our people are always satisfied. In other countries men like to taste and know what they are eating; they would not stand the emptying of the pepper-pot into their dishes; and if Dizzy with his turgid patriotism and Gladstone with his

conventional morality have succeeded with us, they have owed their success to the fact that the English are by nature predestined to fall into the hands of the word-makers. I know no place where the faculty exists in the same perfection as it does in England, of seeing in a thing not what it is, but what it happens to be called. Without such a faculty, that special British product which we call cant, and for which I defy you to find a name in other languages, could hardly have become one of the national facts. But it plays a great part with us, and, when rightly understood, seems to be a very useful sort of thing in politics. English cant is a study in itself, and it would be worth the while of any of you to watch some of its forms, and put together an article about it for the Fortnightly."

"Please not to be in such a hurry to reform us," said Danby, "out of cant. Until the collective agency is established, I doubt if we can get on without it. What you call cant is the oil that eases the working of all social and political wheels. If I am asked to subscribe to a popular charity, I do not say to the individual who asks me, 'Your charity exists to give its secretary an occupation, and to amuse a certain number of unemployed persons in spending the money of other people,' but I say, 'My dear sir, I have a great respect for your charity and the excellent work it is doing and the unselfish manner in which your committee devote their time to it, and I only regret that other calls upon my limited means do not allow of my subscribing.' Perhaps you would like all of us, whenever we open our lips, to indulge in a stream of crude verities. Perhaps you would like the Liberal party to stand in a palace of truth at noonday and say, 'Not one of us in a thousand are either Irish or English landlords for matter of that, and we are quite prepared therefore to pinch the landlord to any extent if it is convenient to do so;' or for Gladstone to say, 'Prime ministers must live like everybody else, and if it is necessary for me to offer up my only son Isaac to the wants of the country, I shall know how to find good reasons for doing it.' I can hardly think that would be an improvement on our present method. You say we are an inartistic, uncritical nation. I say we know how to admire a thing whenever it is thrown into the right form. When Gladstone has to explain why he is sacrificing some principle and paints the struggle of conflicting tides in his bosom, both the House and the country instinctively feel the touch of the artist-orator, and exclaim, 'There! you see how unwilling he has been to act, how necessary it is for his mind to look on both sides.' Are we not right on both sides? Why should we not make disagreeable things as pleasant as we can? Here is Holmshill, if you only let him alone, and give him enough speeches of Gladstone's to listen to, not only ready to vote away that respectable Upper House, into which some day he will have to retire for his preprandial doze, but to make the tenant-farmers owners for life of all those pleasant farms over which

we shot partridges last year, or to sacrifice his farmers and vote it all in a lump for the labourers, with the Towers I suppose as a superior kind of workhouse. Why not leave him to vote himself out of existence, without even enough pain to know that he is doing it? Why should we shock him with plain words and disagreeable explanations as to what he is doing? He is much happier as he is."

"That is what I complain of," said Pennell. "I don't quarrel with Geoffrey Lewin. He dreams of his collective agency, and I only hope to Heaven it will make him as uncomfortable when it comes, as it will make the rest of us. But Holmshill and all his Whig friends are the disgrace of the age. Was there ever a tail to a party so pitifully bedraggled? Here are men with really great traditions, who once thought for themselves and led the country, and who now are hanging on to a party they dislike and dread, for the sake of the crumbs that are thrown to them. And if you ask them why they take the kicks and the halfpence, they will tell you that they hope to check the Radicals and to keep an influence over Gladstone; or they point to some half-dozen words in some clause or other, in some Bill or other, and say, 'See how we have succeeded in modifying legislation;' or they appeal to this or that great Whig in the Cabinet, and ask you what danger can there be as long as he remains in the Government to represent landed interests. It would be fatal, they say, to separate ourselves from the Radicals when they might rush into any folly without us, and when we can always have a duke or two, or three or four peers of our own in the Cabinet. They don't see that their duke or their earl or their somebody is a sort of decoy-creature which the other Liberals think it worth while to keep with a special view to them. One of my friends has had great trouble with rats. He has now invented a large wire cage, in the inner part of which he always keeps two or three tame rats feeding on the things which are dearest to the soul of a rat. All the other rats are so moved by the spectacle of their friends enjoying themselves, that they walk cheerfully into the outer part of the cage from which, except into the white terrier's jaws, there is unfortunately no return. My friend is full of practical benevolence towards the two or three rats who are kept in the inner sanctuary, and lets them live on the best of food in return for the service they render him; but I scarcely know if he loves them for their own sake, and will continue to feed them when there are no more of their fellows to catch. You are an honest fellow, Holmshill, and don't care a straw for office, but the real truth is that the rest of the Whigs are the crumb-eaters of the Radicals, and if they had a little honest pride left, their meal would choke them. And as for Danby, whatever he may choose to say, he knows well enough it is true."

"My dear Pennell," said Danby, "please tell us what the Whigs are to do if they get out of the nest. We know that you are ready

to form a party with them, but then they are ungrateful enough to hesitate about the advantages of your offer. Don't be angry, Holmshill, if your admirer is a little unreasonable. As we all know, he loves you Whigs better than all the rest of us put together, and it is only disappointed affection which makes him a little bad-tempered"

"I'll forgive him," said Holmshill; "it is easy enough to abuse the Whigs. I don't say and I don't think we are doing the best thing possible, but it is hard to say what we ought to do. There are few of us who believe enough in what we have, to fight very desperately for it. We all feel that things are slipping. We all know well enough that we are not in the country what we were twenty years ago, and we shall not be twenty years hence what we are to-day. I suppose we can guess that the principal service our presence in the Government does to the party is, as Lewin says about Gladstone's phrases, to disguise the changes that are taking place and make everything more decent. I suppose we shall stick to the party as long as any sort of possible excuse remains for our doing so. We have been, like Lewin's Protestants, a useful sort of stop-gap between the old and the new, and probably they will let us keep Hartington or somebody else like him in the Cabinet till the end of it all, to satisfy our little vanities and pacify our little irritations. It is not very grand or very independent. But I doubt if it is wholly meanness on our part. It is true that it would not be a profitable political investment for us to set up on our own account; but even if it could help us, there is I think a sort of honourable shame which would prevent our doing it. It is difficult to forget that we took our stand in old days for better or worse on the principle of 'all for the people by the people,' and even when the principle is made to cover measures that have less regard for justice than for party convenience, we have a silent feeling that we are like so many others who have to reap what they once sowed. We can hardly begin to protest against the principle on the very first day and in the very first hour that it goes against our own interests. Remember also that we are entangled and impeded by an exceptional position. Had there been no favours and privileges in old days, I suppose that the Towers and myself would have had little enough to do with each other; and it is these favours and privileges which make it seem ungenerous to oppose demands made in the name of the people even when I think that they are founded on wrong principles and likely to end in disappointment. Perhaps I may see faults in a Land Bill as well as you, but I cannot come down to the House as easily as you can and criticise from a strictly economical point of view a Bill that may lessen what is paid into the family bankers by some thousands of pounds. Perhaps I ought to do it, but if so I ought to be rid of the old privileges and favours which have made me what I am.

You seem to forget that a Whig is mortal like everybody else. If you were fair to us, you would remember that we have had politics in the blood for many generations, that we are justly proud of the party we have belonged to and the part we have played, that it is only strong convictions which make men break old ties—it is difficult to have strong convictions at the present day—and that it would be a bitter humiliation to us to go and join the Tories in our latter days. We have fought them and beaten them too often to go back to-day and look for a camp of refuge in their ranks. It is best to stay where we are, and to cheat ourselves, if we can, into believing that we belong to the modern Liberal party. I don't think anything that we do matters very much, or will make any great difference to anybody but ourselves. And for ourselves I have but few hopes and few wishes. A very few years, and the only place where you will find a Whig will be in Macaulay's history."

"I give you up, Holmshill," said Danby. "I never will defend you again. I think you are thoroughly mean-spirited, and if you were to go on talking for another five minutes you would almost make a Radical of me. A humble-minded Whig is a *lusus naturæ*, a monster of inconceivable parts and affections, and if there are many others like you, I take it as a sign that the Whigs are pretty nearly done up, and that we must put some one else in their place who will be ready to fight when they are wanted. It's all very well throwing down your arms and saying, 'Pray, gentlemen, help yourselves,' but I think whether you are a Whig or not you are bound to fight for all that rightfully belongs to you. Whenever you talk in this worm-inspired manner I feel as if I should like to see three thousand peasant-proprietors at the Towers with five acres each of the park land, and hear the answer they would make if some improving member of Parliament proposed to touch one blade of grass that grew on their outside border. I should like to hear a little of their unsophisticated mind upon unearned increment or unexhausted improvements, or tenant-right—if one man wished to let land to another—or collective agencies, or principles of the future. There would be some downright English in it. But there's that gaby Holmshill goes down and meets his father's tenants and lets some talking fellow tell him that an English farmer ought to sell his holding like an Irishman, and that all that the landlord has a right to is the rent, and that rent ought to have the approval of a tenant-farmer's court; and Holmshill smiles and makes some mild remark about the landlord's wish for fair play, and probably will end by putting his name on the back of a bill if the talking fellow ever gets into Parliament, and complacently begs the House to make a little landlord of him in place of the big landlord, who, as he proposes, should resign in his favour. I don't think that will improve the breed. I think I am getting a Radical; and if we are to give up

our partridge shooting at the Towers, I should like to see my three thousand small owners planted there, and have done with revolutions for half a century. There were few nicer men in the country than the English farmer in old days. But there are too many of the present lot who will let any enterprising gentleman with views persuade them that the greatest want of an honest man is an Act of Parliament to let him dip his hands into his landlord's pocket and pick out what he happens to like best. They suddenly discover that it is the fairest thing in the world for the farmer to use his political influence to be buyer and seller at the same time, and to settle for the landlord as well as for himself the terms of the bargain; and Holmshill, who is trustee for the rights of everybody who owns property, who is bound to stand by these rights for the good of us all, palavers and hesitates, and says he has no heart to fight for property because he has so much of it. You would be a far better landlord if you told these men the plain truth. You and your hesitations make them think it is an honest thing not to stand upon the terms of a business contract, but to vote into their pocket, what they never dreamt of having when they made their contract, and what they would never dream of asking for now if Gladstone had not the knack of teaching us all that rights go up when we are strong and troublesome, and go down when we are weak and unpopular. It is a good lesson to teach hungry men, and we are all apt to be hungry if we can feed ourselves by voting breakfast and dinner into our own mouths. And the Whigs play into the hands of the Prime Minister. They pretend to watch the fold, and are always exchanging civilities with the wolf and being talked over by him. The truth is that our watch-dogs are getting old and have lost their teeth; they can neither bite nor bark, and if we are to keep what we have, it is time to put somebody else in their place. Bismarck says that a nation that begins to give up what it possesses is not worth thinking about; and I say the same about a class. A class that lays down its rights, and, as they said in old days, gives its poll for the shearing and its beard for the shaving, is about done also. Don't trouble about the Whigs, Pennell, they will never do you any good. They will all follow Hartington like Highland sheep into a snow-drift, and come to their end together."

"Well," said Holmshill, quietly, "whether we are sheep or sheep-dogs, get something better as soon as you can. I don't praise ourselves. But, after all, politics have their practical side, and what I want to ask you is, what would you have us do? Suppose we were to break with the party, how many of us would be elected at the next election? What are we to go and say to the country? Shall we go and say, 'Here are a few of us, the remains of an old party, with nothing very new or definite to tell you, except that we think Mr. Gladstone does not exactly know his own mind, and is apt to be carried forward by the

strongest wind of doctrine that is blowing at the moment. The astronomers are prophesying that the comet of 1883 will go a little too near the sun and get dragged into it; and we also expect that the same kind of accident may befall our Prime Minister. We are quite sure you will be much safer following us than him. We are ourselves in a very comfortable condition; there is nothing that we know of that particularly wants change; our shooting, hunting, and fishing prospects, we are glad to say, are in as good a state as we can expect after the season, and we feel quite sure that you will agree with us, that there would be no better foundation for a party than the old families and the family estates of England.' Well, I don't know if Pennell has the courage to go and say that. I am afraid, if I were to go and speak my own mind, I should say, 'Gentlemen, I am as fond of the good things of the world as anybody else, but I am a little puzzled to find myself in such ample and comfortable possession of them. I am the centre of an enormous machinery. I think in the paternal mansion there are fifteen housemaids, two cooks and a half, butler, under-butler, groom of the chambers, more footmen than I know of; outside, a tribe of keepers, foresters, bailiffs, estate agents and all kinds of people, and of all these I am the special flower and product. I am obliged, gentlemen, to confess that if you propose to divide me up amongst you, that I shall be at some loss to find any arguments against the proceeding that are likely to move you very deeply; though I must also honestly say that I don't think I shall do any of you much good, if you once begin to scramble for me. I doubt if I am quite worth all the cooks, butlers, and keepers it takes to produce and maintain me, but I am not yet confident that you will be on a better road to happiness after you have made a meal of me, than you were before. Now, gentlemen, pray do as you think fit.'"

"You are giving yourself unnecessary trouble, Holmshill," interposed Geoffrey Lewin, "about the digestion of the people. You may be sure that will arrange itself. Why they will eat up the Towers at a mouthful when the time comes, and be as happy after it as Pluto was when we found him finishing the dead sheep."

"But seriously, Lewin," said Bramston, "let us take for granted for a moment, that it is better we should sacrifice Holmshill—"

"We shall have to go and shoot partridges in Morocco if we do," interposed Danby. "I hear there is some sport to be had there."

"—That it is better," continued Bramston, "that all the large landowners should go, that our people will be happier and better off, that property itself will be safer, and agitation less—more people inside the charmed ring and fewer outside—can we justify the doing of it? Where do we get the power to do what we like with Holmshill?"

"The people gave, and the people can take away," observed Lewin.

"How little you have learnt or profited all this session, Angus!" said Danby. "If you want to divide Holmshill into little pieces, all you have got to do is to turn on the Gladstone tap; call it a just and generous measure, praise the people for their forbearing spirit, and declare, without going into details, that Holmshill will be generally better off for it, and will shoot just as many partridges after as he did before, and therefore it cannot possibly make any difference to him. It is, of course, plain on the face of it that we shall save him the expense of collecting rents and of paying rates, taxes, and fire insurance. If you wish it, I am quite ready to give you a second-reading speech on the subject at once, to show that in Holmshill's case all great principles must be laid aside; that in their very nature they were never intended to apply to him; that even Tory landholders have used words which could only mean that he should be cut up; that whilst Holmshill unites all the many virtues we should expect and desire to find in him, yet there are some few other money-grubbing persons in his country for whom we must, unfortunately, hold him accountable, and therefore an inexorable necessity requires that we should submit him to a process which I will proceed, with truly architectonic skill, to describe at full length to you. And then I will let you off with only ten minutes about justice, as the guide of our actions."

"Please, don't," said Bramston; "you have given us one second-reading speech already this morning, and now I want a serious answer to my question. Have we a right to cut up Holmshill? Is there a right and wrong in the matter? If there are such things in politics, on what do they depend? If there is no right and wrong in the matter, what is to make us decide either one way or the other?"

"My dear Angus," said Lewin, "you are still back in the darkness of the Middle Ages. Go and ask Gladstone. He will spend the whole morning in explaining it to you, and then do exactly the opposite in the evening, when he comes down to the House of Commons."

"Go and inquire in Saturn," said Danby. "I know nowhere short of that where you will get an answer in the present day. But I must be going. Give me my *sacré* hat."

"No; let him ask the whips," said Pennell, "and I shall have the pleasure of watching Kensington's face whilst he answers."

"I think it is a very good question," said Holmshill, "and if we were not all of us *farceurs*, we should be able to answer it. Good-bye."

And they all dispersed to their various engagements, leaving Bramston to finish his cigar alone.

AUBERON HERBERT.

(*To be continued.*)

DR. PUSEY AND THE HIGH-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

THE historical and biographical sketches of which Dr. Pusey's death has been the occasion have shown, upon the whole, a generous and conscientious effort to do honour to a great name. It was not altogether an easy task, for Dr. Pusey's character was not of a kind to come very readily within the terms of newspaper criticism or newspaper panegyric. His character, like himself, was singularly discouraging to any attempt at paying him the language of ordinary compliment, or escaping, by reference to slighter matters, the challenge which his whole being offered to share or to refuse what he held to be the first principles of thought and life. It belonged to the greatness of the man that there should be obvious inadequacy in notices of him as a great student or even as an impressive preacher and a notable controversialist. There has been apparent, accordingly, in the notices of him, so far as they have been adequate, an effort to go deeper for the real source of his power, even where this could not be more precisely indicated than by some common phrase expressive of personal holiness.

But amidst the language of respect, and without taking into account expressions of doctrinal difference or aversion, it has not been difficult to see where and why the critics have betrayed uneasiness as to the justice of their tribute, and as to the reality of the greatness alike of Dr. Pusey and of the movement with which his name is associated. Put bluntly, their doubt has been whether Dr. Pusey does not owe much of his almost colossal steadfastness and consistency to a happy want of logic, and whether the movement was more than a temporary back current. They suspect that if Dr. Pusey's reasoning power had been greater he would have gone the way of more consistent reasoners to the Roman Church. And as for the movement, while honouring its services to practical religion, they look upon it as a philosophical and historical mistake, as something which was neither Romanism nor Protestantism, as a revival out of time of what existed either on paper or in the past.

The two criticisms are akin to each other. To justify Dr. Pusey's logic or insight would, apparently, be to assert a lasting value to the principles of the movement; or, again, to do this last would supply the best *apologia* for the life of Dr. Pusey. At the least, the two suspicions emphasise the close connection between their objects. In its strength or in its weakness Dr. Pusey is the true representative of the movement.

And yet another name has of late years at least been even more

prominently associated with the Oxford Movement: another pen than Dr. Pusey's has blended the history of the movement with an autobiography: and within the last year reminiscences of one of its earliest disciples have centred round another figure. On such a point the popular judgment will not be altogether wrong. The position which it assigns to "Mr. Newman" is due to something more than the glamour of the "Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ," more than the marvel and magnetism of his personal influence, more than the sympathy with genius, and with its restless pursuit of intellectual and spiritual truth. The fact is that there need be no contest and no invidious comparisons. Mr. Newman must always have most to do with the fascinating interest of that episode in the history of Oxford, and of many Oxford men which justly bears the name of its source and scene: the thing which has worked so widely and so deeply in the whole Church of England, and whose prospects to-day for good or evil affect her whole future, is represented by Dr. Pusey as it can be by no other.

Might we say that to Cardinal Newman the movement was always, consciously or unconsciously, in the nature of an experiment after a position, while to Dr. Pusey it was rather a mere instrument, however precious, for the discharge of an undoubted responsibility and the teaching of an undoubted truth?

Such an antithesis would perhaps have even more than the ordinary crudeness of antitheses. But, dropping all comparisons, the latter half of it may be taken as expressing sufficiently well Dr. Pusey's relation (in the nature of the case an independent relation) to the Oxford Movement specially so called. He entered into it; he largely moulded it; he gave it, by no will of his own, his own name; he undertook the whole responsibility for it; and yet, in the sense of which I have been speaking, he could look at it all along as but an episode in the life of the Church of England, as but one expedient for doing her service. This description is justified by the passage now so famous in the "Apologia," where Dr. Pusey's first adhesion to the movement is described; it is confirmed by his evident outsideness towards it, regarded as a phase of anxious Oxford thought with a centre at Oriel; it explains his assertion, so paradoxical in relation to some aspects of the movement, that it was marked by being so "stationary;" it tallies with its own words that he "had, at an early period of his life, thrown himself into the Tractarian movement as a means of bringing to the vivid consciousness of members of the Church of England Catholic truths, taught of old within her, presupposed in her formularies, but unhappily overlaid or watered down in the meagre practical teaching of the eighteenth century."[1] Yet what has been thus described has

(1) *Univ. Sermons*, 1859-72, Pref. p. v.

been constantly misunderstood and is, perhaps, to some minds scarcely intelligible. They would think naturally that Puseyism was to Dr. Pusey what Positivism was to Comte. Thus it has been that, by a revival of the experimental theory, Dr. Pusey and his friends have been told at moments of tension that, if they did not find room in the Church of England for their views, they could leave it and set up for themselves. No advice could imply a more complete misunderstanding of the attitude of the person advised.

I may perhaps be forgiven if, in speaking of Dr. Pusey's position and influence, I touch for a moment upon matters which do not naturally find their fittest place in a review. I do not see how it is possible to do otherwise. Cardinal Newman, in one of those phrases to which a measured unemphatic simplicity gives the most powerful kind of emphasis, has spoken of Dr. Pusey's "deep religious seriousness." That is the right point of departure. This "deep religious seriousness" was the thing which, to those who knew him personally, will remain as the most vivid and enduring characteristic of himself. It was this rather than any eloquence, and more even than their weight of learning, which gave his sermons their peculiar power—the power which, if my memory serves me rightly, made Professor Conington say to me, in characteristic language, "I put Dr. Pusey in a class by himself above all the other preachers whom I hear at St. Mary's." It may be realised almost as clearly by any one who takes up, say, his last published volume, "Occasional and Cathedral Sermons." It was the seriousness of a man naturally intense and habitually occupied in looking at what was gravest and deepest in all that came before him. But in Dr. Pusey's case this "religious seriousness" was the condition of one who not only believed, but was penetrated in his whole being with the belief that God had made a communication to man; a belief in the fact of the communication, in the contents of the communication, in the effect of it upon the whole character, dignity, and bearing of human life. It was the belief in a communication unique in its kind, so unlike all other communications as to be comparatively as light to darkness, involving a revelation and an inspiration which allow the use of those names beyond their own limits only by the liberty of instinctive metaphor. Of the subject of that communication I say no more in this place than that it was of a kind to justify and require such exclusive language. But though unique in time and place, and invested with the fullest historical concreteness, it was not isolated; it came "trailing clouds of glory" from the past, not only in noble aspirations and faint anticipations, but in the record of a specific historic preparation; and in like manner it did not and could not, with any regard to its real character, happen and disappear; it left behind it, among its general and indirect effects, an effect as specific

as the preparation just referred to, as specific in some sense as itself. That effect, it need hardly be said, is the Church of Christ.

I have ventured to describe what might seem at once too obvious and too sacred to need description, because it is, I am convinced, impossible, without so pausing upon this belief, to realise at all how completely it was the centre of Dr. Pusey's mind, and so to obtain the true connection of his thought. To him this was the measure of all else; the value, the proportion, the grouping of all else depended upon this. It is possible that this was so in a way which could hardly be general without dwarfing and overwhelming the free and natural course of life. If so, we encounter a practical paradox of a kind which besets all efforts to get below conventional and shallow views of human life, for certainly, in reason, any less concentrated attention to Revelation must seem to a believer in it intrinsically inadequate. But, at least, to one who is to be in any sense a prophet of it such intensity is the first of gifts. Accordingly we can deduce from this the whole order of Dr. Pusey's thought. It explains his relations to parties and opinions. It explains the difference between his attitude to the Evangelicals, and to those with whom he might have seemed to have naturally in culture, in subjects of interest, and in academical associations much more affinity, the "Freethinkers," even the Broad Churchmen. With the first he felt that he was entirely at one on the great Fact, and therefore he felt for them that sympathy and affection which is so tenderly expressed in a well-known passage at the beginning of his *Eirenicon*. He parted from them when they seemed to him not only to narrow arbitrarily the limits of the Fact, but also to impair precisely those parts of it which connect it by a vital continuity and communication with the believers, and with the individual believer, of the present day. But with the others he felt that he had a greater difference; he thought that they effaced, more or less consciously, the distinction between the supernatural and the natural—that they accepted Christian truths rather as a human climax than as a divine boon—that they relied upon reason in contradistinction to faith or to that instinct of reason by which it acknowledges its own limits and knows when it must bow. Such sentences are a clumsy representation of a view which he would have applied most gently and charitably to individuals, and yet with considerable logical and moral severity, and considerable keenness of suspicion. But that which explains his comparative feelings towards others explains what was characteristic of his own teaching. There is perhaps nothing which is so much criticized and so much misunderstood as the appeal of Dr. Pusey to the Early Church. It is represented as a crotchet, at a time when men crave for what is simple, massive, and permanent in religion. It is represented as a reaction in a way

which awakens at once all the suspicions of political liberalism, of scientific belief in growth and progress, and generally of the modern spirit of independence. It was felt at first to be an appeal from a comfortable English *status quo* to something uncomfortably near Rome. It is said now to be "taking refuge in the warm air of the fourth century from the cold blasts of modern thought." Dr. Pusey's earlier task was to vindicate, as against the former charge, the thorough English character against such an appeal. This was not very difficult to do. There was, for example, a passage in the Canon concerning preachers, passed in the very Synod which imposed the Thirty-nine Articles, which was a kind of *locus classicus* with the Tractarians, and which ran, "Let them teach nothing in Sermons . . . . except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, or what Catholic Fathers and Ancient Bishops have gathered from the same doctrine." But in truth it was an historical truism that the Reformation had, in England at least, taken the form of an appeal to Antiquity against corruption, and that it was only by a degeneracy that the Church of England had come to be looked upon as a detached and insular thing which somehow or other, and very chiefly owing to its connection with the State, had a natural claim on every Englishman. It was not difficult to show that the name of High Churchman deserved a better meaning than it had inherited from the days of Queen Anne.

But though this was easy, it meant a great practical change. People still talked of the Church of England as if it had been created in the sixteenth century; they only slowly learnt that there was no disloyalty in appealing to something behind it. Even now we find writers in newspapers working themselves into indignation over people who have the temerity to regard themselves as primarily Catholic Churchmen, and English Churchmen only in the second place: the courts of law, perhaps inevitably from the nature of their work, have encouraged this; and it has been felt as no small item in the distresses of recent times that, in legally deciding points of difficulty about the law of the Church of England, it has been found possible to pay so little regard as presumptive evidence to larger and earlier Christian usage. To meet such suspicions, Dr. Pusey and others laboured in a double way. They showed, *ad hominem*, that what they preached and taught was sanctioned by the divines of the English Church. The work was necessary, and it was done with a laborious and almost oppressive thoroughness. But the necessity of doing it did some injustice to the Tractarians. An air of archaism and technicality was thrown over their work. They seemed to be maintaining things not because they were true, but because some one had said them. Volume upon volume of the Anglo-

Catholic Library issued from the press, containing, indeed, all that was most precious in the theological inheritance of the Church of England; but containing it in an unwieldy form, presenting it 'in bulk.' Pamphlet after pamphlet took that most indigestible form, the form of a catena, or summary of authorities. And further, the controversy was accurately, what controversies are often inaccurately called, a purely ecclesiastical one; that is, it revolved round this sort of question: assuming a common allegiance, let us ask what the Church of England says, in particular about the details of our teaching, and in general about our right to appeal to antiquity? It is an inevitable disadvantage which attends the task of maintaining a limited argument, that you may be supposed not to see beyond its limits; and to regard as final the principles to which you are seen constantly to refer, because they have been provisionally assumed. The very zeal with which Dr. Pusey conducted the ecclesiastical argument with his fellow-churchmen tended to diminish his weight with others who were less interested in that controversy, and who did not see what he was about. They did not see that he was securing the means to an end, which end was again a means to his real object; or, to say the same thing in the opposite order, they did not see that his object was to restore Christian faith and hope to the standard of the first Christian ages; and that he was only keeping the way open for this by maintaining, on grounds both of reason and precedent, the rights of an English divine to appeal to the first ages.

So much for the first attack on the appeal to Antiquity. In that issue, Dr. Pusey and his friends may be said to have carried the day. The appeal to Antiquity was not, they showed, in any sense Roman. It was in strict accordance with the principles of the English Reformation. So far as it was an appeal from a version to the original, from proximate to ultimate principles, it had the instincts of history and science on its side. But those names suggest the far more serious controversy which lay behind, and which for us has the more vital interest. The question of that controversy is no longer whether it is lawful for an English Churchman to appeal to Antiquity, but whether that appeal is worth making at all. And here again an appearance of technicality made it difficult to get to the heart of the matter and do justice. To appeal to Antiquity seemed to be an appeal to a vague, undefined conflicting authority: to involve many thorny controversies and abstruse researches. The "plain man" and the theorist were united by their suspicions. The plain man asked, where shall I find Antiquity? The Tractarian answered him with characteristic thoroughness and energy by putting into his hands, or placing upon his shelves, the forty or fifty volumes of the Library of the Fathers. If he essayed himself upon them, he might,

indeed, not improbably be obliged to surrender to their intense faith and spiritual strength; but he might as probably find himself mazed and bewildered among curiously literal and mystical explanations of Scripture, forgotten controversies, dialectical arguments *ad hominem*; language more rhetorical than precise about matters of doctrine; perplexing allusion to bits of Christian customs, names, and ceremonies, which were wholly unfamiliar to him. As he advanced, the vistas seemed to lengthen and multiply before him. To escape them he might ask to be guided to what was essential or central, and then, perhaps, he was directed to the Early and General Councils. But the details of their history gave him offence. He was looking for something religious and divine, and he found a medley of good and evil, of religion and worldliness. He asked how you distinguished a true General Council from a false one, why you were to accept earlier councils and not later, and so forth. He grew impatient of all this; it was cumbersome; it was antiquated; its proofs and its distinctions looked too much like special pleading. Nor did the thing commend itself more to the theorist, to logical and systematizing intellects. If they were of one kind, they objected to an authority so difficult to define, so hard to bear; while to many others it seemed ridiculous to be sent back, as they thought, from the present stage of a great religious evolution to find truth in what to them was but one of the past episodes in its progress. When the greatest intellect among the Tractarians themselves declared for "Development," and laid its route through Antiquity to the modern Church of Rome, it seemed, and it was and is loudly declared, that Dr. Pusey and the movement, whose broken forces he was left to rally, were condemned by the consent and coalition of "all the talents." Against these odds a rare combination of qualities enabled Dr. Pusey to stand firm. His simplicity, his utter unworldliness, the predominance in him of the historical and constructive faculties over the speculative and critical, made him insensible to the glamour of intellectual popularity. His line of battle was too deep to be shaken by the suddenness of any onset on its front. His vast knowledge marshalled under the beliefs which he maintained defied an intellectual *coup de main*, and compelled a regular siege. His was just the character and just the intellect, trained with just the training, to "hold" in a moment of confusion, in what one of the most distinguished living actors in those times has often referred to as "the smash." He "held," and subsequent events have shown that "the Movement" recognised in him the true embodiment of it, mind and conscience. Whether he and "the Movement" did not thereby forfeit, if not all respect on practical and moral grounds, yet all right to consideration from an intellectual point of view, is, as was said at first, the question of the present paper

Such defence of it as can be offered here shall be simple and not far-fetched. Dr. Pusey himself would certainly have defended it in some such simple way. Granting the Divine Fact historically revealed and communicated to man, of which Dr. Pusey's "deep religious seriousness" never for a moment lost sight; granting, too, as it is not unreasonable to grant, that a thing so unique might naturally leave behind it some unique means of perpetuating its power; (and granting, as he would have urged that all believers in the New Testament must grant, that such a means is there described under the name of the Christian Church), "is it not," he would have asked, "entirely simple and reasonable to go back to the times when the facts were still recent, the life still fresh with its first warmth; when the belief was tested by suffering, and realised in distinct outline by contrast with an unbelieving world; when the thing was still as little contaminated as possible by infusion from without?" Dr. Pusey, of course, believed in a Divine preservation of the Church, and a Divine life finding utterance in her; but even independently of this, and in a quite untechnical way, he was justified in "the strong appeal to the first ages of the Church, as representing the minds and teaching of the Apostles and so of Christ." It was, we may almost say, to him the verdict of common-sense, acting of course upon the data that God had given to the world in Christ something of permanent value. "If people could but bring themselves," he said, "to think what is the weight of the deliberate judgment of the Church century after century, from the first, they would not treat this argument so lightly as they sometimes allow themselves to do."[1] In this way he drew no fixed line at one point, above which was Antiquity, and after it something else. That peculiar authority, which on strictly historical grounds the earlier times must have, passed with insensible and continuous modification into something different. Thus, in a wonderful monument of unwitnessed labour, his *Councils of the Church*, a book in which he attempted to contribute the evidence of Antiquity as to the constitutional compositions of such councils, he explains in his preface that, though obliged by time and health to confine himself in the book to the councils of three centuries and a half, he has "studied, with a view to it, the history of the councils of one thousand years; . . . . the conviction itself rests on the history of one thousand years." With a similar candour and breadth, a similar historical common-sense, he dealt with the appeal to the writers of the early Church; he stripped it of technicality; he readily acknowledged the diversity and varying value among the fathers; he attributed to them no mysterious and oracular authority. "I laid no special stress," he says charac-

(1) *Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister*, Preface.

teristically in one of his controversies, "upon any father or fathers, but extracting what has been said by ninety-one authorities, I rested not on the authority or weight of any father, however distinguished, but on the consent of all." It was this historical *bona fides* which repelled some men. "You can make nothing of Dr. Pusey's book," it was once said to the present writer by a young man; "he gives you first one quotation and then another, and you seem to go backwards and forwards." His contention simply was that, if there was, and there surely was, amidst all the diversities of local and individual character, an agreement as broad as deep, that agreement was a sure testimony as to the true object of Christian faith. Nor would the deflection from that agreement of an individual here and there, or an expression here and there, touch in any serious degree the validity of its authority. It is obvious that such a foundation was historical and (if the word is allowable) vital rather than logical; but, in the sense which the context determines, this expression carries no criticism with it. It merely means that the Christian consciousness and the Christian society appeared before the world as facts—facts of Divine origin and authority, before theories and descriptions of them were framed. Theory became more needful when the facts became more questionable, when, amidst the claims of different societies and different versions of truth to bear the Christian name and represent the Christian witness, it became necessary to define the essentials of the Church and of the Christian faith. It would have been absurd to ignore the facts because difficulties arose about them; it would have been unhistorical to say that the Christian consciousness and the Christian society ceased to be because their limits were not indisputably certain. Nor is the construction of theory altogether a loss, since it is in part simply the self-assertion, in the department of the rational understanding, of a truth true for all departments of human nature and life. But in constructing a theory or theories, Dr. Pusey will be seen to have followed fact. It was just because he did so that his definitions or explanations seemed sometimes unsatisfactory, *ex post facto* justifications of what was because it was, wanting in logical coherence and in theoretical symmetry. Such things as these, that it is reasonable and valid to appeal to universal Christian belief, and at the same time to set aside a certain amount of local, temporary, or individual dissent; that in such matters there is something between the decision of the majority of a body and an impossible literal unanimity, and that this may be taken as the decision of the body; that truth may speak with authority to the individual, and yet leave it to the individual to recognise, at his own peril, its full nature and true limits; that a Church which is corrupt will be less trustworthy than one which is pure, and one which is divided than one which is

undivided;—these things, and many like these, are as real, we may almost say as patent, as they are hard to embody in a logical statement. If they are questioned, they must be explained as best may be; such explanations, each of them incomplete, will not fit together with perfect adjustment; but when the best explanation possible has been obtained, it will be necessary to defend it with the loyalty due to the truths which it represents; and in the controversy it may seem to receive more honour than it deserves, as though it were an absolute and eternal truth instead of being, as it is, a necessary but imperfect expression of the facts. It is the mixture of necessary theory and definition with honourable candour, sturdy concreteness, and truth of fact which we should claim for Dr. Pusey's views about the relation of modern Christians and the Church of England to "Antiquity." Of the two alternatives, that the Church must be always outwardly one, and therefore that a particular Church was the one true Church and the rest impostors, or that the Church among and in consequence of other corruptions and miseries had suffered that of division, he unhesitatingly chose the latter, as true to the facts alike of history and of spiritual experience. The structure and faith of the Church he held to be ascertainable beyond all practical question, and therefore where a part of either was absent in a body claiming to be a part of the Christian Church, he denied the claim; there was no option, he felt, on grounds either of loyalty or of reason; of loyalty, because he had no right to pronounce this or that Christian institution indifferent; of reason, because otherwise the reality of a visible Church on earth with a continuous existence in fact from the earliest times would have been either disguised or stretched to include the most various and alien forms of Christian religionism.

There is no need to idealise Dr. Pusey. It would have been superhuman if, in controversies so difficult and keen, he had never overemphasized, or lost the exact relative proportion of primary and secondary truth. Pressed by opponents whose strength lay in their logic and system, and trying to break the force of the attacks made by their irony and dialectic upon a position which shared something of the incoherence of the facts upon which it rested, he could hardly help becoming at times over-dogmatic and precise. The less definite in conflict with the more definite is always at so great a disadvantage in the popular judgment that a revival, which was to popularise such conceptions as those of the authority and Catholicity of the Church of England, could hardly avoid giving those conceptions something of the clear-cut character of that to which they stood opposed. The appeal to Antiquity was so easily taunted with vagueness, that it was hardly possible not to press things a little in the direction of making Antiquity give a sharp and ready answer to every question. Perhaps

he never explicitly recognised that, in proportion as truth and error, right and wrong grow tangled, there arise questions, both of theory and practice, to which there is no absolute solution; so that the solution which has to be given, and must be given, has only a provisional validity (a consideration which may have a bearing on the treatment of several post-Reformation problems). Perhaps in emphasizing the substantial identity between the Ancient Church and the Church of England he was not always sufficiently alive to the difference between the same opinion at different times. Perhaps, upon another side, he would have been too severe upon work not done in direct dependence on adequate first principles of faith, upon pieces of constructive or reconstructive work which, however imperfect, have their value in a disorganized and bewildered time; just as he was often too severe and too forgetful of the complexity of human life in his judgments on individuals, on phases of thought and character which they passed through with a mixture of loss and gain, of necessity and fault, but which to his simplicity and steadfastness were simply so much dead loss, because so much deflection from a Christian or Catholic position.

We are concerned, however, not with incidental defects, but with the main view; and with that objection to it, as illogical, to which I began by referring. If I have at all rightly delineated the nature of Dr. Pusey's position, it will certainly appear that there is about it a certain want of logic, as that word is often used. But (1) it will, I think, have appeared that this want of logic was not due to an intellectual defect in the individual mind of Dr. Pusey, and not due even to a peculiarity in the Tractarians, but that it belonged to him and them in common with anyone who sincerely defends the position of the Church of England. If that position is more than an happy accident, or the best-balanced form of Christian religionism, or the most constitutional member of the Evangelical alliance; if the Church has any justification for the line which is taken in its Prayer Book and for the attitude which in practice, through its bishops and otherwise, it habitually holds, this must be so upon grounds which, however real and massive they be, cannot be stated without the very same "logical" defect as that imputed to Dr. Pusey. What was peculiar to him was only the firm and undaunted hold of a position which, from the nature of the case, it is hard for most men to hold without some appearance of indistinctness and vacillation.

(2) It is of deeper and wider interest to observe the real nature of this defect. It has been called a defect in logic. But is this certainly a real defect? In a subject where the point of departure, the thing originally given, is a fact, or facts—and this is the case with the Christian Church—a logical treatment may not improbably

mean a treatment which fastens upon one of the principles or ideas which are to be seen in the fact, and narrows the fact to a selected aspect of it. It is in this way that the principle of authority, or that of unity, or that of spirituality in the Church may be pressed from one side or another till it dominates all the rest. In the case of spiritual as of physical life, vital phenomena are superior to the theories about them; and it may be added, in the one case as in the other, theories drawn from the healthy subject become increasingly inadequate (and where practical consequences are at stake, even destructive) when they are applied to the degenerate or complicated forms. The principles just asserted must be recognised as indispensable to a true historical logic; and the recognition of them changes the whole situation. The man who seemed the clumsy theorist and vacillating logician proves to be the true student and analyst of fact.

I have dwelt on this because it seems to me all important as to the future of Dr. Pusey's work, and its relations both to science and practice. The real prospect of that work laying permanent hold on the English heart and conscience is in its being seen that its central point and gist was to claim their allegiance for a great fact, sacred in its origin, continuous in its existence, and alive with all its divine vitality among us Englishmen in the English Church of the present day. So far as this is an appeal to fact rather than theory, it is surely specifically English in character; and historical difficulties, minor inconsistencies, æsthetic imperfections, will be more likely to recommend than to discredit it. So far as it is an appeal to spiritual fact external to himself or including himself, it will be at first unwelcome to the Englishman's independence, fostered and exaggerated as that has been by the historical associations of his spiritual struggle against Rome. But the issue will be fairly proposed to him. He will not fancy that he is asked to accept an elaborate theory, justified alternately by special pleading and archæological dissertation, which is too often his conception of High Churchmanship. And the history of the Church of England since the Oxford Movement passed outside Oxford lends great cogency to the appeal. Without claiming for the Oxford Movement the exclusive credit of the Church revival, it is substantially true to say that the work of the last thirty or forty years is a substantial contribution towards the proof of the hypothesis.

The weightiest proof has doubtless been that which has been inward. For the question whether a particular religious position is artificial or natural is one on which experience is decisive. Forty years ago that question seemed open as regards the position of one holding, as a member of the Church of England, Dr. Pusey's beliefs about the Church Catholic. The experience of forty years has closed it. The experiment was tried under great disadvantages. Rome and secular opinion derided it from opposite sides. If the thing had been an inge-

nious hypothesis its artificiality would have become constantly more apparent. The contrary result has been made up from the contribution of thousands of consciences in all ranks, who have found the position tenable, satisfactory, natural.

But more outward proofs are not wanting. The development, orderly organic and vigorous, of the Colonial and Missionary Churches has been the result of an inward consciousness of vitality and legitimacy, and the evidence at once of the existence of the old organism and of its "adaptation to new environments." At home the deepening, extending, and ramifying of religious life and work in the Church have all been traceable with more or less directness to the consciousness of a sacred and corporate life. All this has impressed Englishmen, and they join far more readily and unsuspiciously than they did in the activities of Church-life and work. The danger may be that their practical temperament may dispose them to sever the practical results from the principle of life behind them. They may try, for example, to work the Church as a society and to get the advantage of all the *esprit de corps*, the heart-warming power, the practical efficiency, the ready organization, which seems so to be gained, but they may overlook the fact that the Church, though a society, is a society of one kind, and in that kind unique; that it has its own account of what is the inward spring, and the indispensable condition, of the corporate life whose outer workings are so much admired. The practical voices of history and science must each in their turn be invoked, the one to protest against the hazard of remaking ideally what has been actually made in our way; the other against all severance of effects from causes.

It is often asked, how will the work of Dr. Pusey be continued, and how will the continuation prosper? The question is sometimes supposed to be identical with that of the merits and prospects of Ritualism. Ritualism, we may perhaps answer, whether in its literally ritualistic aspect, or in its contentions with the State courts, is right, and is the lawful heir of Dr. Pusey's position, so far as it maintains in a vivid and uncompromising way,—perhaps with something of sensation in a sensational age, and with some loudness and peremptoriness of tone in an age which does not easily amidst its noise hear measured and gentle voices,—yet maintains and carries to the poorest people and the darkest places the reality of the Church's divine life and divine commission, the contact gained through the Church with the central Fact of revelation, and so the grace of her Sacraments and the rest. This explains, what so often puzzled people, why Dr. Pusey unfailingly identified himself with Ritualism in its troubles, when he was known to disapprove in detail much of the conduct and language of Ritualists, and although his "deep religious seriousness" would have revolted in utter disgust from a system such as Ritualism was (with some excuse given here and there) supposed to be, a system of petty externalism and superstitious observ-

ances. Ritualism, on the other hand, is wrong whenever it identifies truths so large and deep and comprehensive as those which have been named with a particular method of observance, or a particular temperament in religion, such as could not ever be general, perhaps least of all among English people. Ritualism is wrong, finally, when it would reject from sympathy and co-operation those who can work under the guidance of principles better than they can ever express them or fight for them, or, still more, those who hold principles in substance but shrink, for historical or other reasons, from current forms of expressing them. Ritualism, in a word, is wrong when it denies that there are other evils besides Naturalism, and that such a thing as Ultramontane Romanism may well excuse much over-emphasis of the principle "*principiis obsta.*"

But the question about Ritualism is only part of the question as to the results of Dr. Pusey's work. Any adequate answer to this, such as the future alone can give, must touch the aggregate power in the Church of England to build upon the foundation, and apply the resources, of the revealed truths which Dr. Pusey defended. Everything tends to show that, if there is a true religion at all, it will be found in a religion of fact, starting from the fact of a Character and Life in which God is revealed, and avouching and continuing that revelation not by evidences (these by themselves Dr. Pusey depreciated), but by the continuous witness and enduring fact of a society made to be the leaven and germ of a renewed humanity by treasuring, embodying, and reproducing that character and life, and taught by the use of Sacrament and Scripture to remember that all which it is and has comes to it by organic and continuous relation with the self-manifested God. Such a faith has nothing narrowing or cramping, and it is singularly comprehensive. Some of us who were bred under "Puseyite" influences were confirmed in them as we grew up by nothing so much as this, that when we heard what was good on this side or on that, it came quite naturally to us to say, "This fits in under what I have been taught." But to mediate between the faith and modern thought, to learn by the help of the faith the true lessons of modern thought, to draw out its bearing upon modern problems, this is a large and wide task, which is the continuation of Dr. Pusey's work, but which it was not his to do. It must be partly done in pieces by people whom he could not have accepted as fellow-labourers, and gradually fitted together by the constructive instincts of Christian faith He gave us the use of the foundation, he set at rest the doubt whether we had it to build upon. The question of the future is whether the Church of England has the courage and faith to build upon it. Alike to men of thought and men of action the problem and task are sufficiently ennobling.

EDWARD S. TALBOT.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN INDIA AND EGYPT.

I.

Of all branches of the thorny Egyptian question, none is likely to give more trouble to the Government, none is more fraught with possible dangers both to Egypt and its Moslem neighbours, far and near, than that which relates to slavery and the slave trade. Statesmen of all parties know the danger of imprudent dealing with such questions in Oriental countries, and would fain defer action to some "more convenient time." But the wisest and most cautious must feel that, whilst rash and inconsiderate dealing with slavery in Egypt is dangerous, there is yet more peril in delaying till English agitation is aroused, and till questions, the most intricate which can perplex a politician, have to be dealt with and decided in the heat of party strife.

It can hardly be denied that there is ample cause for anxiety, whatever may be the point of view from which the question is considered. When slavery disappeared in Europe, the process was very gradual, as the spirit of the Gospel slowly leavened legislation and administration throughout Christendom. There was no one act of imperial legislation proclaiming freedom to the slave; no one point of time whence the slave population could date its freedom, and no serious disturbance, either social or economical, was traceable to the emancipation. But it was far otherwise when an end was put to the slavery of the negro races in our colonies, after years of earnest and persevering exertion, and an expenditure of twenty millions sterling. Nearly half a century has since elapsed, but it can hardly yet be said that the colonies have quite recovered from the convulsion of the labour market which attended the Act of Abolition. In some colonies, as in South Africa, the bitterness attendant on the forcible emancipation of the slaves still divides the European population into hostile camps, and seriously retards every measure for civilising and elevating the free native races. In America the emancipation of the slaves was not effected till after a civil war, unparalleled in modern times for its vast proportions, and for the profuse expenditure of blood and treasure which it entailed. Still, in all these cases, the work has been done, the slave has been freed, and slavery has ceased to be a legalised institution.

But nothing of the kind has yet been done in Egypt or in any part of the vast Turkish Empire. Under pressure from England, promises have been made and decrees have been published, but there has been

little practical result, beyond causing much exasperation to slaveholders and disinclining the population—of which the slaveholder is an influential member—to believe that anything but evil can ever come from listening to Frank advice, in matters of domestic administration.

Such being the case, it may not be amiss to call attention to the process by which the slave trade and slavery itself have been effectually extinguished in India, without cost to the State, and without appreciable injury to the slaveowner; without any perceptible derangement in the economical relations of labour with its employer, and without any friction hazardous to the public peace.

II.

From the earliest years of the anti-slavery agitation in England the subject of slavery in India had engaged the anxious attention of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, who then ruled our dominions in the East. Some of the Directors were personal friends of Wilberforce and Clarkson, of Buxton and Gurney; and men like Mr. Charles Grant, the father of Lord Glenelg and of Sir Robert Grant, who had great influence in the Court, felt a sincere sympathy with the champions of the anti-slavery cause. But East Indian slavery is rarely mentioned in the earlier public discussions on the subject in Parliament. Little was then known in Europe of the details of native social or domestic life in India. It was difficult for even experienced Indian officials to say where the restrictions of Hindu caste ended and the restraints of slavery commenced, among the lower and servile classes. The tyranny of caste and the horrors of Suttee were more calculated to excite popular interest than the wrongs of a slave, who, to the casual observer, had an easier time of it than the over-taxed free cultivator. Above all, the Court of Directors was, of all governing bodies of that time, the most cautious, and the least exposed to be acted on by popular impulses. Hence it came to pass that though the subject often came forward in the Directors' despatches to India, the notice taken of it was generally limited to a few well-balanced periods. To the Indian official, despatches of this sort conveyed the impression that whilst the Court of Directors was not unfavourable to the abolition of slavery, any indiscreet action in that direction would not be easily pardoned. The result was a considerable diversity of practice in dealing with slave questions in different provinces, and even by different officials in the same district; whilst there was everywhere, among the slaveholding native classes, an undefined impression that the English Government was unfavourable to slavery, and that it was unwise to bring slave questions for trial into English courts.

The Charter Act[1] of 1832 removed the last traces of commercial character in the Company, and confirmed it as the sovereign ruler of India. Among other directions for the guidance of the Indian Government, it was enacted that the Governor-General in Council should "take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of extinguishing slavery," "as soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe;" and should prepare "drafts of laws and regulations for the purposes aforesaid," having "due regard" "to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authority of fathers and heads of families.".

A despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 10th of December, 1834, and giving instructions as to the manner in which the intentions of the Legislature, as expressed in the Charter Act, should be carried into effect, pointed out the delicacy of the subject, and the urgent need of discretion in dealing with it—remarking that there were certain kinds of restraint sanctioned by Hindu and Moslem law for the government of families which were not to be dealt with as slavery; that remedial measures should begin with cases of the greatest hardship; and after referring to predial slavery on the Malabar Coast and in Assam, and to domestic slavery, which was described as "generally mild, so that forcible emancipation might often prove an injury to the emancipated;" the Court expressed an opinion that "the law should be made as severe against injuries done to a slave as if they were done to any other person.".

These and other instructions were from time to time communicated to the Indian Law Commission, which was, like the inquiry into slavery, a direct result of the Charter Act of 1833. On the 15th of June, 1835, the Law Commission had been constituted, with Mr. Macaulay as its President, and with members and secretaries selected from the ablest judicial officers in the Civil Service of each Presidency, and from Ceylon. They were instructed to give their attention first to the preparation of "a complete criminal code for all parts of the British Indian Empire, and for every class of people of whatever religion or nation resident within its limits." Whilst employed in executing this great task the Law Commissioners received a vast mass of correspondence relating to the laws and customs applicable to slavery and the slave trade; but it was not till 1838 that it became clear that a separate report on slavery would be required of them; and they suggested to the Government that some of their members should be detached for the purpose of local inquiry, which they considered necessary to enable them to pronounce with confidence on the time at which, and the means by which, the abolition of slavery could be effected, "with due regard to those

(1) 3 & 4 Will. IV. chap. lxxxv. sec. 88.

interests which, however iniquitous as regards the slave, appear nevertheless to have the sanction of legal right." In reply, the Law Commissioners were briefly informed (26th November, 1838) that "it was not the intention of the President in Council to direct them to institute such an inquiry into the state of slavery in India in the manner they had suggested."

The Law Commissioners may reasonably have thought that their inquiry could hardly be complete without some opportunity of verifying, by local investigation, the facts they had gathered from official reports, and of ascertaining the views taken, by the slave population, of their own condition. The Government of India, on the other hand, may have thought that official reports, so full and numerous as those the Commissioners had already collected, constituted a mass of evidence which, however incomplete, it would be well to have summarised and weighed before looking for further evidence. There were other reasons for not agreeing to the Commissioners' proposal. It was well known that slaves existed and had existed from the earliest ages in India by millions, and an administration less habitually cautious than that of the Government of India might well have shrunk from opening an inquiry, through commissioners charged to travel throughout India, and to investigate on the spot the grievances of the slave and the pecuniary value which his master might put on his services. Above all, such an inquiry would put off indefinitely the hope of any early report on the subject. The Court of Directors had already forecast the only possible practical way of dealing with a question so vast and involving such important interests; and the President in Council doubtless thought that an early report, on incomplete evidence, would be more acceptable and more practically useful, than one based on more complete evidence, which it must take several years to collect.

In 1837 the first draft of the famous Criminal Code, with which Macaulay's name will ever be associated, had been published. In drafting this Code it became apparent that the general existence of slavery rendered it of primary importance to decide how far the status of slavery in any of the parties should affect the criminality of any act. After much consideration the Law Commissioners recommended in Note B, appended to the Draft Penal Code, "that no act falling under the definition of an offence should be exempted from punishment, because it is committed by a master against a slave." In this recommendation, agreeing as it did with the opinion they had expressed in their despatch of 1834, the Court of Directors, in a despatch dated 26th of September, 1838, stated their entire concurrence, and desired that an enactment to that effect should be passed without loss of time; and the Law Commissioners were required to state their opinion, whether such a law was required to accomplish

the intention of the Court, and, if it was required, they were to prepare a draft of such a law.

The Law Commissioners considered that such a declaratory enactment was necessary to accomplish the intention of the Home Government. They gave no collective opinion as to the policy of such a law, but were subsequently called on to state their opinion whether such a law was expedient? what compensation—if compensation were needed—would be equitable? and whether any provisions for enforcing the obedience of slaves should be enacted, if the arbitrary power of moderate correction were taken away from the master? In reply to this and several other references, opening out large fields of inquiry and report, the Law Commissioners asked leave to include their answers in a general report, in the preparation of which they were then (June, 1839) engaged, and on the 15th January, 1841, the full report on slavery in the East Indies was submitted to the Government of India, and laid before the House of Commons on the 26th April in the same year. It is a bulky volume, and is remarkable even among Indian reports for the vast mass of information condensed into its six hundred pages of closely-printed Blue Book folio.

Carefully epitomized under several heads, are given the statistical returns; the reports and opinions of all the chief political officers, judges, and magistrates in India; a great mass of non-official evidence obtained by questions addressed to selected witnesses, frequently owners of slaves; abstracts of official correspondence and digests of judicial cases, in which the rights and obligations of masters and slaves had been judicially considered; notes of everything to be found bearing on the subject, in print or in manuscript, in the works of travellers or historians; a complete and learned digest of Hindu and Mahomedan law regarding slaves and slavery—forming altogether "a very full digest," which the Commissioners hoped, with reasonable pride, would "be found to present as complete a view of the whole subject as can be obtained without local inquiry." Under the head of each of the three Presidencies they describe the course of past legislation, with the distinctive features of the slavery of each province of the vast empire; the evils which admit of removal by legislation, and the legislative measures calculated to remove them.

III.

Owing to the absence of complete and accurate statistics, it is difficult to estimate with any approach to exactness the total slave population of India fifty years ago. But there can be no doubt that the number of slaves—of human beings liable to be bought and sold by their owners like cattle, and forced to labour without any control

over the fruits of their labour—was far greater in India than was at that time to be found in all the colonies and dominions of Great Britain and the United States put together.

This may seem an extreme statement, but it is fully borne out by such statistics as are given by the Indian Law Commissioners. In the Bengal Presidency no census of the total slave population, having any claims to accuracy, was forthcoming, for more than five out of the forty-eight districts and provinces enumerated, and even in those five provinces the census was an old one. Elsewhere, the materials for estimate were very vague. Sometimes the proportion of slaves to free men was stated definitely, *e.g.*, "six to ten," or "one-sixth," "one-third," or "two-fifths," "five per cent.," "one-sixteenth," "one-eighth," "a fourth of the population," "one half of the population are slaves, or have the taint of slavery," &c., &c. In other cases the information was yet more vague. "Slaves are very numerous;" "slavery prevails to a great extent;" "all families of respectability have slaves;" "some Zemindars have 200," or "several hundred slaves;" "all landholders have from one to twenty slaves each;" "there is no respectable family which has not at least one family of slaves attached to it;" "on many estates most of the cultivators are slaves;" "200 or 250 landholders have as many as 2,000 slaves each;" and in most districts of Bengal a large proportion of the agricultural population is stated to have been in a condition of slavery. In Calcutta itself "most Mahomedan, Portuguese, Armenian, Parsee, and Jew inhabitants possessed slaves;" and in former days Sir William Jones, as Chief Justice, in his charge to the grand jury, referred to his own slaves, and to the humane reasons for which he had purchased them.

In the North-West Provinces, including the large cities of Delhi, Agra, Bareilly, Benares, and Allahabad; in Bundelcund, and in the Saugur and Narbudda Territories, slavery was said to be chiefly confined to the towns, and to be generally domestic, and only in exceptional cases agricultural. Few estimates are given of actual numbers, or of proportion to the free population in the North-West Provinces. In the hill districts of Kumaon, Gurhwal, and in the whole border of the Himalayas, from Cashmere to Assam inclusive, in Arracan and in the Tenasserim Provinces, in all the territory bordering the Malay peninsula, Prince of Wales' Island, Malacca and Singapore, slavery was everywhere common, and in some provinces included almost the whole of the labouring agricultural population, but no estimates of the total slave population are given.

In the Madras Presidency it is stated that "throughout the Tamil country, as well as in Malabar and Canara, far the greater part of the labouring classes of the people have from time immemorial been" (and continue) "in a state of acknowledged bondage." "In only three districts is this system of bondage unknown." "In

Malabar and Canara . . . the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold and mortgaged by him independently of his lands." "In the Tamil country . . . the labourer is understood to be the slave rather of the soil than of its owner, and is seldom sold or mortgaged, except along with the land to which he is attached." In Telingana agricultural slavery had nearly disappeared, but in every district some sort of serfage or bondage and domestic slavery were still existing when the Commission reported.

In the Bombay Presidency, which did not then include Sind, agricultural slavery was hardly known, except in a few of the less civilised parts of Southern Guzerat, and in those districts of the Southern Maharatta country bordering on Canara and the Malabar provinces. Domestic slavery was generally confined to the towns and to the houses of people of importance. Where it existed its effects had been much mitigated by the omission from the Bombay Regulations of all provision for enforcing a master's rights over a slave, and still more by the general spirit of the English courts of justice adverse to slavery. Mr. Mountstewart Elphinstone, in 1825, had drawn attention to the proceedings of Sir Charles Metcalfe for stopping the sale of slaves in Delhi, and the Bombay Code of Regulations of 1827 embodied most of Mr. Elphinstone's views on the subject. In 1839 the Bombay Court of Appeal (the Sudr Adawlut) had reported that "no special law for the protection of the slaves under the Bombay Presidency was necessary, because no offence which would be punishable if done against a freeman is exempted from punishment if done against a slave," and that "the power of a master to correct a slave had never been admitted by the Bombay Code, and the general practice of the magistrates is against it; at the same time that masters are protected against the misconduct of their slaves by the regulations for the punishment of servants."

Comparing such information, district by district, with the very imperfect estimates of the total population fifty years ago, the lowest estimate I have been able to form of the total slave population of British India, in 1841, is between eight and nine millions of souls. The slaves set free in the British colonies on the 1st of August, 1834, were estimated at between 800,000 and 1,000,000, and the slaves in North and South America, in 1860, were estimated at 4,000,000. So that the number of human beings whose liberties and fortunes, as slaves and owners of slaves, were at stake when the emancipation of the slaves was contemplated in British India, far exceeded the number of the same classes in all the slaveholding colonies and dominions of Great Britain and America put together. We must also remember that at the time the Law Commissioners reported, British India did not include the Punjab or Sind, Oude, Nagpore or Burmah, and many other large provinces, such as Sattara

and Tanjore, which have been since annexed to the Empire; in all of which slavery was at that time more or less prevalent, and everywhere legal; and in all of which it has, since their annexation to the British Empire, become illegal and practically non-existent.

IV.

Most of the evidence taken by the Law Commissioners represents the Indian slave-owner, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, as by no means a hard taskmaster. It is true that there is no evidence directly taken from the slaves themselves. A few slave-owners in Bengal and in Southern India were examined, but, as a rule, the evidence taken was that of magistrates and other officials, who generally testified that the domestic slave in India was usually treated at least as well as the hired servant. Self-sale—when a man sold himself into slavery, to secure a provision for old age, to obtain a wife, or to pay a debt—was an ordinary origin of the servile status, and the frequency of such sales is incompatible with any general impression of liability to much harsh treatment. The system of caste which more or less pervaded every household, Moslem as well as Hindu, and every industry in India, and which degraded the slave, along with all other inferior castes, had occasionally its redeeming side, and helped to protect the slaves and their families from the evil passions of their masters, and from much personal ill-treatment to which they might have been subjected in other lands.

But however well treated, the slave, in the eye of the native law, was still only a chattel of his owner; and under native rule the owner was not more liable to be punished for maltreating his slave than for ill-using his ox or his ass. When the Commissioners wrote they summed up the result of their inquiries by saying: "Slaves are both heritable and transferable property; they may be mortgaged and let to hire; and they can obtain emancipation only by their owner's consent, except in some special cases." It was generally held that "the earnings of the slave belong of right to his master." This rule was much mitigated in practice, and indulgent masters frequently allowed their slaves to possess property of their own, but the slave had no legal right to such property. Every kind of service, both domestic and outdoor, was required of slaves, but the proportion which those employed in agriculture bore to those employed in household work varied much in different districts. With very rare exceptions, the female slaves were without legal protection, and were liable to be made the concubines of their masters, though in most Hindu castes a stigma attached to such connections, and often prevented their open avowal.

In one district of Southern Behar, slaves were, in former days,

habitually employed by their masters to commit crimes, such as theft and murder. Of a district in Ramghur it is said: "When petty disputes occur, these slaves are compelled by their masters to perpetrate any enormity, and are more especially employed for the purpose of assassination." Immediate death is described as the penalty of refusal or failure on the part of the slave in such cases to do his owner's bidding, and it was practically impossible to bring the crime home to the owner who instigated the offence. The slaves did not attach the slightest idea of guilt to the murders thus committed, but always confessed, and appeared to expect applause for having done their duty. Similar evidence is given regarding parts of Assam, where slaves were kept by masters who habitually employed them in plundering and gang robbery.

Throughout Malabar, where the whole labouring agricultural population was servile, nothing could be more degraded than the condition of the slaves. Fixed rules were laid down and rigorously observed, prescribing the number of paces which a slave must remain distant from a freeman of pure caste, or from his house, to avoid defiling the master or free fellow-labourers. The distance varied, according to caste, from seventy-two paces, which must intervene between the slave and a Brahman, to twenty-four paces, which was the nearest approach to any freeman permitted to a slave. To carry out this custom, the slaves, wherever they went, where they were likely to meet freemen of pure caste, were required to give notice of their approach by uttering a peculiar cry at every four or five paces. If the cry were answered by another uttered in like manner by a passenger of superior caste—though he were only a child who could just speak—the slave was required to quit the road and retire to a distance. The lower castes of slaves were generally interdicted the highway, lest they should pollute the houses of the free labourers in passing them.

The punishments for misconduct which masters considered they had the right of inflicting, were usually said to be such "as a father would inflict on his child, or a master on his apprentice," including corporal punishment of various kinds. The punishments, though depending on the temper and disposition of the master, were said to be not generally excessive. But the Commissioners notice that they had no evidence on the part of the slaves on this subject, and cases of exceptional severity are noticed in most provinces. As, however, the turning a slave away, and so depriving him of his master's protection, is mentioned occasionally as a punishment for incurable vice and obstinacy, the general treatment could not in such cases have been very severe. But in provinces where slaves were numerous, it generally appears that, up to the accession of British rule, the master was considered to possess the power of putting a

slave to death, or of mutilating him, without being liable to punishment; and in Malabar recent cases were quoted in which slaves had been killed or cruelly mutilated by their owners for desertion, and even for petty thefts of food.

As a rule, the food, clothing, and lodging provided for slaves by their masters were said to be "not worse than those of the free labourer," and in some cases the slaves were stated to be better treated in these respects, and to work harder than the freemen. The slave was generally considered as entitled to maintenance by his master in age and infirmity, and, with notable exceptions, the allowance in such cases, though scanty, was said to be rarely withheld. On the whole, the Commissioners consider that the system of Indian slavery was usually of a very mild character, the slave having frequently a better lot than the hired servant. In the absence of special legislation, the general feeling of English judicial functionaries in favour of freedom had greatly ameliorated the condition of the slave, since the introduction of British rule.

Manumission was so rare that the slaves generally regarded it as unattainable, but it sometimes was granted as a reward for special good conduct, or to save attached slaves from ill-treatment by heirs after the owner's death, or from the owner's poverty. It was generally considered disreputable to sell a domestic slave, except as a punishment for misconduct; but this feeling was far from universal, and in many districts even domestic slaves were sold for the same reasons and with the same forms as other property. The prices of slaves were, of course, subject to great variations—from the price of a child, bought for a single meal in time of famine, up to £20, the sum paid for a handsome domestic slave girl in Bengal. The female slaves generally fetched higher prices than the males, as their offspring would belong to the purchaser; and much higher prices are quoted for African female slaves and eunuchs, purchased for the households of Mahomedan nobles in Oude and elsewhere. Among the forms of sale mentioned was a lease for ninety-nine years of a man, his wife, children, and grandchildren, for £1. 18s. Mortgages and hiring out of slaves were known in several districts. Agricultural slaves were generally sold with the land, but in Bengal were not strictly *adscripti glebæ*.

In Malabar, where the slaves were unusually numerous and degraded, there was a difference between the rights and liabilities of the slave children, according as the mother belonged to a caste in which sons inherited the rights of their mother's brother, or to one in which sons inherited the rights of their fathers. The same rites were generally observed at the marriage of slaves, both Hindu and Mahomedan, as of free persons of the same castes or classes. For caste was only partially affected by the status of slavery. The

master was liable for the expenses of marriages and funerals, though slaves or their friends sometimes volunteered to pay. The children belonged generally, but not invariably, to the owner of the mother, but many variations, both of special arrangement and of local custom, are noticed. In some districts in Bengal several female slaves were married to one man. He was not always a slave, but sometimes a freeman, who had no settled home, but lived on what he received from his slave wives. In Malabar and in other parts, where the slaves were most numerous and degraded, the marriage contract was little more than an agreement to live together as long as both parties pleased, and was dissoluble at the pleasure of either party.

The Commissioners say that "the sale of free female children by their parents, and of slave girls by their owners, for purposes of prostitution, though considered immoral and disreputable, is very prevalent; and we fear the kidnapping of free children with the same object is but too common." One Calcutta magistrate testified to having, during his thirty years' tenure of office, released and restored to their friends between six hundred and seven hundred children who had been so stolen, and sold for the vilest purposes, in Calcutta alone; and from his evidence it is clear that the law had reached only a small proportion of such offences in that one city, the seat, too, of the British Government of India. It is impossible to epitomize the shameful details of such traffic, or to convey any adequate idea of the moral degradation consequent on the fact that in every province, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, were to be found temples where an establishment recruited wholly or in part from stolen children was an integral part of the temple corporation, supported from the revenues of the temple—those revenues consisting, not only of the offerings of devotees, but generally of lands granted for the support of the temple by former governments. These Hindu shrines were often the most popular and frequented in the province, and were sometimes among the most sacred in India; such, for instance, as the famous temple of Juggernath, at Pooree, and the less widely famed temple of Ruggonath, in Cuttack, in both of which, among the salaried officials, were the Mahareant or Deodasees ("servants of the god"), who, to the number of fifty or sixty families in Juggernath's shrine, were at the service of Hindu devotees, and formed a regular self-governing corporation, all with strict rules of admission and government.

Besides absolute slavery, there were reported from every district forms of conditional slavery or bondage, determinable under specified circumstances, and varying much in degree. In many districts in Bengal a very large proportion of the labouring agricultural population seems to have been under one or other of these forms of conditional bondage.

V.

As regards the origin of slavery, which seems to have prevailed from the earliest ages in India, the Commissioners trace it to a variety of sources. They enumerate—

1. *Sale or gift of children by parents* or natural guardians—most frequently in time of famine. This the Commissioners regard as the most general and constant of all the modes by which freeborn persons pass into the state of slavery in modern times.

2. *Sale by mothers* or maternal relations—a local custom in some districts of Behar.

3. *Sale of wives* by husbands—occasionally met with, generally as a penalty for infidelity.

4. *Sale of widows.*—In some districts, as in Kumaon, widows were sold by the heirs or relations of the deceased husband, when unable or unwilling to support them.

5. *Penal slaves* were also found in the same district, and occasionally elsewhere. They were convicts, condemned to labour on a rajah's land, and their descendants.

6. *Conquest of aboriginal tribes*—probably the most ancient and prevalent source of slavery. To this cause the researches of the Law Commission trace the widespread existence of agricultural slavery in the southern provinces of the Madras Presidency and elsewhere.

7. *Self-sale* of adults in time of famine. Deeds were in such cases frequently passed, sometimes specifying the repayment of the sum paid, as the condition of terminating servitude.

8. *Marriage or cohabitation* with a slave—to whose owner, in many districts, the person marrying or cohabiting would become a slave.

9. *Kidnapping*—generally of female children, to be sold to prostitution. This, though everywhere an offence against the criminal law, was stated to be of frequent occurrence in most provinces. In Upper India an association of Thugs had been recently discovered who murdered indigent parents for the sake of obtaining their children for sale. Most revolting details are given by some of the "Megpunna Thug" approvers, of wholesale murders of the parents, whose children were subsequently sold for a few rupees each.

10. *Importation.*—By sea there had been formerly a regular importation into Calcutta of African slaves by Arab merchants to the number, as one witness stated, of from ten to thirty by every ship—adults and children of both sexes; but most frequently females or eunuchs, generally from the east coast of Africa. Hubshees, or Abyssinians, though frequently born Christians, were registered as Mahomedans, and usually sold for service in Mahomedan families,

where Abyssinians bore a high character for courage and fidelity. Cases of importation of Armenians as slaves are also noticed. As far back as 1812 Mr. H. Colebrooke had described the process by which these slaves were procured in East Africa. It was that so well known of late years, *i.e.* predatory war undertaken for the purpose of slave-hunting, and attended generally with the murder of the parents and elders.

In 1824 extracts from the Statute 51 of Geo. III. c. 23, with translations in Persian and Arabic, were circulated in Calcutta and in the ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. This had the effect of decreasing the traffic and of increasing the prices of slaves, but not of entirely stopping the trade. Later on, prohibitions to ship slaves for Calcutta were issued by the local government authorities at Muscat and Judda, and more efficient custom supervision in the Hoogly, under rules issued in 1834, still further checked the import; but as late as 1833 the Resident at Lucknow ascertained that two batches of African slaves, numbering in all twenty-two females and twelve males, had been imported, *viâ* Bombay, by Mogul merchants. One of these batches had been sold to the King of Oude and the Padshah Begum (the Queen Mother). The rank of the purchasers illustrates the difficulty of checking the traffic. Importation of slaves by land from neighbouring countries into India, and from one province of India to another, was reported from almost every district of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and Central India, as a frequent origin of slavery.

In ordinary times slave-dealers went from Calcutta and other large cities and purchased children in the wilder and more distant provinces; but the supply was much increased in time of famine or other similar general calamity. Sir William Jones, in his charge to the grand jury in 1785, spoke of "large boats filled with children, mostly stolen from their parents or bought perhaps for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity, coming down the river for open sale in Calcutta;" and stated "that there was hardly a man or a woman in the town who had not at least one slave child." And as late as 1834, the Commissioners state that after the great inundation in that year "children were commonly hawked about the streets of the city for sale." Sylhet was said to have been notorious for the prevalence of child-stealing since the days of Acbar, and the Commissioners report that "an extensive trade in slaves" was still carried on in the Cachar Hills by Bengal merchants who went up to buy cotton. A slave could be procured for twenty packets of salt, worth about six shillings. This kind of trade had been checked in Rungpoor about twenty years previously, in consequence of a boy of ten years old having been purchased and sacrificed to the Goddess Kali. In most districts professional prostitutes were frequent purchasers of

female imported slaves, and of children to be brought up to their own profession. The extent of such traffic seems to have varied in different districts, and to have been greater formerly than it was when the Commissioners report; but hardly a single province is mentioned as free from this species of traffic.

11. *Birth.*—As regards slavery by birth, it may be briefly stated that the offspring of slave parents were everywhere slaves, and that, with few exceptions, the offspring of parents, one free and the other slave, remained slaves.

VI.

A great portion of the Commissioners' report is occupied by abstracts of a vast mass of returns which they had collected regarding the practice of English courts and magistrates in cases respecting slavery and bondage. It is impossible further to epitomize, within any reasonable space, the information thus gathered from the judges and records of several hundred law courts. In the absence of any definite English law on the subject, much had been left to the judgment and discretion of the presiding magistrate. The only feature which seems universally to have characterized the proceedings of all the courts referred to, was the general tendency of judges and magistrates to lean in every possible case to the side of freedom. But even this tendency was displayed in a very varied degree, from the zealous abolitionist, who took every opportunity of giving effect to the latest ruling of Westminster Hall on analogous cases, down to the severe stickler for the letter of the law, who, with perhaps strong expressions of regret, would carry out the Moslem or Hindu law as rigidly as the most ardent admirer of the "domestic institution" could desire. The variations of opinion and of practice were "observable," the Commissioners remark, "not only as respects different and distant parts of the country, but neighbouring districts, and even at different times in the same court."

There was every excuse for these variations of practice. English statute law was in force only within the limits of the three Presidency Courts, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Elsewhere in Bengal the Moslem criminal code was in general force, with special modifications to adapt it for use in courts presided over by English judges. Madras and Bombay had special regulation codes of their own, and customary or common law, which in India, as elsewhere, was often more binding than code or statute, was infinitely varied by the self-made law of hundreds of despotic rulers in ages past, each practically irresponsible to anything but his own ideas of right or expediency. It was impossible to elicit order out of such elements of confusion. The best that could be said was that the spirit of the Hindu law was generally humane, that the Moslem law yet more nearly approached

the humanity of the Mosaic code, and that the almost universal tendency of English judges was to give effect to the principles of modern English legislation on the subject; and that almost everybody agreed that it was most desirable that some clear and definite laws on the subject should be officially declared by the British Government.

The Delhi territory receives separate notice from the Commissioners because it was the first and clearest example they had met with of the efficacy of the plan they finally adopted for the extinction of slavery in India. It appeared that about the year 1811 some orders on the subject of slavery were issued by the then chief civil authority in Delhi. The precise nature of the order was unknown, no copy of it being procurable in 1841, nor was it even known who issued it, some traditions naming Sir Charles Metcalfe, others Mr. Seton; but the result was that, from the time of its issue, the courts in the Delhi territory had ceased to recognise any right in a master over a slave, and in 1841 slavery was reported to have ceased to exist. The territory contained not only the palace of the emperor and the residences of the great nobles attached to the court, but an unusual number of estates of quasi-feudal retainers, who at the time of the conquest had all been slaveholders; and the process by which slaves might be converted into servants, voluntarily rendering their customary services for food, clothing, house-room, and wages, without any friction or perceptible injury to either master or servant consequent on the change, had been thus subjected to the severest and most conclusive test.

VII.

After a careful and very detailed history of the Arabian and African slave trade, which supplied the most valuable class of domestic slaves to India, and an equally elaborate section on the previous legislation of British India on the subject, the Law Commissioners record at great length (twenty-nine closely printed folio pages) their own "observations" on the subject, which would by themselves form a very complete treatise on slavery in general, and on Indian slavery in particular.

Unfortunately the Commissioners were not unanimous as to the remedies they should propose for the evils which they found belonging to the system of slavery in India. The "observations," as drafted apparently by Mr. Hay Cameron, concluded with thirty-three separate recommendations, but only one of his colleagues concurred with the draftsman, and Messrs. Hay Cameron and Millett were outvoted by Messrs. Amos, D. Elliott, and Borradaile, who recorded a separate set of "observations."

The view taken by the Government of India, when this elaborate report came before the Governor-General in Council, may be gathered from the legislation which was the result. After the lapse of nearly two years and a half, an Act, No. V. of 1843, was passed by the Legislative Council of India on the 7th of April for "Declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company."

Section I. enacts "that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of Court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery."

Section II. enacts "that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person or services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territory of the East India Company."

Section III. enacts "that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave."

Finally, Section IV. enacts "that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence, if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

Great as is the contrast between the laconic brevity of the Act and the elaborate details of the Law Commissioners' Report, it will be found that the enactment meets every one of the evils enumerated; and, from the day it was passed, slavery in any true sense has ceased to exist by law in any part of British India. In many parts of India, it is true, the Act only legalised what had become the custom under British rule. But almost any page of the bulky folio which comprises the Law Commissioners' Report contains ample evidence of the moral horrors and shocking material suffering under the system of Indian slavery, to which the labours of the Commission contributed to give the death-blow.

Let me add that slavery would have been much longer in dying in India, had not the effect of Act V. of 1843, on the relations between labour and its employers, been aided by the great public works, the construction of which dates from about the same period. The first railway in India was projected in the same year (1843), canal and road-making had already commenced throughout the peninsula; and nothing has tended more to emancipate labour in India, to raise the labouring classes, and to train them to habits of real industry, than the various agencies by which these great public works have been executed. Money wages regularly paid, and task-work paid for at rates which made industry obviously the labourer's interest, have effected a vast revolution in the habits, diet, and social position of the labouring classes throughout India; and the engineer and his contractor have been, if unconsciously, yet very effectually, as potent

agents in the emancipation of the Hindu serf or slave, as the legislator, the administrator, or the philanthropist.

VIII.

Such is, very briefly, the history of the abolition of slavery in India. From the experience so gained, as compared with what was done, with the same object, in the West Indies and South Africa, what lesson may we learn with regard to our best and safest course in Egypt?

1st. Let our Government beware of the danger of having the question forced on them by agitation. There is absolutely no ground for delay in deciding what the English can and ought to do, and insist on the Egyptian Government doing; for, as far as verbal and paper promises go, the Egyptian rulers (Arabi included) have, at any time during the past ten years, professed to be willing and ready to do all and much more than our Government need now require for the extinction of slavery. It is possible now to put an end to slavery in Egypt, and to the slave trade which feeds it, without injury to master or slave, and without agitation. But inaction or indecision is sure to arouse agitation, and if agitation be once aroused, there is no limit to the possible mischiefs which may follow.

2nd. Judicial reforms such as Nubar Pasha has long since advocated, are the first necessity. Here again there is no excuse for delay or inaction. The necessary reforms can be made at once, with infinite benefit to every one in Egypt, foreigner as well as native. Nothing can be said, as to difficulties or obstacles, which was not urged with equal truth, on a scale fifty times greater, when Lord William Bentinck began his reforms of the native judicial system in India; and the experience of half a century which has since elapsed has shown, in India, how easily such difficulties may be surmounted by perseverance and determination.

It was said in India, with some show of truth, that a tendency to corruption was so inherent in the classes from which native judicial officials must of necessity be taken, that it was absurd to expect a bench of native judges which would possess the reasonable confidence of their own countrymen, as being free from liability to corruption. In the face of much experienced advice, Lord William Bentinck's Government and their successors refused to accept this pessimist view of native Indian morality. They believed that there was nothing peculiar in the fundamental instincts of human nature in India, as compared with other countries; that in India, as had often proved to be the case elsewhere, the great temptations offered by the absence of real public responsibility, of adequate supervision, of adequate remuneration, and of the ordinary inducements to judicial uprightness, had lowered the moral standard of the classes whence our

native judges were drawn. Lord William Bentinck's Government acted up to their convictions, conferred real responsibility, organised an effective system of supervision and appeal, gave adequate pay and due honour to judicial offices, and the result proved that they were right. It was not, however, till Lord Canning's time, and not till after a severe struggle with official and race jealousies, that the crowning step was taken of placing a native judge on the bench of the Supreme Court of Appeal. At present, I believe, the public confidence in the learning and integrity of the native bench in India may be compared not unfavourably with the public feeling on the same subject in France and most Continental countries. If it is still not quite up to the highest English standard, let us remember that our own standard was not always as high as it has been in modern times, and that in this respect our English bench possesses many incidental advantages which have been enjoyed by the judges of no other nation in modern times.

A good bench is needed to give full effect to the best of codes. It can do something to administer real justice under the worst of codes and the most defective systems of procedure; but good codes of civil and criminal law and procedure are an inestimable advantage to the best of judges, and can do much to counteract the evil doings of the worst. In this respect also the example of India is full of encouragement to the judicial reformer in Egypt. Indian servants, whose memories can carry them back to Macaulay's time, will remember the very general incredulity with which Indian officials regarded the possibility of Englishmen framing uniform codes of law and procedure for all India. It is true that it has taken half a century to prove the possibility of the work; but it has been done to such an extent as to establish the possibility, and afford every reasonable hope of the speedy completion of the work; and the English nation, if it were to lose India to-morrow, could leave no nobler and more enduring monument of their rule, than the codes of criminal and civil procedure, of criminal law, and of civil law in most of its more important divisions, which are now in force throughout India.

IX.

A country like Egypt, in which so large a proportion of the population is Moslem, affords peculiar facilities for such reforms. The spirit as well as the letter of the Koran is as essentially legal as that of any other religion founded on the Old Testament. Moslem scholars in every branch of literature seem to have a natural tendency to become jurists. Moslem literature abounds in comprehensive and systematic bodies of law. With these before them, and with such examples as the Indian codes* afford of the adaptation to Oriental

use of the great European Codes of Justinian and Napoleon, an Egyptian Law Commission, in which English and French jurists were associated with Arabic schoolmen, might speedily draw up uniform working codes of law and procedure adapted to modern Egyptian use, and applicable to all nationalities found in Egypt. A judicial service might be organized, security being taken that the higher judicial officials should be well paid, and be removable only for real misconduct, proved to the satisfaction of any power which protects the Egyptian Government from Turkish interference. But it is essential that the governing spirit enforcing and directing these, and all other judicial reforms, shall be distinctly European—not Turkish nor Levantine.

These suggestions may seem superfluous in face of the fact that Lord Dufferin is stated to be giving his special attention to judicial reforms, in the direction long since suggested by Nubar Pasha. The work could not be in better hands; but Lord Dufferin may not be aware that no objection or difficulty has been or could be started to the reforms he contemplates, which has not been anticipated and shown to be baseless and unsubstantial, by the experience of the last fifty years in India.

As regards the law applicable to slavery, there is no necessity for awaiting the result of the labours of any commission. Little would be necessary beyond one short law to the same effect as Act V. of 1843 of the Government of India, above quoted, and slavery would be abolished in Egypt as effectually and with as little disturbance of the relations between capital and labour as has been experienced in India. It might be necessary for some time to watch the administration of the law in slavery cases, but no pressure would be required, save in the case of harsh or bad masters; and to them the legal pressure would be applied so gradually and indirectly as to minimise the risk of rendering the law unpopular.

X.

There can be no doubt that the enactment of such a law, and its enforcement in Lower Egypt, even with all the imperfections reasonably to be expected under the best conceivable Egyptian administration, would deal a heavy blow to the slave trade of the Soudan; but it would not extinguish, though it would perceptibly diminish, that trade. Space does not admit of more than a bare enumeration of the further measures which seem required for the complete extinction of that traffic.

First, let the process which enabled Colonel Gordon to suspend slave trade in the Soudan be continued till the traffic in slaves is effectually extinguished. The essentials to success are that the ruling spirit should be European, not Levantine, Turkish, or

African; and that the officer appointed as Pasha should be well chosen, be invested with the fullest powers, and be firmly and honestly supported both in Cairo and England. Few men could hope to do, in one tour of office, what Colonel Gordon did; but time and perseverance may compensate for diminished energy of motive power; and the singleness of purpose and self-devotion which were the prominent characteristics of Colonel Gordon's administration may yet be found amongst others of his countrymen.

Secondly, the political future of the west coast of the Red Sea is an important element in the question of slave trade from the Soudan, both to Egypt and Arabia. There need be no change in the existing sovereignty of the ports on that coast, provided they be made free to all commerce, and especially to commerce with Abyssinia; if an efficient English consul be established at such ports as Cosseir, Suakim, and Massouwa, with the usual instructions to watch the slave trade, and to report to the Consul General if the Egyptian officials do not do their duty; if regular steam communication, under the responsibilities, as regards slave trade, of the English flag, be organised from port to port on both coasts of the Red Sea; and if care be taken, by efficient inspection and report to the English representative in Egypt, that these checks on slave trading are realities and not a sham.

Thirdly, the improvement and extension of the facilities which the Nile affords for steam navigation are as powerful as any means we can employ for extinguishing slave trade by indirect means, and especially by the development of commerce in other articles than in human flesh. Practical plans for this purpose were long ago laid before the late Khedive Ismail by one of our most able English engineers. Mr. Fowler showed that short canals, with efficient means of passing boats up and down to a different level, could be provided at each cataract, at an expense trifling when compared with the great additional length of river navigation thereby opened. There can be no question of the vast commerce which might speedily be opened with the Soudan, if slavery and the bloody massacres attending slave hunts could be effectually checked; and if such works as Mr. Fowler designed for passing the cataracts were undertaken, under the same guarantees for the employment of free labour which were so effectual in the case of the Suez Canal, the habit of working for wages would form as powerful an auxiliary to the abolition of slavery in Nubia, Dongola, and the Soudan, as it did during the railway era in India.

H. B. E. FRERE.

A DEMOCRAT ON THE COMING DEMOCRACY.

An insight into what is, and what is not, possible, distinguishes the practical man from the dreamer, and as it has been customary in this country for many a year to assume that democracy is an impossible form of government, all those who either advocate or predict its advent are dubbed dreamers. A dim consciousness is, however, stealing over many that the impossible is becoming possible. It may enlighten them, therefore, to explain how those who avow themselves democrats propose to give reality to their "dreams," and what they hope for when democracy in these isles is no longer a "dream," but a hard fact. Before doing so, however, it is perhaps desirable to say a word or two upon our political past and present in their relation with our political future.

Up to the passing of the Reform Act of 1831, the aristocratic form of government, based upon the ownership of land, prevailed. The aristocracy of broad acres were masters in both Houses of Parliament. There were amongst them enlightened and patriotic men, who desired that the people should be well and fairly ruled; but any idea of governing by the people as well as for the people was alien from the political notions of the best of them. Occasionally a man, not of the Brahmin class, was admitted to power, but no sooner did he attain it than he was "permeated," and became a supporter of the prevailing system. Between Whig and Tory there was little real difference: indeed the Tory of one day was the Whig of the other, and *vice versâ*. Whichever party was in power represented the *status quo*, whilst the Opposition, in order to attain power, was perforce obliged to profess an ardent admiration for popular rights, not so much because it believed in them, as because the winning side could not act on them. The people were fed with phrases lauding the glorious constitution under which they lived, and being occasionally allowed to indulge in the orgy of a closely contested election, were deluded into the notion that they, like the fly, turned the wheel that crushed them. Only on rare occasions, and when class legislation had reduced the people to the depths of misery and want, did any public opinion make itself heard.

The parliamentary advocates of the Reform Act of 1831 were mainly actuated in their support of this measure by a desire to secure to the party to which they belonged a lengthy tenure of office. They fancied that by giving votes to the £10 householders, and by putting an end to some of the more scandalous of rotten boroughs, they would make the political balance permanently incline to their

side. Just as Lord Derby subsequently passed a Reform Act "to dish" the Whigs, so did the Whigs in 1831 pass one to "dish" the Conservatives. Their action found favour with the middle classes, who were awake to the abuses which were rampant under the rule of the landed aristocracy, and were desirous to share power with it.

Their participation proved of great benefit to the country. Disloyalty and discontent were hushed. A vast number of men, hitherto political outcasts, were reconciled to the constitution. Much unjust and class legislation was swept away, and many sound liberal measures of reform were passed. The aristocracy, however, still dominated in the Executive, and still were far too powerful in both Houses of Parliament. The middle classes who had acquired the franchise were Liberal rather than Radical, and even their Liberalism was stronger in words than in action. They were at the same time jealous of and yet subservient to those socially above them, whilst they dreaded and disliked those whom they regarded as their social inferiors. They were ready to make common cause with the aristocracy in refusing to extend the franchise to all who were not as they—dwellers in a house rated at £10, or at something more, per annum. Let us be frank—these £10 householders were in the main poor creatures. They had a keen knowledge of their own interests, but cared for little else. Respectability, "gigmanity," as Carlyle calls it, was their fetish, and no one who lived in a smaller house than they, or who laboured with his hands, was in their eyes respectable. Their ideas revolved within a narrow circle hemmed in with prejudices, and their minds were as narrow as this circle.

Their "social inferiors," however, were no longer the ignorant, unthinking pariahs that they had been in 1831. They had been educated; they read and thought; they had their clubs and their associations; they had learnt their strength by acting together; they failed to regard as one of the most perfect systems of government that which excluded them from all share in the choice of their rulers; they demanded the franchise. The Parliamentary Liberals were anxious to grant it to them, but for a considerable time the Conservatives and the Whigs found means to render this impossible. The initiative was taken by Mr. Disraeli. Whether he really believed in the existence of the Conservative working man, and fancied that he would ally himself with the territorial aristocracy against the middle classes, or whether he only wished, like his colleague Lord Derby, to extinguish the Whigs, is not quite clear. It is probable that he perceived that the electorates established by the Reform Act of 1831 were in the main Liberal, and, without any close consideration of the subject, thought that his party might gain, but could not be in a worse position, by extending the franchise, and therefore gave votes to the working

men, much as a gambler, who is losing with one pack of cards, calls for another.

At the first subsequent election, the Conservatives were defeated, as the new electors—most of whom had always called themselves either Liberals or Radicals—voted for the Liberal candidates. At the second election the verdict was reversed. This was due, not to the working men going over to the Conservatives, but to the Dissenters sulking and refusing to vote, as a demonstration against Mr. Forster, whose legislation in regard to education had displeased them. At the third election—that which returned the present Parliament—the Conservatives suffered an overwhelming defeat. For this there were many reasons. They had committed numerous mistakes, and their "spirited" foreign policy had turned out unfortunately for them; Mr. Gladstone had taken the field, and in burning eloquence denounced them. Both of these were factors in the result, but comparatively unimportant ones. The Liberal victory was due to three causes. 1. That the Dissenters were ashamed of their abstention on a previous occasion, and came up to the poll. 2. That the provinces wished to show that London, which had thrown itself into the arms of Lord Beaconsfield, was not the entire country. 3. That Mr. Chamberlain had organized the masses by means of the Caucus.

No sooner was the result of the election known, than an intrigue was set on foot amongst the official Whigs to exclude Mr. Gladstone from office. They hated him. Unlike them, he was no mere aspirant to office; he was not likely, when he had attained it, to rest and be thankful; he was no coiner of words to conceal ideas; he had not merely professed a belief in popular reforms, but he believed in their necessity, and was prepared to insist on their adoption. The Whigs wanted a servant, who would aid them to keep up the farce of promising everything and doing nothing. In Mr. Gladstone they knew that they were more likely to find a master.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Gladstone does not seem to have been aware of his own strength, or he was perhaps unwilling to break with former political associates and with long-formed social ties. No sooner was he entrusted with the task of forming a Government, than the Tadpoles and Tapers circumvented him. Peers, Whigs, and ex-Ministers who had been pitchforked into former Liberal Cabinets, surrounded him. He was not a young man. He succumbed, and formed his cabinet of the very men who had intrigued against him, and of the political hacks who had formerly been his colleagues. Had it not been for the determination of Sir Charles Dilke, not one single representative of the party that had been true to him, and had enabled him to triumph, not only over Lord Beaconsfield, but over his

former associates, would have had a place in his Cabinet. As it was, the only Radical admitted to a seat was Mr. Chamberlain.

This gentleman's entrance into the Cabinet was regarded as almost a revolution by the Whigs, and by the London clubs and London coteries, who, up to then, had regarded the choice of ministers as a sort of domestic matter, on which they alone were to be consulted. He had not been very long in Parliament; he belonged to no London clique; he had never held office; he was a provincial; he was an avowed Radical; he had organized the Caucus—that baneful scheme which was destined to enable constituencies to choose their candidates, and to restrain them if, as usual, they sought to break loose from their pledges. He was rich, it was true, and this was in his favour; but he had made his money in screws—so low, so common; he had been the mayor—a mayor!—of a provincial town; he had a vestry mind; he was capable of encouraging Mr. Gladstone in any attempt to emancipate himself from Whig guidance; his views in regard to the aristocracy, the landed interest—the monarchy, perhaps—were not orthodox. All this, and much more of the same kind, those who thought that Mr. Gladstone had been tamed like the wild elephant, by being surrounded by trained animals, and who distrusted Mr. Chamberlain, sadly whispered.

Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet may therefore be said to have consisted of two Radicals—himself and Mr. Chamberlain—and of a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who, whatever they may have termed themselves, were not Radicals; and the Cabinet remains much what it was, except that Lord Derby, an ex-Conservative, and Sir Charles Dilke, a Radical, have joined it.

In the present Parliament there is unquestionably a stronger Radical element than in any previous one. There are more men than heretofore who not only avow themselves Radicals, but whose Radicalism has been proof against the usual cajoleries that are brought to bear on those who profess this pernicious political creed. They, however, do not constitute the majority. On the ministerial side of the House the mass is composed of men who have got into Parliament by means of Liberal and Radical votes, but whose Liberalism is only skin-deep. Their aspirations do not go beyond a desire to tack M.P. to their names as long as possible, and a vague hope that one of these days they may either be made baronets, or given some little office which will secure to them an obscure seat on the Treasury Bench. These waiters on Providence are harmless for good and for evil. They consider that they will best serve their own interests, and best ensure their re-election, if they give an unqualified and undeviating support to Mr. Gladstone —not because they have personally any liking to him, but because he is the leader of the Liberal party, and they are the rank and

file of that party. If Mr. Gladstone proposed Home Rule for Ireland they would cheer him; if he resisted the proposal they would equally cheer him. When Mr. Gladstone withdraws, they will cheer his successor with as hearty and vociferous a zeal as they have cheered him. They are party men. What may be termed the right section of the Ministerialists is composed of men who are in everything, except in name, Conservatives. Although their political views have little in common with those that former Whigs professed, they give themselves this designation, and are known by it. All told, they do not muster above thirty, but their influence is entirely out of proportion with their numerical strength. There are several reasons for this: they are in the main able men, and have established for themselves a prestige for eminent respectability. In the Cabinet they are very fully represented, as well as amongst the minor official fry. They are not to be trusted, and were they or their views to be ignored, they would at once intrigue with the Conservatives, and in all the resources of parliamentary tactics they are past-masters. It may be asked why, being Conservatives, they do not go over to the Conservative side of the House? They are not likely to do this until they are driven over. They find it far more advantageous to themselves to belong to a party in which they are given much in order to secure their allegiance, and where their presence leavens Radical resolves with Conservatism. Eminently respectable as they are, they cheerfully accept the part of traitors within the Liberal camp, and no doubt sincerely believe that the country owes them a debt of gratitude for so doing. They have, too, a most voracious appetite for office, and take exceedingly good care to be handsomely paid for condescending to support a Liberal Government. Although they act skilfully and compactly, their weakness lies in the fact that, were they to vote against the Liberal leader upon any great party question, not one of those who does not sit for a pocket borough would ever return to Parliament through Liberal votes. Knowing this, their aim is to emasculate Liberal legislation by means of artful amendments on Bills in committee, to bring social pressure to bear on Mr. Gladstone, and to secure to themselves the lion's share of the "spoil." The left wing of the Ministerialists numbers perhaps about one hundred, but of these probably not more than twenty are real democrats. It has been a matter of reproach to this section of the party that they have not sufficiently asserted themselves or their principles in the present Parliament. In this, however, they are well advised. They are aware that the majority of the House, and indeed of the Ministerialists, would not go one step further on the Radical path than Mr. Gladstone; and that he has uphill work to make head against the majority of his Cabinet, the social influences with which

he is surrounded, and the Punic faith of the Whigs, who would turn against him the first moment that they could do so without danger to themselves. Moreover, they have a hearty and grateful personal admiration for the old statesman himself, which, irrespective of political considerations, renders them loath to render his difficult task still more difficult. The Radicals in Parliament of all shades, therefore, bide their time, and leave Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain free scope to pave the way for their inevitable, and not far distant, triumph. The Conservatives, as a parliamentary party, may, for all practical considerations, be said to have almost ceased to exist. They have no policy, and their official leaders are singularly wanting both in debating talent and in skill to turn any mistakes which are made by Ministers to their own advantage. Serious official opposition to the Ministry does not exist. The leadership of the Conservative party seems to be in commission. Lord Salisbury in the Lords, and Sir Stafford Northcote in the Commons, pull in opposite directions; whilst the lieutenants of the latter, Sir R. Cross and Mr. Smith, although good men of business, are, like their amiable and respected chief, singularly wanting in those characteristics which enable their possessors to influence a large popular assembly. If the initiative of a free lance, which succeeds in dragging an inert mob into battle, denotes leadership, Lord Randolph Churchill, indeed, rather than any occupant of the front Opposition Bench, is the leader of the Conservative party; but his opposition does not go beyond indiscriminate criticism, and a persistent endeavour to stave off Liberal legislation by means of much talking. So far as can be judged from his utterances, Lord Randolph has some hazy idea of a Radical-Conservative party of the future. If so, it is most unlikely that the Conservatives will follow him. Putting aside a few hungrily loquacious lawyers and blatant youths, the party consists of worthy men, who, although misguided in their political views, honestly believe in them, and would not sacrifice them either for place, power, or success at the polls. The Irish have been alienated from the Liberal party owing to the ill-advised Coercion Acts having dealt not only with the suppression of actual crime, but sought to render even legitimate political action impossible in Ireland. Although the "Kilmainham treaty" is a figment of Conservative brains, yet there is no doubt that the release of Mr. Parnell and his friends, coupled with the substantial recognition of the justice of their cause by the adoption of the Land Act, would have constituted a new departure in the relations of the Parliamentary Irish with the Liberal party, had it not been for some of the clauses in the second Coercion Act. That Bill was, unfortunately, in the hands of Sir William Harcourt, who avowed himself a Whig, nailed the Whig flag to the mast, and declined even to listen to any arguments in favour of any alteration in its worst and most

oppressive clauses. The Irish—so long as this unhappy Act is in existence—will not aid Government with their votes should any chance of a Ministerial defeat arise. At the same time, they are sensible that Mr. Gladstone has done more for their country than any previous English premier, and nearly as much as he possibly could do. Whilst, therefore, they still occasionally fall out with him, their opposition has lost the virulence which characterized it during the first session of the present Parliament.

As the only specific engagement entered into with the constituencies by the majority of those elected at the last general election was that they would vote in favour of a Bill assimilating the County with the Borough Franchise, it may be presumed that this vital reform will be carried before the present Parliament is dissolved. Any scheme for a redistribution of seats ought, however, to be left to a Parliament elected on the larger franchise, for the present Parliament would not treat the question in the drastic manner that is needed, but its action in the matter would be half-hearted.

We will suppose, therefore, that Parliament, after having given votes to the agricultural labourers, is dissolved. What ought then to be the course of those who desire to democratise the constitution of the United Kingdom?

To break entirely with the Whigs, and to hand this *damnosa hæreditas* over to the Conservatives. Better, far better, that the Conservatives should for a brief period be in power, than that these emasculating traitors should any longer be tolerated within the Radical fold. This clearance would be effected by submitting certain test questions to every Liberal candidate, and by every Radical refusing to record his vote for him unless they are satisfactorily answered. These questions ought to be clear, simple, and few in number, but thoroughly practical. If the instrument of legislation is not democratic, it is not likely that it will legislate in a democratic spirit. If democracy is the faith of the majority of the electors, they must take means to ensure that it will also be that of the assembly that represents them. No Liberal candidate, therefore, should receive a democratic vote unless he agrees to support the following reforms.

Electoral Districts.—As Mr. Disraeli once said, all modern legislation tends towards this end. Much from a Conservative standpoint may be urged against a franchise which is based upon giving a vote to every man who is not under personal disqualifications; but if this be recognised as a right, it follows as a necessary consequence that the weight of each vote in the political scale ought to be equal. To grant a vote to all is to evacuate the last defensive work at which democracy can be resisted. To attempt to stem the democratic flood by means of disproportion in electoral areas, is to

endeavour to fight in the open country after the fortress has been surrendered and the guns spiked. It is simply childish, and it is difficult to understand how intelligent men can suppose it to be possible. To imagine that the masses, having been given the franchise, will allow themselves to be jockied out of it for the benefit of classes numerically infinitesimal, is much like opening the door to the Atlantic Ocean, and then fancying that its course can be directed with a broomstick.

Electoral and Parliamentary Expenses.—Sir Henry James has elaborated a Bill which is intended to punish bribery and to reduce the cost of elections. The Bill is drastic in the penalties that it inflicts for bribery, and so far is a good one: in its provisions respecting the cost of elections, however, it is open to much criticism. It reaffirms a property qualification for a seat in the House of Commons by still permitting a heavy expenditure on the part of candidates, and by obliging them, as now, to pay the fees of returning officers, the cost of poll-booths, the salaries of poll-clerks, and other such outlay, which there is as much ground to ask a candidate to meet as there is to require him, when elected, to contribute to the amount requisite to light, fire, and keep in repair St. Stephens. All this has but one object—an insidious and an objectionable one—to ensure by a side wind, so far as is possible, that only rich men shall legislate for the rich minority and the poor majority. The cost of the entire machinery of elections must be thrown on the taxpayers, the expenditure of candidates at elections must be limited to a nominal one, and members of the House of Commons must be given a sufficiency to live from the public purse. In this way alone will the choice of constituencies be between all their fellow-citizens, and in this way alone will the majority of electors be represented by men who know their requirements, and who will insist upon obtaining them. The payment of members may seem a small matter, but on it, more perhaps than on anything else, depends whether the electors and the elected are to be henceforth in harmony.

Duration of Parliaments.—Three years is quite long enough for any representative assembly to exist without the electorates who have chosen its members having an opportunity to renew or to withdraw their confidence in them. If an elected Assembly sits for six or seven years, during the first half of its existence its members are too apt to stray away from their pledges, owing to the day of reckoning being so far off; and during the latter half they are out of touch with the country. A septennial parliament crystallizes public opinion, and does not allow for its onward progress. Conservatives, from the nature of their political creed, desire to alienate electors from all real control over the elected, and from all genuine interest in public affairs, by rendering the opportunities to exercise this control in-

frequent. At the end of three years, either a member still enjoys the confidence of his electors, or he does not. In the former case his position is strengthened by re-election; in the latter case, why should he continue to be the representative of those whose opinions he does not represent?

The House of Lords.—This branch of the legislature is composed of hereditary landowners who collectively own 14,258,527 acres of land, and whose collective incomes are about £15,000,000. They have persistently opposed, so far as they dared, every measure of reform brought forward during the present century, and more especially every measure that has militated against their own class interests. Not only are they Conservative in the real sense of the word, but in the party sense. When a Conservative Ministry is in power they are useless, when a Liberal Ministry is in power they are actively pernicious. Notwithstanding their wealth they are not independent. They are place-hunters; they are clamorous for decorations, and they dip heavily into the public exchequer. In pay, pensions, and salaries, they annually divide amongst themselves (including the salaries of the bishops) £621,336 per annum. It may be an open question whether the system of one or two chambers is the more desirable. No sensible person, however, can advocate a chamber, destined to act with controlling impartiality, composed of enormously wealthy men, draining vast incomes from land, absorbing large amounts of public money in pay and pensions, and perpetually intriguing to secure the triumph of the party to which the great majority of them permanently belong. It is surprising that so astounding a legislative assembly as our House of Lords can have existed so long in a country inhabited by sane human beings, and its existence in any country where the paramount assembly is elected by a numerical majority would of course be out of the question.

The forces of democracy being thus organised, the traitors having been expelled from the camp, and a legislative assembly having been elected which would be the direct reflex of the national will, we may anticipate that no time will be lost in bringing the country into line with the spirit of the age. What will follow, however, is too wide a subject to enter into in this article, although a few of the political and social problems to the solution of which it will devote its energies may be briefly alluded to. It is doubtful whether even amongst democrats the majority regard the issue between a monarchy and a republic to be within the realm of practical politics. So long as a monarch reigns, but does not rule, the question is an academical one. To democrats, whether the ornamental figure-head of the State be a living human being, a piece of painted canvas, or a gilt club, is a matter of exceedingly small importance in their eyes. Moreover they recognise that the human figure-head has its advantages in a state

such as ours, where the tie that unites the metropolis with its colonies is of the slightest. What they object to is the needless and foolish expenditure which is arbitrarily connected with the institution of monarchy in this country. The monarch and the monarch's family now cost about £800,000 per annum; and without any impeachment of the personal respect that is felt for the Queen, this expenditure is regarded not only as excessive, but as one for which there is no more inherent necessity than there would be to encircle the mace with strings of diamonds, were it, instead of an individual, our figure-head.

Democrats can conceive an hereditary monarchy such as ours without the abject ceremonial or the vast expenditure of a court. Much indeed of what is now voted to the monarch goes to fill the pockets of members of the aristocracy, and of needy courtiers. The monarchy assuredly is not bound up in the annual payment of £4,000 to a wealthy nobleman for walking backwards with a coloured stick on state occasions. In the United States the President receives £10,000 per annum, and lives in decent dignity, receiving all citizens who wish to pay their respects to him. Between this modest sum and the £800,000 which our royal family costs us, there is a considerable margin for retrenchment. It need hardly be said that the Established Church will at once be disestablished and disendowed. It is estimated that about £3,000,000 per annum might revert to the nation from this source without injury to the rights of any individual. The money would be devoted to educational purposes. Religious equality is a cardinal article of the democratic creed, and to make persons contribute not only towards the cost of their own worship, but also towards that of another sect is, in the opinion of democrats, a flagrant violation of religious equality. Under a legislature where landowners have been paramount, the object of law has been to vest the ownership of the entire soil in the hands of a few. Democracy will reverse this, and strive by legal enactments to vest it in the hands of many. Practically, occupiers will become owners, or, to speak more accurately, will exercise those rights which are now in the hands of non-resident owners. It may be, too, that a law will be passed limiting the number of acres that can be owned by any person who does not farm them. Such a law would have its political as well as its economical advantages, for nothing can be more desirable than to break down the social prejudice which now attaches to the ownership of vast tracts of the national soil. Taxation will be based upon the excellent principle that a certain amount of money being required in order to meet the cost of government, those ought, in the main, to pay it who can best afford it. The sums that are now levied on industry by means of customs and excise will be raised by a progressive

income tax and a progressive succession duty. It is very clear that no individual can want more invested capital than such an amount as will produce in interest an income sufficiently large to enable him to gratify all his real and all his acquired wants. More is surplusage, and the owner of this surplusage has no real right to demand that society should be taxed to secure him in the possession of it. What can a man with a fortune beyond the very dreams of avarice do with his money? He has to compete in thousands with others as rich as himself for the possession of china cups and saucers, which may be intrinsically worth as many pounds, or he employs it in some other equally silly manner. Very large fortunes—as the Americans are learning—are a positive danger to a democratic state. To take from the individual all above a certain amount, however just in theory, might, however, have its disadvantages. To take one-half beyond the amount regarded as alike safe to the state and sufficient for the individual would be beneficial to both, and 50 per cent. might be laid down as the limit to which an income tax should in any case extend. It may be said that in this case accumulation would cease beyond the fixed amount. No harm would ensue if it did, but as a matter of fact it would not. Of course right to raise money for local purposes now possessed by ex-officio magistrates would be at once swept away. The principles of local self-government, viz. imposition of local taxes by the representatives of all the inhabitants of a locality, and local control over expenditure, would be pushed to their ultimate consequences. We should have elected parish boards in each parish, just as we have now elected borough boards in municipal towns. In each county there would be an elected county board, and each board—county, municipal, or parish—would have full power over all matters which only affect its locality. The excellent system of local self-government which obtains in some of the New England states might be adopted by us almost in its entirety with signal advantage. Thus the people, by being allowed to control their local affairs, would receive a political education, and be better able than now to realise the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Local self-government also, in the fullest acceptation of the word, would be accorded to Ireland, and in this way the long-standing grievance of the Irish would be removed.

These are but a very few of the questions which would occupy the attention of a democratic legislature. Democrats are not such fools as to fancy that pauperism can be extinguished by law, nor that the difference between the lot of rich and poor will ever cease to exist. They indulge in no dream of absolute financial equality between man and man, nor do they desire to interfere with the rights of property, although they might wish to put an end to the so-called rights of

the few, when they involve the wrongs of the many. They would no longer permit the law to produce and perpetuate inequality, and be the servant of rich men but the master of poor men. Wealth would be more equitably partitioned, there would be fewer very rich men, and fewer men struggling and striving for the barest necessaries of existence. Thus the sum of human happiness would be more equally divided. Social distinctions would be dependent rather on merit than on birth or wealth. The public expenditure would be reduced to the lowest limit consistent with efficiency, and taxation would be properly apportioned. The resources of the country would be no longer squandered in wars to realise a wild dream of imperialism, or to secure to money-lenders the fruits of their spoliations. What is now a mere rhetorical phrase would become a reality: "The public affairs of England would become the private affairs of every Englishman."

That Conservatives, that Whigs, that great landowners, and that millionaires should regret the advent of all this is conceivable. They have drawn a prize in life's lottery; like Doctor Pangloss, they consider that all is for the best in the best of worlds; they are convinced that legislation by them and for them is in accordance with the fitness of things. It has ever been so. An individual can seldom free himself from the illusion that a system is sound and good for all if it suits him. But between regretting that a thing will be, and believing that it will not be, there is a wide difference. Democrats are told that they are dreamers. And why? Because they assert that if power be placed in the hands of the many, the many will exercise it for their benefit. Is it not a still wilder dream to suppose that the many will in future possess power, and use it, not to secure what they consider to be their interests, but to serve those of others? Did the landowners act thus in England as long as they were the possessors of power? Can any instance be shown in history—except in Rome when votes were bought (and we are seeking in every way to render bribery impossible)—in which a democracy acted with such astounding abnegation? Is it imagined that artisans in our great manufacturing towns are so satisfied with their present position, that they will hurry to the polls to register their votes in favour of a system which divides us, socially, politically, and economically, into classes, and places them at the bottom, with hardly a possibility of rising? The schoolmaster has been abroad. The artisan no longer is an ignorant, besotted beast of burthen. He thinks; he reasons; he aspires. The poor village slave, too, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water, no longer regards his squire and his parson as beneficent beings, whose will is for ever to be his law. Is his lot so happy a one that he will humbly and cheerfully affix his cross to the name of the man who tells him that

it can never be changed for the better? That democrats should rejoice over the coming future is only natural, but that those who are not democrats should, *le cœur* as *léger* as that of M. Olivier, do everything in their power to pave the way for democracy by giving to all the franchise, and yet remain convinced that this will produce no fundamental alterations in our social and political system, is, indeed, surpassing strange. We democrats know that democracy involves great changes, and we rejoice at its advent because we desire these changes. We know that artisans and agricultural labourers will approach the consideration of political and social problems with fresh and vigorous minds, and will judge them on their merits, without being warped by any prejudice in favour of what is, because it long has been. We, dreamers! We, theorists! It is because we know clearly the end we have in view, and because we know by what means we shall attain this end, that we shall succeed. Constitutionally we mean to alter the constitution. Whilst Whigs, Conservatives, and moderate Liberals are actuated by the paltry ambition of appending Right Honourable to their names, and are quarrelling for the spoils of office, we look steadily to the triumph of our principles. For the moment, we demand the equalisation of the franchise; we regard this as a step on the democratic path from which there is no turning back. Our next demands will be electoral districts, cheap elections, payment of members, and abolition of hereditary legislators. When our demands have been complied with we shall be thankful, but we shall not rest. On the contrary, having forged an instrument suitable for democratic legislation, we shall use it.

H. LABOUCHERE.

THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

At the end of the year before last the two Universities Commissions appointed, by the Act of 1877, to reform the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge respectively, brought their labours to a close; and during the following session of Parliament the statutes which they framed ran unharmed (except in the case of Lincoln College, Oxford) the gauntlet of both Houses, and have now obtained by the Queen's approval the force of law. Thus the re-organization of the two oldest and greatest of our seats of learning, those which in spite of the creation of three new degree-giving bodies, are still *par excellence* the English Universities, has been completed. Much was hoped from such a re-organization. Although less than thirty years ago there had been executive commissions which dealt with Oxford and Cambridge, their work was chiefly that of destruction, of abolishing obsolete and practically mischievous restrictions of all sorts, and setting the universities and colleges free from those trammels. The Commissions which have just been sitting had a more difficult task before them. They had to reconstruct and remodel, and thereby to bring the universities up to the level of the present time. New studies had become important, which were not recognised there, or recognised imperfectly, both in the examinations and as regards the provision of teaching. In each university, therefore, there were needed new professorships, and these had to be established, the mode of electing to them and the conditions of their tenure determined, while existing professorships required to be better endowed. The provision of libraries, museums, art-collections, scientific laboratories and apparatus was deficient and had to be increased. No provision existed for defraying the cost of conducting scientific experiments, or of prosecuting historical or philological inquiries, or of editing, printing, and publishing treatises on scientific or literary subjects. For all these and other purposes the universities needed funds, and to supply these funds it was necessary to draw on college revenues. Moreover, the whole system of teaching had to be recast. A large number (in Oxford twenty-one, in Cambridge seventeen) of teaching bodies existed within each university, which was itself also a teaching body. Each college taught independently of every other college, and the colleges independently of the university, and the university of the colleges. Combination and co-operation were urgently called for to save a waste of power, and to enable the work to be done more perfectly and with a far more complete and developed specialisation; or, at least, if it should

appear difficult to bring this about, all obstacles to co-operation were to be removed, so that funds might not be squandered and efforts wasted as they had heretofore been. The conditions on which fellowships and headships were held had to be considered and modified, so that these offices, on which by far the largest part of the revenues of Oxford and Cambridge is expended, should serve useful purposes, instead of being, as to a great extent they have been, prizes for youthful smartness or comfortable sinecures for dons whom they made lazy, if they did not find them so.

These were some of the changes and reconstructions which the two Commissions were appointed to make. What have they accomplished? What has been the total result for good of their labours? They received from the Legislature, which no doubt felt its own incompetence to handle such problems, scanty and vague instructions. A large discretion was given them to settle things as they thought best. Some little power of resistance the colleges had, but it was such as the Commissioners easily could, and often did, overbear. The credit or discredit of the work, therefore, belongs to the Commissioners; nor, though they were appointed by a Conservative Government, can any one say that a Liberal Government would be likely to have chosen commissioners any better qualified for the work? For the rule in England seems to be, with both parties, to place on a Commission not men of special capacity or knowledge, but persons generally prominent, if not eminent, such as judges and bishops and leading members of either House of Parliament.

The results are shortly these. Some new professorships have been created, and some others increased in stipend. Conditions have been attached to these professorships sufficiently strict to prevent the holder from being absolutely idle; but no inducement has been given to make him zealous and energetic. Where the restriction of celibacy on fellowships existed, it has been withdrawn, and the tenure of a large part of the fellowships shortened, so that the "prize-fellow," as he is called, becomes in future quite a different sort of person, with only a slight interest in the welfare of his college. A little money, which in the case of Oxford may be called very little in proportion either to the wealth of the colleges or to the needs of the university, has been taken from the former for the latter. Finally, both headships and fellowships have been (with some trifling exceptions) thrown open to laymen. This last is the largest, and, in the opinion of nearly everybody connected with the universities, the best reform which the Commissions have carried out. Some other minor changes I pass over, because they would hardly be intelligible, without tedious explanations, to persons unconnected with the university system. Speaking generally, the above sums up what has been done in the way of solving the

problems which I have stated, problems which involve the failure or success of our greatest institutions for teaching and for the advancement of learning and science.

It is not, however, all that has been done in the way of statute-making. The Oxford Commission has framed minute and highly complicated constitutions for each college, creating various classes of officers and stipendiaries among its members, Professor Fellows, and Tutorial Fellows, and Ordinary Fellows, allotting to each of these sets of persons certain sums out of the college revenues, fixing their numbers and the conditions they hold on, and, in short, creating in every college a distinct and separate teaching organization, which puts the establishment of co-operation and combination between different colleges and between the colleges and the university further off than ever. Formerly, whatever the faults of the college system, it was flexible. The fellows were all equal; and if they liked to try a new way of spending their funds for educational purposes, they could do it, or could combine with any other college or colleges for the purpose. Now they have a cast-iron scheme forced upon them, within whose cramping limits they must move. It is, in the case of many of the better and especially of the smaller colleges, a bad scheme, wasteful and inconvenient even now, and it will check all future development. The effect of these college constitutions on Oxford as a whole, is to create a very large number of places paid just well enough to enable a man to marry on them, but not well enough to enable him to keep a family in comfort—places in which, since the salary is fixed, he cannot improve his income by the best performance of his duties, from which there is no promotion except to a professorship, itself scarcely better paid, and equally without inducement to exertion—places where the work, mainly elementary, will be the same from year to year, and where the classes will be mostly small—places in which there will be little change of occupants, and which will have no attraction for men of zeal either for teaching or for learning.

The Cambridge Commissioners have been less ambitious. They have left the teaching organization of the colleges in a judiciously vague and unregulated condition, providing, in the case of most of the smaller colleges, only for the existence of one tutor at least, and leaving the college free to appoint as many more college teachers, or as few, as it thinks fit, and to pay such stipends as it may from time to time find expedient. Thus room is given for future developments and changes which the growth of university teaching, or the more perfect combination of colleges for the purposes of a joint organization of college lectures open to all undergraduates, may render desirable. Moreover, a larger provision than in Oxford is made for university teaching by the wider power to appoint university readers

and university lecturers. So far the Cambridge statutes are sensibly better than those framed for Oxford. In other points, however, they are behind the needs of the time. In the case of many colleges a preference is given in the election to fellowships to members of the college, instead of admitting persons from other colleges; and little or no security is taken for the choice of persons of conspicuous intellectual merit. Nor has the principle been fully adopted or consistently carried out that the colleges exist for the sake of the university, and that their endowments must be so applied as to promote its purposes.

It is not, however, my object to enter into any minute criticism of the arrangements made by the Commissioners as regards colleges. The matter is too intricate for any one who is not familiar with the existing system and has not studied these statutes, nor is it very interesting to those who think that the Commissioners have been on the wrong track altogether. Still less have I any wish to complain of the members of the two Commissions, among whom there were men of the highest eminence (though indeed few who had any special knowledge of university affairs), and who laboured long and assiduously at the work entrusted to them. They may probably have thought that in giving them such scanty instructions the Legislature meant to indicate that they were to make no changes of principle. What I seek to point out is that they have not attempted to solve the great and vital problems which lay before them, how to make the universities, with their immense wealth and unequalled authority, serviceable to the whole nation, instead of only to the upper classes—how to enable them to give in abundance the highest teaching through the ablest teachers on all subjects. These were the really important problems, and to the solution of these the new statutes have brought us scarcely nearer. Indeed, by creating a large number of new vested interests they have (in the case of Oxford) actually postponed, if not destroyed, the hope of a solution. When Commissions have but just completed their work of so-called re-organization, it is plain that no further reforms of consequence can be expected for many years to come. The new system, it will be said, must have a trial. You cannot always be pulling up the plant to see how it is growing. And if there were to be another attempt at reform, why should it be any more successful than this has been? There is no reason to think that a Commission issued for Oxford by a Liberal Government would have effected any more than this one of the Conservative Government. Indeed, a Liberal Commission would probably have included, and been strongly influenced by, one eminent Liberal statesman, whose ideal university seems to be a body consisting of skilful private coaches trying to anticipate examiners, examiners trying to

baffle private coaches, and pupils with their eyes fixed on prize fellowships of £200 a year.

What is the use, then, if the universities must now advance along the path which the Commissioners have marked out, of writing about the matter at all? Perhaps there is little use. If I thought I were expressing merely my own views, I should remain silent. But believing that I am stating, however imperfectly, the opinions of a considerable number of persons who have thought seriously on these questions, and have some practical experience of them, I shall attempt to set forth why these persons think that the reform of Oxford and Cambridge ought to have taken a different line. It was necessary to acquiesce in the statutes laid before Parliament, for the universities were sick and weary of being tinkered, and preferred to accept anything rather than be subjected to a new Commission. But the world outside, which sees that the statutes have been accepted, must not suppose that silent acquiescence means satisfaction. On the contrary, it means disheartenment.

What is it that her universities ought to do for England? Speaking broadly, and omitting details, one may enumerate four main functions.

They ought to attract and educate the whole nation. I do not, of course, mean to say that they can be as useful in the way of general education to the middle classes as to the upper, nor to the humbler as to the middle, because the poorer a lad is the sooner he must begin to earn his living. But in a country where good elementary schools are within every one's reach, and good intermediate schools[1] available at moderate fees to boys who have won free places at them by their performances at the elementary schools, as well as to the children of the middle class, there ought to be a large number of young men of superior intelligence and industry resorting to the university to obtain the best instruction not only in the branches of what we call liberal culture, but also in the various arts and sciences by which a livelihood is gained, that is, the old professions, and such employments as those of mining, scientific agriculture, applied chemistry and mechanics. There are, moreover, many sons of well-to-do people who have to think not so much of the money cost of a university course as of the time it occupies, persons who will come if they can leave, having received some substantial good, at twenty years of age, but who cannot afford to wait till they are twenty-three before entering on the main work of their lives. It may, therefore, be said that to secure such an afflux of students as the universities ought to have, both from the poorer and the richer classes, three con-

(1) It is true that the provision of such intermediate schools is still inadequate: but they are being created partly by the enterprise of private associations or companies, partly (though certainly too slowly) under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.

ditions ought to be present. Firstly, the universities ought to provide a cheap education. Further, they ought to provide a practical education, that is to say, all sorts of professional and technical as well as general liberal instruction. Thirdly, they ought not only to offer a variety of courses or curricula leading to different degrees in arts or sciences, but also to strive to attract persons who have not time for going through one of these complete three or four-year courses, but simply wish to obtain the best attainable instruction in one particular subject, or group of subjects, irrespective of taking a degree at all.

This brings us to the second function which the country has a right to expect from its highest educational institutions. It is their business to offer to all comers the best possible teaching in every subject, that is, to attract the most learned, skilful, and energetic men, give them a platform to speak from, set them to teach, both by public oral instruction and by showing pupils how to study, give them every motive of honour and interest for doing their best as teachers. A university which does this—which gathers to a focus the highest teaching power of the country, so that students can come with the certainty of finding what they seek—does everything. A university which does not do this, may be useful in other minor ways, but is on the whole a failure. All other matters — the arrangement of courses of instruction, the examinations for degrees, the regulations for the discipline of the students, the provision of prizes to stimulate industry—all these are insignificant in comparison. A university which did nothing at all except secure, as the earliest universities of Europe did, the presence of the most eminent scholars, philosophers, and teachers of the age within a certain local area, there to be listened to by young men eager, as young men naturally are eager, for knowledge, would have done enough even though it had neither colleges, nor scholarships, nor fellowships, nor headships, nor prizes of any other kind, nor degrees, nor examinations, nor any of those other countless subsidiary agencies in the organization of which we have become so absorbed as to have almost forgotten that they are nothing more than mere helps to that which existed before them and can exist in the utmost efficiency without them, public oral teaching.

About the third function of a university, that of advancing letters and sciences, one need say little, because it has been of late years zealously pressed by certain reformers, so zealously as to have provoked a reaction on the part of those who fear that the endowment of research may degenerate into the research of endowment. Every association of learned and active teachers must of course incidentally advance the limits of knowledge: those who specially insist on this as a primary duty on the part of Oxford and Cambridge do so on the ground of their great wealth, which, it is argued, might be

better expended in this way than in setting up large pecuniary prizes to be competed for. There is obviously much danger in conferring sinecures on men in the hope that they will enrich the world by discoveries. If in some cases the endowment helps a poor man to continue his work, in others it will check his ardour. But this objection does not apply to many ways in which a university may help serious students by collecting for their use things they could not procure themselves. Libraries cannot well be jobbed, nor museums, nor art-collections, nor laboratories. And there are many pieces of work which ought to be done, but which cannot be made to pay their way. A series of scientific experiments is the most obvious instance, though not the most pressing, because we have happily many wealthy men occupied or interested in scientific investigations, and because these, even where undertaken for the sake of knowledge only, frequently turn out profitable. The collating of a manuscript, or the editing of an unpublished book, or re-editing of one that has gone out of print, sometimes even the making of a translation or compiling of a lexicon, are specimens of work in the doing of which a learned corporation may fairly spend money, and incidentally aid the scholars to whom the work is entrusted. Such an institution as the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, presided over by a distinguished American scholar (Professor Goodwin) and supported by the contributions of nine American colleges, is an excellent example of the way in which money may be profitably spent for purposes of study and research.

Lastly, a university may be expected to bear a part in movements for improving the education and raising the culture of those who cannot come directly to her as students. She may use her great position of authority and dignity, as well as her wealth, to recommend and guide enterprises that aim at providing stimulative instruction for the working classes in great towns, or for establishing local colleges there. She may send down lecturers; may perhaps extend some university privileges to those who teach or have studied satisfactorily in these institutions. She may become, I might almost say, the heart and centre of the educational organization of the country.

To what extent do Oxford and Cambridge discharge these several functions? As respects that which has been last mentioned, they made a beginning some eighteen years ago in creating the Local Examination system; and great as the incidental evils of that system have been, they are probably outweighed by its good services in stimulating a certain class of schools, and giving them new ideas. More recently Cambridge men have done admirable work in starting the University Extension movement, and the university has shown itself ready to befriend the agencies that are at work in improvin

the higher education of women. But neither at Cambridge nor at Oxford (with few exceptions) have the colleges been willing or the Commissioners directed that a shilling of their revenues should be spent on any object outside the local areas in which they stand, while for aiding the education of women no pecuniary provision whatever has been made.

With regard to the third of the above enumerated functions, something, yet not much, has been effected by the two Commissions. The university libraries, and the apparatus necessary for the pursuit and teaching of science, have been aided by grants of money. A common fund has been created as suggested by a provision introduced into the Act of 1877 while it was passing through Parliament, at the instance of persons who believed that research and discovery could be best promoted by enabling the university to pay for the doing of learned work or conducting of scientific inquiries in the manner I have already described. But the Commissioners have so starved this fund, making a scanty and inadequate provision for it, that it will be unable for a long time to come to render any such substantial services as had been expected from it.

Next comes the more important question—How far do Oxford and Cambridge work for and tell upon the whole nation, and not merely that upper class which can indulge itself in luxuries. The function rests with them, though they are nominally two only out of five, because Durham is new, small, and of little fame, while the Owens College, Manchester (the active part of what is called the Victoria University), is also new, and has not yet had time to extend its influence beyond the limits of South Lancashire and Cheshire. It has grown so fast in esteem, and maintains so high a standard, that a great future may be safely predicted for it; but its creation can hardly be said to have lessened the responsibility of the older universities. As London University does not teach, but merely examines, it does not come into the question. We may confine our inquiry, therefore, to Oxford and Cambridge.

Now the population of England is over 25,000,000, and the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge are about 5,000 in number. In Scotland there are more than 6,500 students to a population of less than 4,000,000. Germany has 22,500 students to a population of 43,000,000—that is, much more than twice as many in proportion as in England, though England is by far the richer country. It may, no doubt, be said, by way of explaining the small percentage of the English youth who resort to the universities, that many are practically getting a university education in other institutions—the physicians, for instance, in the schools of London, the agriculturists at Cirencester, the chemists in various technological establishments. True; but it may be answered, firstly, that in Germany also there

are institutions for professional instructions over and above the universities; and, secondly, that the very substance of the complaint against Oxford and Cambridge is that the young men who ought to come to them to be taught go elsewhere to smaller institutions, where the elevating and enlarging influences of university life and teaching do not exist. They get instruction, but not that highest type of instruction which it is the special mission of universities to provide.

But, some one will reply, this is unavoidable. Take the case of physicians. Oxford and Cambridge, being small towns, cannot support large hospitals; medical students must therefore resort to schools like those of London or Edinburgh. No doubt. But although medical students cannot take the later part of their professional curriculum in Oxford or Cambridge, what is to prevent them from going there (far more largely than is as yet the case even in Cambridge) for the earlier part of it, and for the later part of that general liberal education which forms the indispensable foundation for the scientific study of medicine? There must be other causes to prevent their going. There are other causes—the same causes which act on the English middle class generally. Statistics apart, every one who knows the Continent of Europe and North America will agree that there is no country in which university education is so much a luxury as in England—none where the universities are so distinctively upper class rather than national institutions.

The causes are plain enough. One which used to operate powerfully operates no longer—the exclusion, by religious tests, of persons not belonging to the Established Church. It is hard now to believe that less than thirty years ago all undergraduates were, at Oxford, required on matriculating to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and that down till 1871 the same test was attached to the degree of Master of Arts. Now no distinction exists, socially any more than legally, between Anglicans and Nonconformists and Roman Catholics; and it will long be remembered, to the honour of the universities, that as it was chiefly by the exertions of their own members that the barriers of religious intolerance were broken down, so the present free system has been cordially accepted and loyally worked by all parties, even by those who had predicted dangers from it. But the other causes remain. One is the cost of a university course. Efforts have been made to reduce it by the establishment of Keble College at Oxford and Cavendish College at Cambridge, and by the admission at both universities of students who need not belong to any college, but, living in private lodgings, can regulate their expenses as they please. These well-meant attempts cannot be said to have solved the problem. Keble College is excellently managed, but it is strictly denominational; Cavendish College, though increasing, is still new

and small. The unattached students occupy a disadvantageous position, both socially—from their being outside college life—and still more educationally, because no adequate provision has yet been made for their instruction.[1] To get the full benefits of the university as it is now organized, one must go to one of the older colleges and be prepared to spend from £140 to £200 a year.

A second cause is the late age at which young men come to the university. Few enter before eighteen, most not till nineteen. As the ordinary degree course lasts for three years and the honours course four,[2] they cannot begin to learn the business of their lives before twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. Hence very few boys intended for commerce, or for a profession which, like medicine, requires a long special curriculum, are sent to the university. They go straight from school to the desk or the dissecting-room, when they might far better have left school at sixteen or seventeen, as young men do in Scotland, taken three years at the university, and then been ready to begin practical life, carrying away its training with them almost at the age which a mischievous custom now fixes as that of their entering it. Or take the case of the profession of teaching. The head masters of the larger endowed grammar schools and proprietary schools, together with some of the under masters in the highest schools (those which are called first grade), and a very few under masters in the schools next below these highest, have been educated at a university. The rest, including the vast majority of teachers at the intermediate or secondary endowed schools, as well as in private adventure schools, have never been to a university. They cannot afford the time and money. Theirs is an occupation in which university training would be specially valuable; and, in fact, teachers of the same rank in Germany, France, America, Scotland, are university men. In England the middle schools do not profit by the universities, and the education of the boys who use them suffers accordingly.

Lastly, the universities do not attract students from all classes, because they do not give professional instruction. To give everybody a first-rate general liberal culture is a noble ideal for a university. But not everybody has time for such culture, and a university throws away half its usefulness which either refuses

(1) The unattached students may, of course, go to the lectures of the professors; but, as will appear presently, the lectures are, in the subjects most generally studied, too few and often too special to supply adequate instruction. They are frequently allowed to attend college lectures, but they generally have no right to do so: it is mere matter of personal favour. The sum of £1,000 a year has been devoted by the Oxford Commissioners to the providing of instruction for them: it remains to be seen how this sum will be applied, and with what results.

(2) Four in Oxford, three, three and a half, or four in Cambridge, according to the course of study.

professional training to those who have not had the general liberal education, or forgets that professional training, given in a truly philosophical and scientific spirit, may be made stimulating and cultivative as well as practically useful. It would be a fine thing, no doubt, to take every lad who was going to be an engineer, or a doctor, or an attorney, through Sophocles and Kant, and the Differential Calculus, and a course of modern history. But if that cannot be done, is it not better that the lad should learn his mechanics and law and physiology in a university, from teachers who have an educational as well as a practical end in view, and in the company of fellow-students whose ideas and pursuits are different from his own and will enlarge his horizon, rather than that he should be warned off because he has not passed through the theoretically best preliminary course? Considering that most men spend all their lives in the practice of some gainful art, it is surely a great thing that they should have been given in youth a worthy and scientific conception of that art. As it is, the English universities, in the pursuit of this ideal liberal education, have dropped that professional instruction which they gave in the Middle Ages, and which is still given by their sisters in Germany, Scotland, Scandinavia, and to a considerable extent in America also.

These three causes are amply sufficient to account for the scanty attendance at the universities of England when compared with the wealth and population of the country. A university education, which ought to be regarded as a necessary for every one of fair abilities and industry who can be spared from some practical occupation till twenty years of age, is in England a luxury, granted only to the sons either of the affluent or of those who, like the clergy, having been at the university themselves, are loth to deny their children what they remember with delight. To remove these causes, and make the universities attractive to all classes, was among the chief duties of the Commissions. So far as can now be seen, they have done wonderfully little to discharge it. Education remains as costly as it was, and we have the strange spectacle of the best endowed universities in the world being those which are least useful to and least used by the poor. Some figures, which I take from a pamphlet recently published in Oxford, will show how the matter stands as respects that university:—

"The Commissioners have established 131 endowed teaching offices in the colleges (excluding Keble and Hertford Colleges, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the Commission). They have provided, out of the college endowments, a sum of £50,800 for the payment of these college teachers. They have further allotted out of college endowments a sum of £39,500 to scholarships and exhibitions for undergraduates, making £90,300 expended from college endowments for the education of undergraduates as members of colleges. In addition to this, the undergraduates themselves pay to their college teachers a sum (in round numbers) of £46,000, making a total of £136,300 spent in the

college teaching of undergraduates. The number of undergraduates in the colleges was in 1881 2,264: therefore we get an expenditure of £60 on the education of each undergraduate. The calculation will appear better from this Table:—

	£
Sum payable from college endowments to college teachers .	50,800
Sum payable from college endowments for scholarships and exhibitions	39,500
Sum paid by undergraduates for instruction to college teachers	46,000
Total sum paid in respect of the college teaching of 2,264 undergraduates	£136,300
= £60 for each undergraduate."	

Observe further (1), That this is irrespective of all sums paid out of the endowment fund to university professors and readers, whose principal business is to teach undergraduates. (2) That this is also irrespective of all sums paid by undergraduates to private "coaches." (3) That of these 2,264 undergraduates, not one-half can be said to study, or to derive any substantial educational benefit from their university course.

It is a little odd to find that, after this enormous expenditure from endowments, the university should have been obliged last summer to replenish her exhausted treasury by raising the taxes payable to her by undergraduates by a sum of £5 (£1 additional fee on entering for Responsions—the first university examination—£1 annually additional dues for four years). There must be something strangely wrong about such a system. Some serious attempt ought to have been made to render the vast sums expended in scholarships and fellowships more distinctly helpful to those who need help, or at least so to use the endowments as to make instruction cheaper. The age at which students enter remains, so far as the Commissions are concerned, just where it was, except that they have fixed the limit of age for college scholarships at nineteen. No one would propose to forbid persons to come to the university at any age. Very eminent men have come up at thirty. But surely something could be done, and if so, why not by such high authorities as these Commissioners, to check or discourage the evil of keeping boys at school till nineteen, when it is too late for the great majority to go to the university at all. Finally, professional training remains almost where it was, that is to say, practically non-existent. The two Commissions have increased the salaries of one or two professional chairs; but neither in medicine, nor in law, nor in the more modern scientific professions have they created substantially adequate faculties of teachers.

There remains one more function of a university to be considered, that of giving the best teaching in all subjects to all comers. The means of doing this may be thus summarized:—

A public teacher for every subject that is worth teaching.

That teacher the ablest man, the most learned and most active, that can be procured.

Every motive and opportunity given him to do his best.

Every encouragement and facility offered to all persons to come and listen to his lectures, whether or no they want to take a complete university course.

If we ask whether Oxford and Cambridge provide such teaching, we must begin by admitting that the proportion of teachers to students is sufficiently large. In Oxford the total number of university professors and readers and college tutors and lecturers was in 1881 (before the Commissioners' statutes) about 230, in Cambridge about the same; and to these we must add an unascertainable, though no longer large, number of private tutors, those whom undergraduates call "coaches." (College instruction has so much improved of late years that these coaches have not now, especially at Oxford, the importance they enjoyed thirty years ago. At Cambridge they are still deemed indispensable for those who aim at success in the mathematical tripos). The professors and readers, although superior in dignity, are (except in the department of natural science) far inferior in importance to the college teachers. Their place in the educational system is secondary and subordinate. They lecture but little, on an average thirty-six or forty-eight hours in the year; whereas the Scotch professor and the German professor teach at least two hours daily during the whole session. They receive either no fee at all (which has been and may perhaps continue to be the rule, especially at Oxford), or a fee so small as to furnish no motive for exertion. They have no certainty of obtaining an audience; and if they get one, owe it to the friendliness of such college tutors as may tell their pupils to go to the professor. In general their audiences are small, because the students are occupied not in learning the subject, but in preparing for an examination in it (a very different matter), and perhaps sometimes because the professors, feeling the unreality of the whole thing, do not greatly exert themselves to make the lectures attractive. They have hitherto had no control over the degree examinations, and they have no rooms to lecture in, but are obliged either to get the leave of their college to use its dining-hall, or to take refuge in some room that happens to be for the moment unused, in some university building. It is amusing to observe how this bewilders the intelligent foreigner who visits Oxford. After he has been shown an array of splendid buildings, dining-halls, chapels, examination-rooms, and so forth, he asks where the university lecture-rooms are. He is told that there are none. It is the college tutors and lecturers who do the substantial teaching work of the place. But they work not for the university, but each for his own college. Twenty-three colleges and

halls at Oxford, seventeen at Cambridge (besides Cavendish and Selwyn), maintain as many separate sets of teachers, whom the college appoints, controls, pays, and who have legally no duties except towards the members of their own colleges respectively. They are (or rather they were, until the change made a few years ago, to which I shall presently refer) all teaching the same things, that is, the subjects prescribed for the degree examinations, but they teach them in a double set of lectures, one set being intended for those who take the ordinary course (the so-called pass-men or poll-men), the other for those who seek honours. Any one can see what a preposterous waste of power such a system involves. Twenty-two small sets of teachers, all within the radius of half a mile, teaching twenty-two different sets of small classes in the same subjects (each set of teachers generally consisting of three or four men only), obliged to undertake all the topics recognised in the principal examination schools (or triposes, as they are called at Cambridge); each teacher, therefore, obliged to undertake several of these topics, so that nobody has the time or strength to devote himself to his own proper line, follow it out, and give the most thorough teaching in it—this is a system whose growth when university teaching had fallen into decay we can explain, but whose continuance in an era of reconstructive zeal it is hard to comprehend. In fact efforts have been made during the last fifteen years by the colleges themselves to reform it. Combinations of colleges have been formed and arrangements made by which the lectures at one college may be attended by students from other colleges, so that both at Oxford and at Cambridge the waste of force and the hindrances to specialisation have been sensibly diminished. Such arrangements were necessarily complicated and temporary, depending on the will of the governing body of each college, and requiring to be varied from time to time. They were not a satisfactory solution of the problem. But they pointed to the true solution. They indicated the direction which a complete reform and reconstruction ought to take. It might have been expected that the Commissioners would see this, and would bring about, with their wide parliamentary powers, what the colleges could not fully accomplish. At Cambridge there was indeed a difficulty in the existence of two very large colleges, and particularly of one great and splendid foundation, which, being almost a university in itself, could hardly be forced into a line with the rest, and might claim to be allowed to maintain a complete and independent educational staff. At Cambridge, therefore, more room might have been given for separate action; and in fact the colleges have been left quite free to combine or not as they think best. But at Oxford, where no college holds any similar predominance, the obstacles were far slighter. However, instead of following the natural

tendency which had so plainly shown itself, the Oxford Commissioners have done their best to destroy what freedom of action the colleges had possessed and were beginning to use wisely. In each college their new statutes have established a complete educational staff, perpetuating in a worse, because more permanent, form all the mischief of the old system. As for the professoriate, the Commissioners have practically left it what it was, a mere fifth wheel to the coach. Stipends have been raised, although to a sum which will in many cases be found insufficient to attract the best men.[1] Some few new chairs have been created. But the capital evil remains that the professors (except in the department of natural science, in which the colleges do not and cannot attempt to provide teaching or apparatus) are little better than ornamental. They cannot get classes, except by the favour of the college tutors; and what more depressing than to lecture to a handful of men? They have no stimulus to exertion in the possibility of increasing their income by the fees of students. In every department of knowledge there are many important subjects for which no chair exists. In the University of Berlin there are in all sixty-five ordinary professors and sixty-nine extraordinary, besides a multitude of Privat Docenten, giving instruction in every imaginable subject. Leipzig counts one hundred professors; Munich, seventy-eight. In Harvard University, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, there are six professors, men of first-rate ability, teaching English (Anglo-American) law; Oxford and Cambridge have each but one. Even such teaching as the university does provide is fenced about with conditions and restrictions which deprive it of half its value. Nobody now goes to Oxford because he wants to learn physiology, or modern history, or comparative philology, or ethics, or international law, and knows that first-rate teaching in all these subjects is to be had there. If he went, his college would not permit him to devote himself to any one of these, because they would interfere with his preparing for the prescribed examinations. No; he must throw himself, whatever his age, whatever his previous training, whatever his plans of life, into the regular millstream of the degree course and be carried down it for four years. He must, at Oxford, pass his responsions and moderations before he can be permitted to touch philosophy, or natural science, or history, or law, and then he must work at certain books with a view to a certain examination placed before him. In a word, Oxford and Cambridge have thought so exclusively of this degree course and the ordinary public school-boy who is to pass through it, that they have

(1) One might have expected that where the professor had no chance of sensibly increasing his income by fees, the Commissioners would have given him a proportionately larger salary. But these chairs—chairs in subjects which attract few students—are just those to which the smaller salaries have been allotted.

well-nigh forgotten the supreme duty and function of a university And now that the Commissions have tightened and stiffened their teaching organization, which sets before it this sole object, the true ideal of a university seems further from realisation than ever.

I am not arguing against the propriety of having regular degree courses. For many students, and at present for the large majority of our English students, they are desirable. A university does well to announce that no one shall have that ancient degree in arts, which is supposed (however erroneously) to denote that the student has received a sound liberal education, unless he has approved his knowledge in certain branches of literature, science, and philosophy. Young men of seventeen do require to be directed to the best studies, and there are certain studies, to be taken in a certain order, which are the best to give a general liberal culture. This ought they to have done, and not to leave the other undone. For the complaint made is, that this is practically the only thing which the universities set before themselves, and that they do it by agencies, powerful no doubt, but full of danger. We are all beginning to know what is the character of the examination system in education. At Oxford (the different character of Cambridge studies requires a slightly different description for Cambridge) it is admirably stimulative in certain directions. It trains a man to have his knowledge at his fingers' ends and to dispose it with singular effectiveness; it teaches him to extemporise smartly, sometimes brilliantly; it turns out clever leading-article writers, ready and plausible speakers; it gives the power of seeing several sides of a question, the weak points of everything. As I remember to have heard a famous Oxford lecturer of twenty years ago say, "If my university has taught me anything, I hope it has taught me how to sneer." But it leaves no time for the patient following out of any favourite study, or for any reading beyond what the examination course requires. It dwarfs individuality by running every mind into the same mould; it chills the passion for truth by making the learner care less for ascertaining what is the best and right view of a question than what are the neat things that can be said about it; it gives a false conception of study by accustoming men to run rapidly through a book or a topic so as to snap up its salient points and get them into a form which admits of rapid statement, instead of mastering it thoroughly and meditating on it deeply; it sets before young men as the goal of their efforts, not knowledge or wisdom, but distinction and pecuniary prizes; and, as if the passion for success were not already sufficiently strong in England, it makes, not learning, not culture, not the development of the whole intellectual and moral nature, but emulation and the thirst for advancement in life the influences and motives which dominate the mind just when it is most impressionable and

most capable of unselfish enthusiasm. These are its results on the candidates for the higher honour degrees and the fellowships, those who, forming less than one-third of the undergraduates, are the only students that can be said to study. As for those who take what are called the pass or poll courses, the university does not seriously attempt to educate them. They are worried by examinations and lectures, not so much with a view to their mental benefit as to prevent the evils which unchecked idleness would involve; and they look upon examinations and lectures as disagreeable interruptions to those amusements which are for them the real business of university life.

I do not wish to overstate the case against the present system. Not only are there many distinguished men among the college as well as the university teachers at Oxford and Cambridge, there is a keen intellectual activity among the students. The social life in the better colleges, with its unequalled opportunities for forming life-long friendships, its easy and cordial intercourse between the teachers and the taught, is something which no man who has once enjoyed it can ever forget. It is both more refined and more stimulating than any other places of education can offer. In it, far more than in their ancient buildings, their sumptuous appointments, their exquisite gardens, their air of mediæval dignity, their solemn train of historical associations, lies the glory and the charm of the two great English universities. But all this must not make us forget that those functions which the country requires from them of serving all classes of its population, and of giving an abundant supply of the best teaching in all subjects, have not been fulfilled by them hitherto, and will not be the better fulfilled in consequence of these two Commissions.

He who seeks the cause of this failure will be driven to find no small part of it in the endowments with which the well-meaning munificence of founders and benefactors has loaded the colleges. Turgot and Lord Sherbrooke would seem to be right in holding that the evils of charitable endowments are incurable, and that they injure education just as they have injured the poor and the Christian Church. Spontaneous development, adapting itself to the needs of the time, appears to be the universally true and safe rule in human affairs and institutions; and as endowments have in a hundred other instances prevented such development and perpetuated unsuitable forms, so now they have obliged the Commissioners to keep up a wasteful system and to pass by the real and vital needs of the time. It would probably be better for Oxford and Cambridge if all their endowments (except, perhaps, those of some few college scholarships and fellowships) were sunk in buildings, libraries, and apparatus, and not a penny paid to any one by way of salary. However, this is a

speculation which need not be pursued, for no such radical change would have a chance of being considered. Nor is there much use in suggesting any scheme of improvement. There have been many such; there are many such still current among university reformers. The present writer has his scheme, but sees no object in taking up the pages of this Review in stating it; for we are now, alas! not at the beginning, but at the end, of a reform of the universities. The Commissions have done their work, and no comprehensive reform, no reform which will embrace all the colleges, and the universities with the colleges, can be attempted for many years to come. The prospect is not cheering. With all her unrivalled advantages, all her wealth, all the dignity and influence she enjoys in the country, all the eminent men who have adorned her, Oxford seems likely to continue to be little more than a training school of literary rhetoric for the upper classes.

Nevertheless, it may be worth while, having dwelt on the faults of the present system, to indicate the principal changes which, in the opinion of those whose views I have been endeavouring to state, would raise the two universities into a sounder condition, and bring them into harmony with the needs of our time. Something may be done, even without a comprehensive reform under parliamentary authority, by the action of each university herself and of the several colleges, when once they have learnt to work towards a common object.

These changes would be, as respects both Cambridge and Oxford, the following:—

I. Recognition of the principle that the colleges exist for the sake of the university, and that the application of their endowments must be entirely subordinated to university ends.

II. Enforcement of this principle by largely increased contributions from the colleges to the funds of the university.

III. Establishment of a complete system of university instruction, by largely increasing the number of professors and other university teachers, so that there shall be abundance of lectures given in every department of human knowledge, and particularly in professional subjects, such as medicine, law, engineering, applied chemistry.

IV. Raising the efficiency of public university teaching by making a considerable part of the teacher's income depend upon fees in all cases where large classes can be looked for. (In subjects which attract few students he must, of course, continue to be paid by salary chiefly).

V. Restriction of the educational functions of the colleges to the giving of what may be called private and personal help and advice to their junior members.

VI. Such a modification of the examination system as will greatly diminish the present stress of competition, and thereby

(*a*) Leave the student's mind in a more free, natural, and healthy condition.

(*b*) Lead the colleges to desist from the practice of teaching and training the undergraduates with a view solely to the winning of examination honours.

VII. Attracting students who do not intend to take a degree course, but only to pursue some one subject or group of subjects. This to be accomplished partly by the provision of better and wider university instruction (III. supra), partly by making it known that such students, whether in a college or unattached, will be, so long as they are diligent, placed on a footing of equality with those who follow the regular degree courses.

VIII. Inducing students, and especially those intended for mercantile life, or for the less learned professions, to come up at the age of sixteen or seventeen, instead of nineteen.

IX. Such an improved application of college endowments as will make them more helpful to the poorer class, and less liable to be engrossed by those who do not need them.[1]

X. Such changes in the degree courses and methods of teaching as may serve to diminish the idleness and indifference to learning of the majority of the students. (I cannot hold, with some ardent reformers, that the so-called "pass-men," or "poll-men," should be prevented from coming to the university, believing that they generally gain something by their three years there. But it is a great reproach to Oxford and Cambridge that nearly one-half of their students should leave them having received no sensible intellectual impulse, having formed no taste for any kind of study.)

Although these suggestions apply to both universities, the second and third seem more specially appropriate to Oxford, because at Cambridge more money has been given to the university, and a larger provision made for the creation of university readerships and lectureships. A Cambridge friend, whose name, were I to mention it, would give far more weight to his opinion than any I could hope to have allowed to my own, holds that an eleventh suggestion should be added, viz.:—

XI. Abolition of prize fellowships. Their retention, in his view and that of those who at Cambridge think with him, will probably prevent the due development and successful working of any professorial system of university instruction. The point is of less importance as regards Oxford, because there the number of prize fellowships will probably be smaller, and because such fellowships are there awarded by examinations held by each college for itself, whereas in

(1) I admit the difficulty of doing this, but believe that much more may be done towards it than the Commissioners have attempted. To indicate the means, however, would take up far more space than is here available.

Cambridge they are given (in nearly all colleges) upon the results of the University tripos examinations.

Of the above suggestions the fifth is that which will be considered most revolutionary. It could not be adequately defended without entering into details unsuited to an article like the present. I confine myself, therefore, to remarking that under the existing Oxford system, as reconstructed by the Commission, the college teaching must necessarily dwarf and paralyze that of the university, without being able to effect what might be effected by a proper body of university teachers. So far from wishing to destroy the colleges, as social institutions, I am profoundly sensible of their value, and trust they may long continue to be a distinctive and conspicuous feature in English life. As respects most of the other objects proposed, it is not so much their desirability that needs to be established, as the possibility of attaining them, and the means to be employed. But in these matters, the great thing is to have faith in the power of true principles. Let us get hold of a sound principle, and trust to it; let us not be afraid of trying all sorts of experiments in applying it. Education is more of a science, more of an experimental science, than we generally suppose. The difficulty is, as in every other department of practical politics and economics, to eliminate prejudice and to overcome the resistance of vested interests.

The late Dean of Westminster was fond of quoting the saying of the great Scottish economist who, when entertained at Oxford more than forty years ago, exclaimed, after he had been shown all the sights of the city, "No place of education in the world has such opportunities as this, and no place," he added after a pause, "makes so little use of them." There is still too much truth in the saying. Yet no one who remembers how great has been the progress made since it was uttered ought to despond of the future. Contrast the present activity of the universities, the zeal of their teachers, their sensitiveness to the opinion of the country, the interest which the country takes in them, with the apathy and sloth of last century, when the juniors drank and hunted, and the seniors drank and slept. They are doing more for England than they have done at any time since the sixteenth century. But England, too, has far more work to do, and expects more help from them, not merely in the field of pure learning, but in that of her political and material interests. The duties and responsibilities of her Empire are an enormous burden, a burden which grows even in the hands of those who would fain keep it within limits. She is more and more pressed by the competition of other countries, some of them possessed of far greater material resources. To hold her great place and fulfil her great mission in the world she needs to develop to the uttermost the moral and intellectual forces of her people, to bring the best men to the

front, and give them the completest equipment of ideas and acquirements, together with the highest sense of civic duty, and the deepest reverence for those relations of the present to the past which England has maintained unbroken, and which her ancient universities so well typify. *Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque.*

There is an even wider aspect of this university question, on which, before concluding, a word or two may be said. England is no longer what she was a century and a half ago, an isolated nation living by herself and for herself. She is the intellectual heart and centre of a vast population dispersed throughout the world, which speaks her language, reads her literature, follows and is swayed by all the religious and philosophical and artistic movements which pass over her, looks back to her older history as its history, regards her as a parent, and her soil as home. This population, which is already some sixty millions as against the thirty-five millions of the United Kingdom, will, in half a century more, have reached two hundred millions in North America alone: nor will the severance of political ties, if it should come in the case of some of the great colonies, make any more difference than it does in the case of the United States to those far more potent bonds which community of blood and speech and ideas and customs have spun. Our relations with the whole of this English race outside England are more cordial than they have ever been before. The colonists have no longer the old grounds of complaint. The Americans in the United States, now that they see that we respect them as our equals, are far less jealous than heretofore; indeed, it may be said that jealousy is being rapidly replaced by sympathy. They, who know us better than we as yet know them, are coming to feel that they are substantially one people with the English; as those who in England watch America most closely are similarly perceiving that we are one people with them; and that if we have something to teach, we have also much to learn and to gain. Communication has become so easy and so cheap that it takes a shorter time, and involves less risk, to reach London from San Francisco or Melbourne than it took in Queen Anne's time to reach it from Inverness. We see every spring larger and larger numbers of wealthy men from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and still greater throngs of travellers of all conditions from the United States, landing on our shores and finding themselves, if they stay for a month or two, quickly and easily domesticated among us. The influence which England exercises by her literature over all this population she might, no doubt to a far smaller, but still to a considerable extent, exercise by her universities. They have advantages, both intellectual and social, which no colonial university can for a long time approach, and which very few American universities can at present claim to rival. The sons of the rich have already begun

to come from Australia and Canada, and will no doubt come more and more generally as the level of culture continues to rise in those new communities. When a young American crosses the Atlantic to complete his education, it is usually to Germany that he goes, because he rightly believes that there he is likely to find the most completely organized system of instruction in every subject. If England offered instruction equally good and equally complete, he would prefer an English university, whose social life would be not only far more accessible and agreeable to him, but also far more instructive, since England is of more consequence to America and America to England than any other country can possibly be to either. Such students would seldom come to take the full degree course. They would have gone through a course and obtained a degree at their own colleges already. They would come to get the best teaching in some particular department during a year or two, and at the same time to learn to know England, a more valuable piece of knowledge for the Transatlantic visitor than to learn German or to know Germany or France. And if only the English universities could afford those attractions of a free entrance and ready access to the best teaching in all subjects which the universities of Germany now provide, they would come in numbers sufficient to form a new social tie and a new source of political goodwill between the two countries.

If any reader thinks this suggestion fanciful, I can only reply by saying that it has been formed after conversation with eminent men in the universities of America, who do not so regard it, and by asking such a reader to reflect on the astonishing growth not only of the population of America, but of that part of the population, relatively larger than here, which is rich enough to be able to cross the ocean for the sake of pursuing learning and science. However, be it fanciful or not, it lies outside the main thesis of this article. Whether Oxford and Cambridge can do anything for the English race throughout the world, they can do much for it in England—much more than they have done in time past, or than, it must regretfully be added, they seem on the road to do for it now.

JAMES BRYCE.

BRAZIL AND HER RAILWAYS.

THE notable advance, in recent years, in the value of British securities of the more solid kind, has been the subject of much discussion. That advance has not only been large but gradual, and the prudent investor has been perplexed to account for it. One operating cause, which may readily prove to have been the chief one, has been left out of the reckoning. It is now, however, more generally admitted that the enhancement of the values of home and colonial securities has been due in some measure to distrust of the securities of foreign countries. There has assuredly been reason for such distrust. The prosperity of the years preceding the panic of 1875 was a spurious prosperity. Our foreign trade had been enormous and prices had been high. Great Britain manufactured, produced, exported, and sold large quantities of merchandise at apparently a large profit; she even received payment for her goods in cash. Yet, as a matter of fact, she herself provided the money. The purchases of the foreigner in the English market, which enriched the Exchequer and caused trade to be driven at high pressure, were made with English money—with the proceeds of English loans to foreign governments and subscriptions to foreign enterprises. The enterprises for the most part proved profitless; the foreign governments into whose coffers our capital had gone, either through poverty or dishonesty, have not paid the interest on their debts. The result was an amount of disaster sufficient to alarm that least discriminating and most careless speculator in the world, the English investor. Distrust, as has been said, of all foreign securities succeeded the previous excess of confidence. It was only natural that the feeling should be carried to the other extreme, and that, in the remembrance of numerous defaults, we should have forgotten the few instances of the punctilious fulfilment of engagements. In short, investors have, in this respect, used no discrimination. The absence of this quality has resulted in a short-sighted policy, unjust on the one hand to some of our best customers, and prejudicial, on the other, to the investor. To place all foreign loans and enterprises under the ban of one universal condemnation has been equally impolitic and inequitable. For of foreign states there are the honest as well as the dishonest, the solvent as well as the insolvent; whilst England, least of all nations, can afford to dispense with the custom of the former, or to relinquish the profitable employment of her capital in legitimate foreign enterprise.

Of the hundreds of millions loaned or invested abroad in the few years of inflation, the greater portion went to the New World, and

was sent there with disastrous results. Even the United States, solvent as a country, has failed to pay interest on a great portion of the British capital then invested in her railroads. And whilst this has been the case with the Great Republic, most of the other States—Mexico and Peru, Guatemala and Honduras, Costa Rica and Ecuador, Bolivia and Uruguay—have become synonymous for repudiation or insolvency. The consequence is that the ordinary investor lumps together all South American securities, the good, the bad, and the indifferent. He forgets the exceptions to the general rule of default—that three of the States, Chili, the Argentine Confederation, and Brazil, have faithfully fulfilled their engagements.

It would, I think, be worth while to attempt to dispel these fallacies by an inquiry into the economic conditions of the foreign countries habitually applying for English capital for industrial enterprises. Such an inquiry, if thorough in its nature and helped by personal knowledge of the facts, should result in showing how far our confidence has a substantial basis. What, therefore, I now propose to do in reference to the empire of Brazil is to describe its industrial enterprises, and especially its railways, their present position and future prospects; and to supplement this with a brief survey of the political, social, and economic conditions of the country and its resources. Such a study will, at all events, prove a useful guide to readers unacquainted with the subject, and will help them to a just appreciation of Brazil as a field for the employment of British capital. In selecting this one country for the inquiry, I have no desire to disparage the prospects offered by either Chili or the Argentine Confederation. But the former is, at the moment, in some little financial confusion in consequence of the war with Peru. The extent, too, of Chilian territory is comparatively small, and her prosperity is relatively dependent too much on the production of copper. The resources of the Argentine Confederation are undoubtedly boundless; but, compared with Brazil, its government is unsettled. Brazil, on the other hand, possesses not only unlimited resources, but resources of the most varied nature, and also enjoys the advantage of a settled government in the form of a limited monarchy, such as few countries but our own can boast.

The empire of Brazil lies between the mountain ranges of Peru and Bolivia on the west, and the Atlantic Ocean on the east, along which it has a coast-line extending from four degrees above the equator, near the mouth of the Amazon, in the north, to thirty-three degrees south, within 300 miles of the estuary of the River Plate. The length of this coast-line is nearly 4,000 miles. The country has the great width of 2,600 miles about eight degrees south of the equator. It narrows considerably towards its northern frontier, whilst towards the south the width gradually diminishes to a comparative strip of land lying between the river Uruguay and the sea,

and bordered by the republic of Uruguay. This territory of 3,200,000 square miles is as large as that of the United States between the Atlantic and the great lakes. Two magnificent mountain chains rise behind the capital, Rio de Janeiro, and extend, the one over 500 miles towards the north and the other 250 miles southward, at a distance of ten to one hundred miles from the coast. These mountains rise abruptly from the low-lying sea coast, and, unlike European ranges, descend on the other side only one-third of their height, forming an interior plateau elevated 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, offering extraordinary, if as yet only little developed, pastoral resources. This immense plateau, which rolls away southward in gentle undulations and a gradual slope towards the great rivers, is broken by another mountain range, extending from the frontier of the province of Pernambuco, near the equator, across the entire empire, having other minor ranges connected with it. This lofty mountain chain divides the country into two immense watersheds; the northern one being drained by numerous rivers into the great basin of the Amazon, which is within Brazilian territory, and the other to the south, into the rivers Parana and Uruguay.

The soil of Brazil is of surpassing fertility. The climate of the northern provinces, Para, Maranham, Pernambuco, and Bahia, is tropical; but, except in places, the altitude of the country makes them unusually healthy, as tropical districts. The southern provinces, Rio de Janeiro, San Paulo, Minas Geraes, Rio Grande do Sul, and Parana, are all extremely healthy, and offer every advantage in this respect to European immigration. The capital, Rio de Janeiro, has one of the most magnificent harbours in the world. Whilst the northern provinces give tropical products, and specially sugar and cotton in great abundance, the southern portion of the empire is suitable for the growth of every variety of crops. It furnishes coffee, the principal staple of Brazil, in enormous quantities. Sugar, too, has lately been cultivated with marked success. Cotton, also an industry of recent growth—dating, in fact, from the cotton famine—now forms a large portion of the exports from the south, as it has always done from the north. As a matter of fact, the yield of it is much greater than can be obtained in the United States. Every kind of grain can be successfully raised, in such abundance, indeed, that maize yields from two hundred to four hundred fold, and wheat from thirty to seventy fold. The slopes of the great mountains and the southern plains have an ample growth of succulent grass, admirably adapting them for breeding and feeding cattle of every kind. The export of jerked beef and hides has always been the principal trade of the port of Rio Grande do Sul, and the market at Rio de Janeiro is now supplied with prime beef from the sierras of San Paulo and Minas Geraes. The mineral wealth of the country is so great, that while its

capital may be said to be as yet untouched, its ultimate resources are practically inexhaustible. In the foregoing enumeration I have not included all the provinces by name. The province of Matto Grosso, for example, which lies on the confines of Bolivia, is practically a new country. Then, again, going north; it is not possible to form a notion of the productiveness, in the future, of the great basin of the Amazon. It is only in recent years that any attempt has been made to develop the latent resources of the empire. A special interest is added to our inquiry by the fact that the money furnished by English capitalists has been applied largely, if not solely, to such development, in increasing the means of communication and transport between the different centres of industry and the seaboard.

As regards population, the number of people, which was reckoned at the time of the declaration of independence in 1824 at four and a half millions, is now estimated to exceed eleven and a half millions, a number which only suffices to people sparsely a fringe of the coast-line and the more favoured provinces of the south. Thus, in 1872, Minas Geraes contained 1,500,000 inhabitants; San Paulo, 838,000; Rio Grande do Sul, 455,000; and the province of Rio de Janeiro, inclusive of the capital itself, 1,050,000 inhabitants. As to the polity and progress of the empire, from the time Brazil ceased to be a Portuguese colony, its material, moral, and intellectual advance has been continuous and considerable. The revenue, which in 1826 was only £604,000, is now £12,896,000; whilst its external trade, which has now reached £36,756,150, was then little over £2,250,000. In 1823, 185,000 bags of coffee were exported from Rio de Janeiro. In 1880 the export had increased to 3,513,368 bags. Since the accession of the present emperor, in 1840, to the present day, the empire has progressed uniformly in civilisation. A considerable sum is now devoted by the Government to the purposes of education, and for the support of institutions devoted to technical and special teaching; whilst in the capital alone an additional sum of £100,800 is annually applied to primary and gratuitous education. The political constitution of the country is, as I have said, that of a limited monarchy. It possesses a representative government, guided by the Emperor, operating through two Houses of Parliament and a responsible Ministry. The electoral system is based on a liberal franchise, which has been recently changed from an indirect to a direct mode of election, thus increasing the representative character of the constitution. Whilst internal tranquillity has thus been assured, religious intolerance, once a source of political disquiet, has decreased. The opposition to civil marriage has almost entirely disappeared. One other difficult question, slavery, has also been faced with courage, and treated from an enlightened point of view. The slave trade itself was wholly suppressed thirty years ago, whilst a law was passed

which has made the children of slaves free, and this has now been in operation over eleven years. The institution of slavery is, in fact, publicly condemned, and by the operation of the law named the number of slaves has diminished, and now only represents a tenth of the total population, the rest of which enjoy unrestricted political freedom and a large share of social equality.

Having thus given a brief outline of the features and condition of the country, I will pass to the consideration of the position and prospects of its chief industrial undertaking—the system of railways. The railways of Brazil may be divided into three series or groups. The first group comprises the lines for which a government guarantee was voted in 1852, 1855, and 1857, and may be called the experimental series. The second group is a growth from the first, consisting of minor and branch lines, built and equipped with native capital, and in so much of less interest to us. The third group or series comprises the railways lately built, and mostly in course of construction, authorised by the law of 24th September, 1873, issued more than twenty years after the decree authorising the construction of the first series. The aim of the latest measure is to furnish each province with the needful communication, and the funds for the purpose have been readily found in this country.

The first series of railways, on the capital of which the State guaranteed a minimum interest of 7 per cent. for thirty years, comprised three separate lines in the provinces of Pernambuco, Bahia, and San Paulo respectively. In the former province, the Recife [1] and Sao Francisco railway runs from Cinco Pontas, near the port of Pernambuco, south-westerly, terminating on the river Una. It traverses a sugar district, having stations about four miles apart. Its length is seventy-seven and a half miles, and its total capital is £1,285,660. The Bahia and Sao Salvador railway starts from the city of Bahia, the capital of the province and the second largest city of the empire, traversing the sugar, tobacco, and cotton districts to the town of Alagoinhas. Its length is seventy-seven miles, and the guaranteed capital £1,800,000. It was the intention that both these lines should, as may be inferred from the names, be continued to the river Sao Francisco, making a junction above the falls, and tapping the immense inland district served by that waterway. Any extension is, however, likely to be a work of the distant future. The San Paulo railway has a capital of £2,650,000, and enjoys a government guarantee of 7 per cent. for ninety years from 1858. It starts from the port of Santos, from which cotton and other produce is largely shipped, is carried up the acclivity of the mountain range to the city of San Paulo, and thence to its termination at Jundiahy, from which, however, the route is carried on by a native company. The

(1) "Recife," I should explain, is literally "reef," and is an alternative name for the port commercially known as "Pernambuco."

length of the railway is eighty-six and a half miles. The total capital of these three guaranteed lines is, it will be seen, £5,735,660.

Besides these railways, the concessions for which were given to English companies, the Government decreed, at the same time, the construction of the Dom Pedro Segundo line. This railway has, since its completion, been worked by the Government, and now returns to it 8 per cent. on the large capital of £24,000 per mile expended in its construction. It starts from Rio de Janeiro, traverses the most important part of the province to E Barra do Pirahy, where it branches to the province of San Paulo on the one side, and to the southern part of the province of Minas Geraes on the other. Its construction involved great engineering skill and much labour. The length in operation is 426 miles, and 65 miles are under construction. The cost, which has been defrayed by the State, amounted to £10,000,000.

During the early period of the existence of the subsidised lines, and before traffic was developed, the guaranteed interest had to be made good out of the Imperial treasury. Traffics have since so largely increased, that the net revenues are sufficient for the most part to enable them to dispense with the government guarantee. One of them, the San Paulo, contributes a profit to the State. It last year paid a dividend of 10½ per cent. on its capital, and handed to the Treasury £57,902; being one-half of the net receipts over and above 8 per cent. upon its capital, to which payment the Government is entitled until it is reimbursed for all advances previously made under the guarantee. In considering the financial results of the first series, the surplus receipts of the Dom Pedro Segundo line may fairly be included. If we take the difference between the actual net income of this line and the interest on the capital if borrowed at 5 per cent., as it virtually is, we have an annual income from this source of £336,490; and if to this be added the surplus receipts of the San Paulo line, we have a total of £394,392 as against a total annual liability of the Government of £391,783; thus showing that the liability of the State on the first series is more than covered by the sum of £2,609 per annum. There is a word more to be said on this head. Of the two lines which still require State support, the claims of the Bahia line alone are important. The idea of reaching the falls of the Sao Francisco was grand, but impracticable. It has unfortunately prejudiced the companies, for the route taken was not direct to the chief area of production. The lines projected and in course of construction in the two provinces are happily not open to this objection.

After the complete opening of these trunk lines, about the year 1862, the second group or series was commenced. This consists of an entire network of provincial lines, forming extensions and branches of the main lines, and constructed by Brazilian enterprise and

Brazilian capital, without any Imperial guarantee. In some instances, however, the companies enjoy provincial guarantees of a moderate amount. Of these railways, established without Imperial aid, details would occupy much space, and would scarcely help our inquiry. I must be content, therefore, to say of them that many of the lines are now earning from 7 to 10 per cent. on their capital, and that the total length is 2,305 miles, of which 1,382 miles are in operation, and 923 miles under construction.

By the law of the 24th September, 1873, to which reference has already been made, the construction of the third group or series was decreed. It authorised the construction of twelve railways in the various provinces of the empire, the Government undertaking to guarantee interest at 7 per cent. for 30 years upon twelve and a half millions of capital to be appropriated to their construction. The distribution amongst the several provinces has been made on the equitable principle of giving to each an amount of railway communication in proportion to its population and necessities. Like the railways comprising the first series, these lines are designed to supply the main arterial communications between the productive centres and the seaports of the different districts; and it will doubtless be found, as in the case of that series, that private enterprise will supply subsidiary lines. The following are the twelve railways constructed, or under construction, under this decree :—

The Great Western of Brazil, in the province of Pernambuco; length, 60 miles; capital, £562,000.

The Conde d'Eu, in the province of Parahyba; length, 75 miles; capital, £675,000.

The Campos and Carangola, in the province of Rio de Janeiro; length, 215 miles; capital, £675,000.

The Imperial Central of Bahia, in that province; length, 187¾ miles; capital, £1,462,500.

The Minas and Rio, in the province of Minas Geraes; length, 106 miles; capital, £1,816,875.

The Donna Theresa Christina, in the province of Santa Catharina; length, 73 miles; capital, £713,238.

The Natal and Nova Cruz, in the province of Rio Grande do Norte; length, 75 miles; capital, £618,300.

The Alagoas, in the province of Maceio; length, 55 miles; capital, £512,212.

The San Paulo and Rio, in the province of San Paulo; length, 145 miles; capital, £1,200,000.

The Rio Grande do Sul Railways, in that province; length, 300 miles; capital, £2,700,367.

The Quarahin and Itaqui, also in the above province; length, 124 miles; capital, £675,000.

The Companie Generale (Parana), in the province of Parana; length, 68 miles; capital, £889,508.

Total mileage, 1,483. Total guaranteed capital, £12,500,000.

I should perhaps observe that the first eight in the above list have already been successfully issued in London.

With the third series, the approximate length of both guaranteed and unguaranteed railways in Brazil is 4,400 miles, of which 2,500 miles are already in operation and 1,900 miles in construction or planned. The cost of the constructed portion has been an average of about £12,700 per mile. Out of the 2,500 miles now working, most of which, although some are only recently constructed, are earning good dividends, made up in some instances with the aid of the government guarantee, over 1,400 miles have been worked for some years, and earn an average dividend of 8 per cent. per annum. It will be observed that both groups of railways guaranteed by the State have been established on a principle of equity to the whole population. The object of the Government has been to obtain main routes of traffic from the coast to the interior of the country, so as to insure, to the producer, the cheapest and most expeditious mode of transit for his products to the seaports. I should add that when the Government, in 1855, undertook the liability of £391,783 per annum involved in the guarantee of interest on the first series, the revenue amounted to only £4,194,200. With this revenue rapidly increasing the State was well able to support the burden until the railways became self-supporting. Moreover, the railways themselves materially helped to increase the revenue; for it goes without saying that their construction has incalculably increased the trade, commerce, and material prosperity of the country.

Having now learned the character, cost, and revenues of the entire network of railways in the empire, it will be gratifying to note how large a share Great Britain has taken in the work. The participation of other countries in it has been so small, that it may be said England has practically accomplished the whole of it. From the declaration of Brazilian independence to the present time, England has been the moneyed partner of Brazil. The loans of the empire have been subscribed here, and the railways have been made by English engineers and contractors with English capital. England furnished the technical knowledge, and supplied the material of construction and all the rolling and fixed stock. The co-partnership has been profitable to both partners. In the first series, all the concessions came into the hands of Englishmen, and these railways were entirely carried out under English superintendence. And although the initiation and construction of the second group of railways is due to native enterprise, yet the greater part of the material used in the construction, together with the rolling and

fixed stock, was purchased in this country. Of the £12,500,000 of guaranteed capital appropriated to the third series, concessions absorbing five-sixths of the whole have been confided to English capitalists and contractors; and with the exception of a trivial amount raised in France, the necessary capital has been raised here.

If it be not possible to ascertain with absolute correctness the profit derived from these undertakings, a tolerable estimate may be made. The shares of the twelve railways quoted on the London Stock Exchange stand at a greater or less premium above their par value. The difference between their par value and the quoted value is £3,120,978. To this total must be added the profit on the materials, on the equipment, and on the contracts for the construction of the lines. It may be fairly estimated that the material purchased in this country would be equal to one-fourth of the total cost of the railways, or £4,558,915. If on this a profit of 10 per cent. be assumed, the amount would be £455,891. Assuming also that the contractors may have realised a profit of 10 per cent. upon their contracts, amounting in the aggregate to £18,235,660, a further profit would arise of £1,823,566. These figures bring the profit of the English partner in the business to the formidable total of £5,400,435, irrespective of the profit made by our shipping on the sea-carriage of the material, which I do not estimate. Bearing in mind also that the capital invested has returned an interest of from 6 to 7 per cent. per annum, I think it will be admitted that the money partner in these transactions has good reason to be satisfied.

In concluding this portion of my subject, I should observe that the high esteem in which Brazilian railway stocks stand in our money market has recently had a very natural result. On the 3rd February, 1881, the Government found active competitors for the concession of the Rio Grande do Sul railway at 1 per cent. under the heretofore guaranteed interest of 7 per cent. It is related of the Quaker banker of Darlington, Joseph Pease, one of the earliest promoters of English railways, and a personal friend and patron of George Stephenson, that he once said to the latter, who then usually charged £5 per day for his professional services: "If I were thee, George, I would charge £10 a day. People would think the better of thee." The English firm of contractors who offered to construct the Rio Grande do Sul railway on a guarantee of 6 per cent. did, in effect, give similar advice to the Brazilian Government. The advice was taken. The Government has resolved to limit the guaranteed interest on all future public works to 6 per cent. per annum. Other large enterprises have since been undertaken at the lesser rate, and it seems probable that people will think the better of Brazil for appraising her own credit at a higher value.

The custom of raising the capital required, as and when required, involves necessarily a large number of separate issues, and brings

the Brazilian demand for money continually before the public. It has given rise to an erroneous impression that public enterprise is being pushed forward with a rapidity disproportioned to the means of the country. That this is not the case can readily be shown. When the public revenue amounted to only £4,194,200, the Government, as we have seen, undertook a liability in respect of the first group of railways of £895,500, or nearly one-fourth of that revenue. Later, when the revenue reached the sum of £10,800,000, its current liabilities, in respect of the guarantees for the third group of railways, reached £868,248, or only one-twelfth of the total revenue. It follows, therefore, that in the proportion indicated, the State was far better able to guarantee the third than it was to guarantee the first series. Moreover, with the increased and progressing trade and commerce of the country, it seems likely that the liability in respect to the third series will disappear more rapidly than that in respect to the first has disappeared.

It is not my present purpose to deal with the question of the national debt of the empire; but I may say that, when deduction is made for the temporary or extraordinary expenditure on public works, which sooner or later *will* become reproductive, the budgets have for many years nearly balanced. The foreign debt, which amounts to £20,653,937 (exclusive of the new loan just issued), is rapidly repaid by the operation of a sinking fund. Other loans will doubtless be issued; but it may be fairly assumed that the same prudence which has guided the financial policy of the past will guide that policy in the future. The internal debt, though large, is in no sense a danger to the country, for it is exclusively held by the Brazilians themselves. It had its origin in the days of the war with Paraguay—a war which in effect threw Brazilian progress back a decade, and from the effects of which the country has only recently thoroughly recovered.

It will be seen that remunerative investments have been found for English capital in Brazil. Considering the magnitude of the empire, and the necessity for improved means of communication, it is clear the field for further investment is practically unlimited. The question, therefore, to be answered is, Are there any rocks ahead on which our fortunes might split? The answer is, that there are undoubtedly features affecting the prosperity of the country which it would be unwise to ignore if our inquiry is to be effective. The chief considerations are five in number—viz. slavery, immigration, the succession to the throne, the question of the frontier-line involving war, and the production of coffee.

As to slavery. With the advance of civilisation and the application of machinery to production, this institution is probably doomed. If the prosperity of Brazil rested mainly on the continuance of slavery, I should despair of her rising to the magnitude of a great

power, or developing a strength commensurate with the extent of her territory. But so far from this being the case, Brazil has for the last thirty years been cutting herself adrift from the "peculiar institution," the importance of which to her prosperity is daily diminishing both relatively and positively. In 1831 the law freed all Africans thenceforth brought into the empire; in 1850 the slave trade was effectually abolished; in 1871, as I have said before, the Law of Emancipation freed all children born of slave parents after its promulgation, and established an emancipation fund designed to give gradual freedom. The action of the law is accelerated by the action of individuals who release their slaves from bondage. The slave population of Brazil in August, 1872, numbered 1,510,815. And whilst of this large number the Emancipation Act has freed only 11,000 in eleven years, 60,000 have been freed by the operation of private philanthropy.

The question for consideration on this point is not one of sentiment, but whether the economical constitution of the State will be seriously injured by the disappearance of slavery. In the opinion of those best able to judge, the abolition of slavery will not be sudden. Nor is it thought there is any probability that its collapse will endanger the future of Brazil by social convulsion, civil war, or the lack of labour. In the tropical north, which is the black man's paradise, and where his services are really indispensable, it is not likely the negro population will either disappear or deteriorate. We may, indeed, assume that the negro will, as a freed man, working for his own profit, not labour less willingly than heretofore he has laboured for a taskmaster. In the southern provinces, by far the most important part of the empire, any loss of negro labour will be compensated by the free labour of European immigration, which it may be expected will gradually take the place of the former. There are two other aspects of this question, reassuring in the face of the certainty that, by mortality and more rapid emancipation, free labour, whether black or white, must be the labour of the future. Brazil has a considerable Indian population. The men are called Indians, but they are in reality whites, the original inhabitants of the country. The number is reckoned at half a million, which probably underestimates the total, as they live away from civilisation. These men, when brought into contact with civilisation, are found to be docile and industrious, and as the country is opened up may largely recruit the ranks of labour. Again, there is no marked line drawn between black and white. The existence of a large mulatto population is an assurance that there will be no abrupt severance of the interests of the two races in this way linked together by blood.

As to immigration, the tide has hitherto set towards the river Plate because of the advantages and facilities of communication which it offers to the European settler. The southern provinces of Brazil

are, however, quite as fertile and as healthy and temperate as the countries farther south; whilst the Government is infinitely more stable than that of the neighbouring republics. With the increased means of communication, immigration is already taking this direction. Rio Grande do Sul alone contains a German population exceeding seventy thousand. Official statistics show that the number of third-class passengers—all of whom may be fairly assumed to be emigrants—arriving in Rio de Janeiro in the two years 1880 and 1881 was 40,783. Of these, Portugal sent 17,280. But it is a significant fact, as showing that other nations are now turning their eyes to Brazil, that the total included 13,596 Italians, 4,236 Germans, and 3,920 Spaniards. I should add that the Portuguese and Spaniards settled chiefly in the seaports, whilst the Italians and Germans went on into the interior. The completion of communications now in hand should, I think, give considerable impulse to immigration, which will also be encouraged by the passing of the Protestant Emancipation Bill, that has established religious freedom.

As to the succession, reflections on this subject must be more than usually affected by the striking personality of the present emperor, who is still in the full vigour of life. Of his capacity and patriotism I need say nothing, for he is acknowledged to be one of the first monarchs of the century. His strict adherence to the letter of the Constitution has helped to endear him to his people, whilst it has stamped the polity of the country. The dynasty, in truth, seems as firmly fixed as our own. The succession to the throne is fixed by law approved by the people, and will doubtless take effect as quietly as it would with us. The Princess Isabella, daughter of the Emperor and heiress to the throne, is married to the Conde d'Eu, grandson of Louis Philippe. Her husband, therefore, inherits the traditions of a great governing family, and has become popular through his successful conclusion of the Paraguayan war. A succession thus legally assured, embodying the religion and traditions of the people, is a guarantee for the continuance of social order and prosperity. There are no pretenders to the throne; whilst the exhibition of republican misrule in the other South American States must endear their own form of government to the Brazilians.

As to the frontier question, it would be to travel in search of difficulties to imagine that in an immense and sparsely peopled country like Brazil any dispute about frontier would occasion war. It is true that the Missiones question was a question of frontier. The fact, however, that it has been submitted to the arbitration of the Queen of England, is an argument in favour of what is here advanced. Brazil entertains no feelings of animosity towards her neighbours, and she is placed beyond the influence of European political complications. The war, too, waged with Paraguay, although successful,

has left bitter experiences. The Brazilian people are not war-like; and it is understood to be the settled policy of the Government to avoid extensions of the empire, whilst maintaining its integrity. Under these circumstances war would appear to be one of the least probable events in the future history of the empire.

It cannot be denied that Brazil depends largely for her prosperity on a single product. "Coffee is King," they say in Rio; and well they may, for its production represents more than half of the average value of the exported produce for the last fourteen years. Since 1876, inclusive, it has exceeded this proportion. In the year 1876-77 the value of coffee exported was £11,211,100, and in the year 1877-78, £11,020,500, out of a total export of £19,556,300 and £18,634,900 in the two years respectively. In 1878-79 it gave £11,348,100 out of a total of £20,405,700, which included cotton, sugar, hides, india-rubber, mate, tobacco, gold, and diamonds. In quantity, the export of coffee in these years was nearly one-half the total annual consumption of the world. The importance, therefore, of its production is apparent. It appears, however, to rest on a secure basis. The Brazilian planter can compete successfully with any other planter in the markets of the world, and will be aided largely by the economy of transport afforded by the new communications with the seaboard. The culture of the plant is not, fortunately, dependent on slave labour. Official statistics show that, so far back as seven years ago, more than half the labour employed in the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, and San Paulo, was free—the proportion being 662·371 free and 521·102 slave labourers, a proportion increasing every year. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that to depend so largely on one production is not wise. Prudence would dictate the desirability of encouraging the cultivation of other agricultural products. The means of doing this are not far to seek. The river Plate republics already grow and export to Rio de Janeiro breadstuffs in considerable quantities. The southern provinces of Brazil are just as capable as those territories are of producing grain of all kinds; and we may expect that before long they will not only supply the home markets, but themselves become exporters of breadstuffs.

The facts above set forth as to the present condition and prospects of the country seem to me to warrant the conclusion that there is nothing existing or impending calculated to retard, permanently or seriously, its continuous material prosperity. And it seems likely, therefore, that Brazil will continue to afford, as she has afforded in the past, profitable occupation for British industry for generations yet to come.

CHARLES WARING.

THE COUNTY SYSTEM.

"In Ireland . . . . there has not rested in the hands of the landlords the discharge of that immense mass of public duties bearing upon every subject, political, social, or moral, without fee or reward, which has honourably distinguished for so many generations the landlords in England. This fixed and happy usage I take to be a just relic and a true descendant of the feudal system. . . . . The position which is happily held, as a class, by landlords in this country—a position marked by residence, by personal familiarity, and by sympathy with the people among whom they live, by long traditional connection handed on from generation to generation, and marked by a constant discharge of duty in every form that can be suggested—be it as to the administration of justice, be it as to the defence of the country, be it as to the supply of social or spiritual or moral or educational wants, be it for any purpose whatever that is recognised as good and beneficial in a civilised society."—MR. GLADSTONE. *Speech on introducing Irish Land Bill, Feb.* 15, 1870

IT is difficult to discuss any branch of the English Land Question without the above words being present to our minds; and it would have been mistaken fastidiousness to omit them on the present occasion, when they are so peculiarly appropriate, merely because they have frequently been quoted before in discussions of a similar character. There stand the words, the deliberate opinion of the leader of the Liberal party, and the greatest living statesman of the day, in favour of that system of rural life which now prevails in Great Britain, and which "just relic of feudalism" he calls "a fixed and happy usage."

Of late years it has been exposed to some severe trials; and encouraged, perhaps, by the hope that its resisting power has been thereby abated, a powerful party in the country is now preparing to assail it. "Attack them, they are weak." And it is my object in the following remarks to consider first of all the causes which have contributed to produce this weakness, and, secondly, the means by which it is proposed to take advantage of it. The influence of the landowners has not yet sunk so low as it is sometimes asserted to have done; there are proposals for the regeneration of British agriculture proceeding from men of great authority and Liberal opinions, which, if adopted, would certainly revive it; and it is not, therefore, a thing to be whistled down the wind as of no further consequence or consideration—an exhausted social force which has had its day, and must now give place to others better suited to the spirit of the age. It is yet a living power in the country, and it may still be acknowledged that it is too useful an agent to be parted with, if we can possibly retain it in our service.

The county system as it now exists began to assume its present shape under the Tudor dynasty, when the destruction of the great barons during the War of the Roses had let in the sun and air upon

a class hitherto overshadowed by them—the knights and squires, namely, who are the ancestors of the "country gentlemen of England." As the destruction of the barons made room for the country squire, so did the dissolution of the monasteries make way for the married country parson; and here we have at once the two cardinal elements of our rural polity as it has flourishd for the last three centuries. Round these two centres, the parsonage and the manor-house, the English village grew up and assumed its modern characteristics. The system seems to have been so well suited to the English character, and took such deep hold upon the soil, that even the civil war, which partially destroyed its branches, could not upheave its roots, and in a few years afterwards it was stronger and more popular than ever. And so it continued to be, with little or no change, down to the end of the eighteenth century. Several circumstances then occurred simultaneously, affecting the condition of the labourer and sowing the seeds of future troubles, but not immediately or visibly impairing the good relations which had so long existed between the different members of the community. The enclosure of commons, the sudden rise in prices, the more expensive style of living introduced into the country by men who had made fortunes in commerce, had all contributed to depress the condition of the peasantry, without, however, producing any active discontent, when the French Revolution broke out, and they heard for the first time of the rights of man and of the tyranny of kings and priests, and were invited to rise in their turn and shake off the base yoke of servitude.

To do the peasantry and their masters justice, the labourers themselves had too much good sense, and had been treated with too much real kindness, to make them dream of a jacquerie. But they were conscious of suffering. They knew that their fathers, some thirty years before, had been much better off than themselves and had lived in comfort. After the Peace their condition became still worse. Then came the introduction of machinery, the rise of incendiarism, and the growth of a spirit of disaffection among the labourers which reached its culminating point under the new Poor Law. We are often told that, if this had been more rigidly observed, pauperism might have been stamped out, and one great source of agricultural discontent dried up. It may be so; but this, unfortunately, was not done. The law was administered with just sufficient strictness to make it odious, and not enough to render it efficient. From this point, we think, may be dated the first rise of any real feeling on the part of the peasantry that they were oppressed by the classes placed above them. In the riots of a few years earlier, the anger of the peasantry had been directed against machinery and all who made use of it, not against the

farmers and the gentry as a class: now it was: and though no violence was attempted, the sight of the new workhouses rising up all over the country did more to excite the minds of the poor against the rich than all the preaching of the *Weekly Register*, or all the machinery which had ever been committed to the flames. Their discontent was not loud, but deep; and though the immediate feeling passed away, and the peasantry, to all outward appearance, became as cheerful and good-humoured as ever, I have always believed that they never entirely recovered from it.

However, times mended; agriculture prospered; and though "the Bastile" was still an object of execration, the different classes which constitute rural society seemed to be knit together again as closely as ever before the time came for the repeal of the Corn Laws. And now the stability of the county system was threatened in a fresh place. When the farmer began to see that the country gentlemen were powerless to restore protection, we do not say that their allegiance began to cool, but it lost, at all events, one of the elements of strength which are supplied by self-interest. Others remained, of course. The landlord was owner of the soil, and it was still the farmer's interest to stand well with him. While vacant farms were eagerly competed for, the landlord had something to give and nothing to fear. He was master of the situation, and could discharge a tenant who displeased him, in the perfect confidence of getting another on the spot. Thus there was plenty of self-interest still left to bind the farmers to the gentry, while over and above this the old traditional respect and sympathy between the two classes, which long hereditary relationship had created and sustained, was not to be extinguished in a day; and is not extinguished even now, after a strain more severe than it had ever experienced before, and under the pressure of prolonged adversity perhaps without a parallel in our history. But farms are now at a discount. The landlord has no favours to grant. He has more reason to court the farmers than they to court him. So that for the present, at all events, the last link in the chain of self-interest is snapped in two, and there is nothing but sentiment left to keep up the old fellowship between them. As the agricultural depression has in one sense completed what the repeal of the Corn Laws began, so has the Agricultural Union extended and aggravated what the new Poor Law began. The bonds which united the farmer to the gentleman, and the peasantry to both, have in some few places been destroyed, in many weakened, and in all threatened. Let us now turn to the other estate of the village realm, the parson, and see how he has passed through the ordeal.

The influence of the country clergy has certainly declined of late years; and it is greatly to be feared that it has been still further

weakened by the very means which were adopted to revive it. It is well known how repugnant to the feelings of the great majority of the English people was the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities; and it is also on record that it was this measure among others which set the authors of "Tracts for the Times" upon considering how the tide of Liberalism, which threatened to sweep away the Church altogether, could best be stemmed. I have not a word to say against either the Tractarian movement or its authors; their conception of the Church of England I believe to be the true one; and the hostility which they provoked in their efforts to realise it was only what all reformers have to expect when they run counter to long-established prejudices. It is enough for my present purpose that they did provoke this hostility. By the English middle classes, by the tradesmen in the towns and the farmers in the country, Popery had long been regarded with an intensity of detestation which there is no reason to suppose much diminished even at the present day. It broke out violently against "the Papal aggression" only thirty years ago. And when the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act was passed not half a century had elapsed since the Gordon Riots. The Act was carried by the Duke of Wellington to prevent a civil war in Ireland. Had it been carried by anybody else it would have gone near to provoke one in England. This hatred of the Church of Rome is by far the most powerful and the most permanent of all the passions by which the English people have been swayed for the last two centuries. And the Church of England has been proportionately endeared to them as the one institution which stood between themselves and that dreaded power which even Protestant Dissenters could not be trusted to withstand. Dissent, from a purely theological point of view, was regarded by old-fashioned Church people as a harmless eccentricity. But practically it was the enemy of that one Church which was our best, if not our only, security for the maintenance of the national Protestantism. Hatred of Popery, then, and hatred of those who were unfriendly to the barrier which excluded it, combined to give the clergy of the Church of England, especially in the rural districts, where other feelings came in aid of them, an influence and a popularity which no mere neglect of duty could materially or even appreciably diminish.

The Roman Catholic Relief Act had an effect on the relations between the clergy and the people analogous to that which the repeal of the Corn Laws had on the relations between the farmers and the gentry. It superseded one of the most important functions which the Church of England had been relied on to discharge, and so far abated the claims of the clergy on the continued loyalty of the nation. Henceforward their claims would depend rather on their personal merits than on the value of the fortress which they garrisoned.

Still, their past services were not forgotten. It was not their fault that Romish disabilities had been removed, any more than it was the fault of the country gentlemen that the Corn Laws had been repealed. They had been unable to prevent it. Their power was less than had been hoped for, but there was no doubt of their sincerity.

The sentimental attachment of the people to the Church of England: the traditional loyalty and respect for the church of their fathers: satisfaction with her doctrines and her liturgy, and faith in her title to their obedience: might long have continued unimpaired, even after she had failed to protect them from the encroachments of their ancient foe. But, unfortunately, the people did not understand the meaning of what afterwards occurred. Nothing could be more natural or more logical than that the Church of England, having lost her external protection against Rome, should seek to strengthen herself internally, and fortify those points which were most vulnerable to the adversary's attack; that she should hasten to seize the heights which commanded her own position, or, if the enemy had already occupied them, to dislodge him. To vindicate her possession of those attributes of which the Roman Church claimed a monopoly, and to establish her legitimate descent from the primitive undivided Church, was her first duty. The Dissenters, at the same time, were already preparing to turn to account the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and to carry into fresh fields the moral power they had gained by it. Thus threatened upon both sides, the Tractarian strategy was the only one that had a chance of success; and, moreover, it did succeed, succeeded beyond all expectation, and has raised the Church of England to a position from which she can never again recede. But the result has been purchased at a cost which it is terrible to think of. Those who sixty years ago beheld in Romish disabilities the national barrier against Popery, and denounced as traitors both the statesmen who proposed and the prelates who concurred in the destruction of it, stood aghast five years afterwards at what they deemed the re-enactment of the self-same act of treachery by the clergy themselves—those very parochial clergy in whose devotion to the Protestant cause they had so blindly trusted. By the Tractarian movement, successful as it was, the Church of England lost the middle classes, lost them, at all events, for the time being, and has not yet regained her hold upon them.

And with this, of course, she has lost part of that influence which she once exercised in the rural districts. Not much; because an English country clergyman was always something more than a priest; and the earlier Tractarians, who did not affect any outward peculiarities except the surplice, were only High Churchmen of a rather more clerical cast and rather more decided teaching than the old-fashioned High and

Dry. Still even these differences gave offence; the surplice, we know how much. It is perfectly true that in many parts of England the surplice had never been abandoned nor the high square pews introduced. But the black gown and the devotional loose-box were the rule: and were the symbols at once of the Protestant constitution, and of that proper distinction between classes, the absence of which in heaven was all the more reason why we should make the most of it on earth. The lowering of the pews smacked of a levelling republicanism, and the farmer was as much agitated by the sight of the surplice in the pulpit as if the fires of Smithfield were already beginning to crackle under his legs. So he sat bolt upright, and frowned at the vicar all through a sermon about the Church and the Fathers, thinking fondly of the time when he dozed easily through a simple discourse about his duty to his neighbour, and professed himself very much the better for it as soon as he got out of church. And though a younger generation of farmers and tradesmen has now grown up to whom these things are matters of course, the clergy, unfortunately, could not leave well alone, and not satisfied with the ground they had won thirsted for fresh conquests, and, as a matter of course, have created fresh antagonisms. We are afraid it must be allowed, therefore, that of that decay of influence which is being predicated of the leaders of the rural population—loss of influence by the farmers over their labourers and by the gentry over the farmers—the clergy have had their full share.

I have thought it necessary to offer this brief sketch of the changes which have passed over country society within the last fifty years, in order to obviate any suspicions that I may have been living in a balloon or in a fool's paradise, believing in the reality of phenomena which exist only in my own imagination. I might easily have enlarged the canvas. Game, tithes, the abolition of church-rates, the secularisation of the churchyards, the growth of social ambitions which chafe under the ancient *régime*, have all had their effect, and might have been introduced into the picture. But I have said enough to serve my own purpose, which was merely to suggest that our rural institutions have lost much of their stability, that whether they will ever regain it is still uncertain, and that in the meantime it may be possible for a well-directed blow to bring them to the ground at once.

And yet 'tis pity too. When one thinks of that pleasant village life which still survives in its integrity throughout the greater part of England, and is told that it is at best but the lingering old age of a moribund system, *primo casura sub euro*—some natural tears may be dropped over it, and forgiven even by the sternest Radical. If the value of human institutions is to be measured by the happiness which they produce, our old rural system need not fear comparison with any

which can be placed alongside of it. Every such village was, is, or ought to be—the idea of it requires that it should be—a little well-ordered hierarchy,[1] in which every one had his place, and which was not too large for the action of that moral influence, to exercise which is as much one of the duties of property as to build barns, grant leases, or subscribe to schools. It is sheer perverseness to represent it as anything but for the public good that a landlord should be able to weigh the character as well as the solvency of his tenants, and to keep his estate clear of evil livers as well as of bad farmers. It is surely for the public interest that in every parish in the kingdom there should be one or more men, qualified by superior rank, culture, and acquaintance with the world, to set an example of civility and liberality to their neighbours, and to soften the harsher intercourse of life by the sympathy which comes of "long traditional connection" between the several classes of the community. If the gulf which in our large towns yawns between property and labour be one of the most threatening features of our present social state, surely that system is entitled to some esteem under which the two are brought close together, and the owner of property, known personally to all who are employed upon it, is enabled, by constant association and frequent acts of kindness, both to understand their wants and their characters, and conciliate their affection and respect. No form of society has yet been invented in which work of one kind or another must not be the lot of the majority; none in which the workman who is healthy, industrious, and well conducted will not be a happier man than he who is idle, sickly, or dissolute. It is impossible to shut out unhappiness from any kind of society whatever, and no influence, no liberality, no knowledge or science can enable the landlord of an estate or the clergyman of a parish to prevent the natural consequences of moral or physical infirmity. But I do say this, and I challenge contradiction when I say it, that in an English agricultural village, with a resident squire of average good sense and good feeling, and a resident clergyman of average qualifications for the post, greater elements of happiness are gathered together than are to be found either in large towns or in villages destitute of these advantages. There is in such communities a stronger sense of fellowship than is possible in our thickly populated cities; greater consciousness of a common interest in the locality; a feeling that for all alike, from the squire downwards, it is home; and not only that it is so now, but that it has been so for generations. Amid all diversities and inequalities of life and fortune, this one bond of union makes the whole village kin; it lightens the pressure of authority by

(1) Mr. Brodrick applies this word to the village system. But I had done so myself long before, and many others doubtless before me.

the influence of immemorial prescription, and dignifies the receipt of charity by imparting to it some flavour of the kindness which springs from a family relationship.

The rolling stone gathers no moss, and when land changes hands as rapidly as the reformers wish, there will be no time for the growth of those sympathies and associations to which Mr. Gladstone refers, resulting in that kindly intercourse between rich and poor which is as galling to a certain class of minds as the sight of Adam and Eve was to Satan.

Now I say that, in spite of all the disintegrating agencies herein enumerated, and after full allowance has been made for the operation of social, financial, and religious causes, the old system still exists and bears fruit, and is still productive of great happiness to millions of the English people. If this is not so—if the moral influence of the rural aristocracy has lost all its original usefulness, and has now become only another name for the exercise of vexatious privileges injurious to all whom they affect, the county system will of course very speedily collapse. But if, as I believe, the reverse is nearer to the truth; if the authority of the gentry, founded on their property, their jurisdiction, and their hereditary claims to respect, is still active for good, and, though not what it once was, is still cheerfully recognised and full of life; then I think it is not necessary that a man should be a party Conservative in order to allow that in all the changes which it may be necessary to introduce into our county administration, it should be our first object to avoid undermining or superseding this system, "this fixed and happy usage," but rather to fortify and perpetuate it.

This system is now threatened with attack from three different quarters and three converging columns; from the reformers of land tenure, the reformers of county government, and from those who demand the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer. It is not meant that all three parties are equally hostile to the system, or that in any one of the three all are hostile to it. But in each of them there is one section to be found with whom the destruction of this influence is the real object of the legislation which they ask; who think that as England has now become a great commercial country her policy should be governed directly by the commercial and manufacturing population; who believe that the commercial aristocracy are entitled to the precedence and the influence which has been so long enjoyed by the territorial; and who are determined to take advantage of a favourable opportunity for an attack all along the line on the rivals whom they hate. Their chances of success are no doubt much increased by the circumstance that in the party of reform Conservatives and Radicals are mixed up together, each, I suspect,

hoping to use the other for the attainment of its own objects. There is a reform of the land laws to which no Conservative ought to object, and there is one which would strike at the root of nearly all that he ought to hold dear. There is a County Board which might be a valuable instrument for the development of local administration, and there is a County Board which would lead almost to a social revolution. In other words, we may have a Conservative reform or a Radical reform in what is called our county system, and I am afraid that if we do not have the first it will be the fault of the Conservatives themselves, who when they were in office had an opportunity of settling the question, of which had they properly availed themselves they might perhaps have been in office still.

However, they let the chance slip through their fingers, and the work has now devolved on others less friendly to the institutions which are about to be submitted to the knife. Lord Salisbury has told us in terse and plain language what is the ultimate object of the Radical land reformers, and his authority is good enough for me. It is the eradication of the old landed families and the substitution for family estates of "great capitalist companies." I may refer also to Mr. Brodrick, who, in his "English Land and English Landlords," tells us that it is the aim of the more moderate party, which we suppose he represents himself, to do away with the system which I have described, and restore our rural economy to the aspect "which it must have presented in still earlier times." But restorations of this kind are seldom possible: and how can we argue from the England of the fifteenth century to the England of the nineteenth. A thousand circumstances crowd upon the mind at once to forbid the process. When the whole country was still under the feudal system and the Catholic Church, when it was governed exclusively by the territorial aristocracy, and the principles of authority and subordination were everywhere accepted as immutable, it is evident that the system was not wanted which sprang up in the following century as a substitute for what was swept away. However, all we are concerned with at present is the fact that this system in its turn is now doomed to destruction—though possibly "fated not to die"—both by the reformers who wish to establish a class of great capitalist farmers on the ruin of the present aristocracy, and those who wish to supersede it in favour of small occupiers and owners, peasant farmers and yeomen.

Though the promised Bill for the establishment of County Boards has been for the present postponed, some measure of the kind may possibly be introduced this session: the question is more ripe for legislation than either of the other two: it has been fully brought before the public during the last ten years; and there is a very general consent in favour of a particular measure. It seems to be

inseparably connected with the question of local taxation, in which the farmers are so deeply interested; and had Government had the time at its disposal, would certainly have taken precedence of all other measures for the readjustment of our rural system. It may still, therefore, do so in these pages, and we may proceed at once to consider on what grounds it is demanded, and what kind of institution would best answer the purpose of practical reformers, without playing into the hands of those who have ulterior purposes to serve; would best effect, that is, those improvements in local administration of which most men acknowledge the necessity, without overthrowing the ancient social system which has so long prevailed in the English counties, and is so high in favour with the Prime Minister. The subject divides itself into two parts, namely the reasons which make reform desirable, and the kind of machinery which it may be most expedient to set up.

The Municipal Corporations Act, which did for the English towns what it is now thought desirable to do for the English counties, not only destroyed nothing of any value, but was a practical remedy for glaring and recognised evils. We find no mention of abstract rights, of "the first principles of representative government," and so forth, in 1835. The promoters of the measure urged nothing of the kind on behalf of the urban ratepayers, nor would they have done so on behalf of the rural ones. The counties can have acquired no *abstract* right since 1835 which they did not possess before; and the most that can be done by those who point to the Municipal Corporations Act as the justification of representative County Boards is to show that the same defects which made it necessary to reform our corporations exist in the present form of county government, and call for similar remedies. In the Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1834 to inquire into the condition of the municipal corporations of England and Wales, it is stated that they found almost everywhere "a distrust of the municipal magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate objects, and sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people;" and on introducing the Bill in June, 1835, Lord John Russell placed this passage in the foreground of his speech, as expressing in a few words the justification of the entire measure. He illustrated it by examples; but there is not a word throughout of any abstract right or first principle of self-government.

Now no abuses of this kind, or indeed of any kind, are laid to the

charge of our county government. It is not extravagant, not so extravagant indeed as County Boards are expected to be; it is not inefficient, for what it has had to do is allowed to have been admirably done; it is not a prey to nepotism or venality, for had it been so it would not have been either frugal or efficient. Lord Derby said recently at Liverpool that county magistrates had never been guilty of a job. To "the impartiality and good sense with which they perform duties of great difficulty and delicacy," testimony has been born by Mr. Chamberlain. A most lucid and concise history of the origin and progress of local self-government in the English counties down to the present time is to be found in Mr. Brodrick's essay, published by the Cobden Club in 1875; and it may be searched in vain for any evidence that the necessity for a new system is to be found in the incompetence of those who administer the present one. Mr. Brodrick lays great strain on the abstract merits of self-government, unwilling apparently to regard all government as only a means to an end. But he grants that in local communities, both urban and rural, both in the higher and the lower classes, there is great indifference to local self-government, which was not the case in towns prior to 1835—an indifference from which we may infer that the county ratepayers, whatever a few noisy ones may say, are not as a rule much dissatisfied with the present system. And the same indifference is noticed by Mr. Sclater-Booth in his lecture on the subject before the British Association at Southampton.

County government, then, stands in need of reform, not because it has been badly administered or because its administrators, however otherwise competent, have shown themselves careless or corrupt; the county magistrates come out of the investigation with flying colours. County Boards are demanded partly in deference to new political ideas, partly to satisfy the requirements of expanding provincial liabilities; and the grounds on which their advocates rely may briefly be reduced to four. First, it is said that government by magistrates, however good, is a paternal despotism, and contrary to Liberal principles, which require that taxation and representation should always go together: secondly, that only some central county authority with a more powerful public opinion at its back than either Quarter Sessions or Boards of Guardians represent, can check the advance of centralisation, which has lately made such rapid strides in the rural districts: thirdly, that there are branches of local administration which can be more efficiently conducted on the spot than they can be by a London department: and, fourthly, that we are under some vague obligation to restore to the counties the institutions which existed in them before and for some time after the Norman Conquest. It seems to be thought that Quarter Sessions are not sufficiently

popular and Boards of Guardians not sufficiently dignified to constitute such a body, and that by a judicious cross combining the popular element of the one with the aristocratic element of the other we may obtain the institution we require.

Of the last of the above-mentioned reasons enough perhaps has been said already. If the reformers of fifty years ago had had nothing more substantial to appeal to than such theories as this, our old close corporations might have flourished down to the present day. But in regard to the first, it may be as well to point out that even the facts are not as many people suppose. Of the money levied by local authorities on the county ratepayers, by far the larger proportion is levied by elective bodies. This has been repeatedly pointed out by those who have investigated the question, and quite recently by Mr. Sclater-Booth in the address which we have already quoted. These representative governing bodies, namely, guardians, waywardens, sanitary authorities, &c., which are all elected by the ratepayers, levy some nine or ten millions annually, while the whole amount levied by the magistrates is only a million and a half; and even of this there is but a small proportion as to which they are absolutely free agents. The police rate swallows up more than half of it, and in this department the magistrates are controlled by the Home Office. Of the remainder, a large amount is absorbed in expenses imposed on them by Act of Parliament, "so that the margin of debateable expenditure on salaries of county officers, and on the repair of buildings and county bridges, amounts to a comparatively insignificant sum in comparison with the enormous amounts which are directly dealt with by the agency of the Board of Guardians, a body thoroughly representative of ratepayers." That is to say, if we compare the rates levied at the discretion of the representative authorities with the rates levied at the discretion of the non-representative, we shall find, according to Mr. Sclater-Booth's calculations, that the first are about forty times as large as the second. Of the total amount raised by the two bodies, the sum levied by the magistrates is in the gross about one-seventh of what is raised by the representative authorities; and if we deduct from it the whole amount which they are obliged to raise by Act of Parliament, the remainder is only about one-fortieth. Seeing, however, that what is called the statutory expenditure of the magistrates is not a fixed amount, and that although they are compelled to provide what Government requires, they may spend either more or less in the discharge of the obligation, it will be better to leave a margin for money spent on such purposes over and above what may have been absolutely necessary. But after making this allowance, we may fairly assume that the rates levied by magistrates at their own discretion are not more than one-thirtieth part of what are levied by

representative provincial bodies. This is the extent of the ratepayer's grievance, as far as it lies in his having no voice in the appointment of the authorities who tax him. It holds good of about one-thirtieth of the rural local expenditure, and of no more.

Mr. Chamberlain is the only man of any note who has yet had the courage to declare that his objection to the present system is not practical, but theoretical;[1] not that it is badly administered, but that the administrators are too few; though how he reconciles this objection with his statement[2] on the parliamentary franchise, namely, that it is "a privilege and not a right," and that "the advocates of its extension have always had to show that practical advantages would follow the concessions they demanded," we fail to understand. Why what is true of the parliamentary franchise should not be equally true of the municipal requires to be explained; and why an administrative reformer should not be called upon to show the practical advantages to flow from the measure which he advocates as well as the parliamentary reformer is equally difficult of comprehension.

It is by the second and third reasons above mentioned that the case for County Boards must stand or fall. It would be foreign to my present purpose to discuss either of them in detail. It will be sufficient to explain that the advocates of reform are here on very strong ground, and that it is doubtful if the country gentlemen will be serving their own cause by any unconditional resistance to it. The reformers say, in the first place, that the central Government has for many years past been imposing fresh duties and fresh burdens on provincial authorities, which make too large a demand on their capacities, and are too heavy a strain on the resources of the local ratepayers; that at present there is no sufficient power of bringing home to the central office what are the real wants, wishes, and capabilities of the people in respect of provincial administration; that Government inspectors cannot attend boards of guardians, or highway boards, or any other of the numerous petty institutions which now divide it between them; that wholly unnecessary expenses are frequently forced on local bodies by the central department for want of proper knowledge of the subject; that of County Boards Inspectors might be *ex-officio* members, sitting as the representatives of the central Government, and giving and receiving information; that as it is quite clear that some addition must be made to the pecuniary resources now at the disposal of the provinces, there must be some responsible authority to receive and distribute it; that boards of guardians and of quarter sessions would never be allowed either to receive augmented Government subventions or to collect transferred taxes; and that no substantial relief is to be looked for by the local

(1) Speech at Swansea February 1.
(2) Letter read at Birmingham January 26.

ratepayers till some institution is provided sufficiently important and sufficiently popular to justify Government in entrusting it with these weighty functions. Mr. Sclater-Booth seems to doubt whether anything would induce the Government to go so far as this, or whether public opinion would sanction the concession if it did. His opinion is entitled to the greatest possible respect; but the balance of testimony is against him.

In the next place, we are told that there is a good deal of county business which could be done much better at home than in London. Mr. Forster has spoken strongly of the services which might be rendered by "a strong provincial authority" in the matter of educational endowments. Mr. Clare Read contends that the administration of the Poor Law might be vastly improved if a larger discretion were vested in the local authorities. Mr. Heneage, speaking at the Farmers' Club about a year ago, gave an instance of the abuses of centralisation which is worth any amount of argument. "Let me give you," said he, "an instance in my own county, where I am vice-chairman of the quarter sessions, and we came to the conclusion that there was not one road that had been dis-turnpiked since 1870 that ought to be made a main road. We sent our decision up to London; but notwithstanding this, a gentleman was sent down by the Local Government Board, who spent three or four days either in smoking a pipe while sitting on a gate or in counting the number of vehicles. Soon after he returned to London we were ordered to make all these roads main roads. The representatives of other parishes came to us, and said that they were far better entitled to have their roads made main roads than those which had been made, and the result was that we had to spend enormous amounts in making main roads where, in our opinion, they were not required." The above is a good illustration of the comprehensive remark of Mr. Clare Read, which in fact puts the whole case in a nutshell, namely, that "a great many rural matters are too large to be treated by unions, and yet not large enough to be sent up to the metropolis and managed by the red tape of some Government department." Another equally to the point may be quoted from Mr. Clare Read himself. A Board of Guardians in Norfolk wished to spend a sovereign out of the rates on issuing circulars to the parents of poor children, informing them of their new responsibilities under the Education Act of 1876, and were compelled to apply to the Local Government Board for permission to do so. After a delay of three weeks the permission was refused. "Now here," says Mr. Read, "was a Board presided over by an ex-cabinet minister, and attended by the gentry, clergy, and better part of the yeomanry and tenant-farmers in the district, and yet such a body is not allowed to expend one sovereign out of the rates in aid of an

important measure which the Government has recently passed for the education of the people." Mr. Sclater-Booth is of opinion that the existing county authorities are adequate to the necessary work—"the guardians, waywardens, and sanitary authorities which already are to all intents and purposes the municipalities of the rural districts." The advocates of County Boards contend that the union area is too small a unit, and that a better class of men are wanted to wield the jurisdiction which they wish to see confided to the provinces. A federation of unions represented by one single central Board is their ideal. And though no doubt the realisation of it presents many practical difficulties, we can scarcely believe them to be insuperable.

The really important question from my own point of view is the constitution of the County Board, and the plan by which its members shall be elected. There seems to be a general concurrence of opinion among all moderate men that a certain proportion of the Board should consist of magistrates; but what this proportion ought to be, and by whom the rest should be elected, are the two questions on which a great amount of eloquence will probably be expended when the time arrives. In Mr. Goschen's Bill of 1871 it was proposed that one half of the board should be magistrates elected by quarter sessions, and the other half representatives elected by the chairmen of certain parochial boards which he proposed to constitute. By Mr. Sclater-Booth's second Bill in 1879 it was proposed that one-third should be magistrates elected at quarter sessions, and the other two-thirds elected by the guardians. Mr. Heneage, a political Liberal, and who takes the Liberal view of various agricultural questions, is also in favour of this system of election. Without saying what proportion the one class of members ought to bear to the other, he is "clearly of opinion that the ratepayers' representatives should be elected directly by the board of guardians and the magistrates' representatives directly by the quarter sessions."[1] This is a view in which Conservatives who are not bigots, and Liberals who are not Radicals, in short all men of temperate opinions, seem disposed to concur. There is of course an extreme party who will be satisfied with nothing less than a County Board which is purely elective, returned directly by the ratepayers, and their views may be found in a paper read by Mr. Powell Williams, the secretary of the National Federation, before a Liberal conference at Nottingham just a year ago.

Now whether County Boards shall have the effect to which those look forward who desire the destruction of the present county system and of the influence of the rural aristocracy, or shall leave it comparatively unimpaired, depends entirely on which

(1) Speech at Farmers' Club, February 6th, 1882.

of these two methods shall be adopted. The system of election as advocated by Mr. Williams would convert County Board elections into political contests, in which the noisiest agitator would be the likeliest to win, and the men least fitted for its work would form the majority of the Board. Such men, we may be perfectly certain, would not rest satisfied till they had invested it with a distinct political character, and were able to use it as an engine for the attainment of ulterior objects. They would soon find metal more attractive than bridges, workhouses, and asylums, and they would inevitably, by the necessity of their position, be arrayed against the the gentry, the clergy, and the better class of tenant farmers round about them. In process of time perhaps the gentlemen of the county would be fairly driven from the field. Some would be unwilling to come forward or to take part in business which was constantly bringing them into collision with men of this stamp; others would find it useless to attempt it; till by degrees, as we say, the whole Board might come to consist of men not only incompetent to the duties of their position, but hostile at the same time to all our ancient local institutions. Anybody well acquainted with rural England could lay his hand on the kind of character I mean, and will understand the influence he might acquire if household suffrage were adopted in the agricultural districts. When to these considerations we add the important fact that among the most influential promoters of County Boards are men whose very object it is that they should be made use of in this manner, and become political instruments in the hands of rural demagogues, controlled by Radical wire-pullers, we shall see that the risk is not imaginary. It is not reassuring to find that Mr. Chamberlain would prefer to postpone County Boards till after the extension of the county franchise. It seems to indicate that political considerations are largely intermingled in his mind with what ought to be purely an administrative question, and by itself goes a long way to justify the apprehensions we have expressed.

To County Boards constituted on a different principle from Mr. Williams's no such objections need attach, or attach only in a very slight degree. Of the great body of county magistrates only a small number really do the work, and these would be found upon the Board. The guardians, too, would soon see how necessary it was to elect men not only with the requisite knowledge and experience, but with the requisite leisure for attending to their duties; and few such men are to be found among the ordinary farmers. They would naturally fall back upon the gentlemen; and thus another great object would be gained, the due representation on the board of permanent as opposed to merely transitory interests. Peers and other owners of very large estates, who cannot always be in the same

place, will find their influence increased if their agents or some of their principal tenants should be members of the board. And it seems to be thought by those who are well qualified to judge that the country gentlemen and the farmers will be able to work together in perfect harmony. Mr. Clare Read informs me that "in the cattle disease committee of quarter sessions half are farmers sent by boards of guardians to sit with the justices. They meet their landlords, and I never find in the committee of which I am chairman the slightest want of harmony between owners and occupiers." There is, however, this to be said, that on the cattle disease question their interests are the same. Whether, where these happened to clash, equal harmony would prevail, is matter of conjecture.

On the whole, however, I think it may be said that such a reform of provincial administration as commends itself alike to both Liberal Conservatives and Conservative Liberals, that is to the great body of moderate men of both parties, so far from being injurious to the county system, by removing the management of business from the hands of the gentry, and thereby destroying the influence which naturally accompanies it, would have the directly opposite effect, and by increasing the dignity of provincial institutions would increase the importance of all who were concerned in working them. But between the useful and practical reform of which this may be predicated, and the creation of a provincial parliament elected exclusively by household suffrage, the difference is very wide indeed. The one would give us a business-like assembly, well qualified for the work required of it, and not looking to anything beyond; the other would give us a political assembly, in which there would be a great many men neither versed in county business nor caring for it, but devoted to political objects, and working the board for the promotion of ulterior designs which are perfectly well understood, but of which no more need be said at the present moment.

The reform of the English land laws is a question not yet fully developed. We may say of it as Lord Beaconsfield said once of the state of the Continent. We know that there are "vast ambitions" moving in the bosom of society; but as yet they have rather shrunk from showing themselves in the light of day, and when challenged to say what they are take refuge in obscurity. It so happens, however, that at a meeting of the Farmers' Club, held but a little while ago, certain wily Conservatives did succeed in catching and pinning a member or two of the Farmers' Alliance, and in extracting from them, by well-feigned approbation, what is the real object which the Alliance sets before itself. It turns out to be nothing less than the application to English agriculture of the whole series of measures which Mr. Gladstone has applied to Irish. It is well to know this, because we are frequently assured that to attribute such designs as

these to any section of agricultural reformers is a malicious libel. Let us hear, then, the very words in which, on the occasion we have mentioned, the objects of the Alliance were set forth. "Fair rents, fixity of tenure, freedom of cultivation, free sale. These things will come by compulsory legislation unless the English landlords exercise generosity and consideration towards their tenants. . . . . Unless they get this, and get it soon, an agitation will spring up throughout this country in which questions will be raised of a far larger character than those we have been discussing to-day." This is frank; but what *are* the larger questions which will be raised if these points are not conceded? Here is a body of men who declare that if they cannot succeed in depriving the landed proprietor of all control over his property, they will make still larger demands upon him. What can these be but a demand upon the property itself? If we misrepresent these menaces we sincerely apologise to the author of them. But we believe we do no injustice to anybody in saying that it is hoped by the introductionof Irish principles into England to make the landlord's position so unenviable that he will be glad to sell his estate and retire from the scene; and that by these means family estates and an hereditary aristocracy may be gradually and peaceably got rid of.

And here of course it may be asked how is it that, if such sweeping designs are in contemplation, the Whig aristocracy should countenance for a single moment or in any manner the party which is known to entertain them? To answer this question fully requires more space than I can ask. But it may be said, briefly, that they may hope as before to control the movement by leading it, and to make it stop short of the extremities to which it has been carried in Ireland. Or they may think, perhaps, that a compromise securing them in the enjoyment of their rents, and leaving every other appurtenance of proprietorship in the hands of the occupiers, might not be a bad arrangement after all. Great nobles with half a dozen different estates could shoot in Scotland, and fish in Norway, and hunt at Melton, and spend the rest of their time very agreeably in London or abroad, without ever going near their former homes. We have been considering in this article what is best for the country, and not merely for wealthy individuals; and I for one should be sorry indeed to see the higher English aristocracy accepting such a position as this. But the Whigs may perhaps reason in this manner, not foreseeing that a territorial aristocracy without local duties would be a far greater social anomaly than anything which exists now, and would be destined to a speedy end. Of a Land Reform Bill laid down upon different lines—a Bill like Sir Thomas Acland's or Mr. Chaplin's—intended to secure the tenant against the loss of

capital which he has invested in profitable improvements, there can hardly be two opinions. It may be that in the large majority of cases the Act would never be invoked. But where there is neither an existing custom to protect the tenant, nor a landlord willing to make terms on equitable principles, there must be an Act of Parliament to fall back upon, and out of these two Bills it would be easy to construct an effective one. They were both referred to a Select Committee at the end of last Session, presided over by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, which adopted the most important provisions of Mr. Chaplin's Bill without any essential alteration. Such an Act, of course, would not satisfy those who desire a divided ownership, or whose object it is to effect a radical revolution in the form and spirit of English rural society. But it would satisfy all who do not desire either of these objects; and if anything further is attempted, it is to be feared that all the Parliamentary struggles we have had lately will be child's play to what we must expect.

A few words may be added on the proposed restoration of the yeoman class, which is a favourite prescription with many writers for the regeneration of English agriculture. Now if by yeomen be meant the owners of fifty or a hundred or two hundred acres with no other property besides, men below the rank of gentlemen, and without the education or breeding which that word implies, I must say that I think the unlimited multiplication of such a class would be far from an unmixed benefit. Specimens of them still survive who would be an honour to any country in the world, and no doubt in former days they constituted one of the soundest elements of rural society. But we cannot restore the conditions under which they then existed; and from my own experience of the class at the present day, I should doubt the wisdom of trying to manufacture them by legislation. It can scarcely be desirable to displace the present race of gentry, who with few exceptions are men of refinement and good taste, preserved by mere knowledge of the world and intercourse with the best society from the more vulgar kind of rural prejudices, in order to set in their seats the class of men I have described, who are not merely independent, but are absolutely beyond the reach of public opinion. Their political and religious prejudices are usually of the very rudest and narrowest description. They are intensely conceited and opinionated—two peculiarities which are euphemistically styled independence—and resent contradiction as an insult. They are far from being models of Arcadian innocence, and I confess I do not see what is to be gained, either from a Liberal point of view or any other, by eliminating from rural life all those little centres of culture and civility which exist in the Hall and the Manor-house, that the surface of

England may be covered over with landowners but little above the peasantry in knowledge or enlightenment, and confirmed in all their worst habits by the consciousness of wealth.

A reduction in the size of farms might be attended with the best results, and facilities for the purchase of cottage properties by frugal and industrious labourers should be sedulously promoted. But if anybody supposes that the influence of the old families would be lowered by the process, his experience must be different from my own. Mr. Brodrick says that these small proprietors, for instance, would soon make field sports impossible—that they would destroy game and foxes. Hitherto, however, the chief enemies of game and foxes have not been the small farmers, and I know not why they should become so. They are the very men who are the most ready to let their shooting, when it happens to be in their own hands. As for the larger farmers, what they want is not the destruction of the game, but the acquisition of the shooting. There is no rule without an exception, but such I believe to *be* the rule; and I have observed in several instances that where farmers had the shooting given up to them, while winged game decreased, ground game became more abundant.

The conclusion seems to be that there are some alterations which may be most advantageously made both in our provincial administration and in the management of landed estates. County Boards with securities against their being turned into political factories; the distribution of the soil among a larger number of both occupiers and owners; and a legal guarantee afforded to the man of capital that the money spent upon improvements shall be repaid him when he quits his farm, if they have added to its value and have not been exhausted by himself: are improvements which may be safely recommended as calculated to benefit all classes alike, and to strengthen rather than impair the old provincial system of England, under which the gentlemen of the country have discharged the duties devolving on them with such marked ability and success, and have been equal in the opinion of Mr. Gladstone to every end "that is recognised as good or beneficial in a civilised society." [1]

T. E. KEBBEL.

(1) Since writing the above my attention has been directed to a speech lately delivered at Hertford by Baron Dimsdale, which contains an excellent summary of the principal points in dispute between different members of the agricultural interest.

TRANSFERRED IMPRESSIONS AND TELEPATHY.

I.

"Νοῦς ὅρῃ κὰι νοῦς ἀκόυει· τἆλλα κῶφα κὰι τυφλά."—EPICHARMUS.

THERE appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in the course of last year an article, written by us in conjunction with Professor Barrett, on "Thought-Reading," or, as we now prefer to call it, Thought-transference—the communication of ideas otherwise than through the recognised organs of sense. That article has been much more favourably received than we expected; and it has proved a starting-point for many promising series of experiments. It naturally also called forth certain objections. These objections, so far as they seem to need a reply, will be dealt with in the second part of the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research; in which also will be recorded a considerable number of further observations. We propose in the present paper to enter upon a wider discussion of the subject; for which the material amassed by ourselves and others, primarily on behalf of the above-named Society, has now attained an amply sufficient volume. Several groups of narratives have been kindly communicated to us by friends; and a letter which we sent to the public press received a wide response—wide enough, at any rate, absolutely to force on us the necessity of some such generalisations as those on which we are about to enter; though, for reasons which will appear later, the body of evidence still needs enlargement to an indefinite extent.[1]

A public appeal for information of this kind has, no doubt, one conceivable drawback, which some eyes have magnified even into a fatal objection—the possibility, namely, of hoaxes. The same possibility, it may be remarked, has to be faced in antiquarian, historical, and some other kinds of scientific research. It is a danger which can be obviated by care; and the process of sifting to which a Committee of our Society subjects every narrative sent to us is, we think, a sufficiently severe one. No evidence is considered at all unless authenticated by names and dates (not necessarily for publication); and in most cases we make the personal acquaintance of the narrator, and hear his story told in a manner which pledges his honour to its truth.[2] We also communicate with such other living persons as may be concerned, and obtain all the independent corroboration possible. It is therefore in the last degree unlikely that any one who allows the publication of his name is vouching for any-

(1) Further evidence will gladly be received by either of us, at the office of the S.P.R., 14, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

(2) Cases of occasional relaxation of this rule are, *e.g.*, where the testimony of illiterate persons, difficult to reach, has been accepted as genuine, on the authority of the clergyman of the parish.

thing which he does not, at any rate, believe to be the fact. And if he were to withhold permission to publish his name, while yet contriving his plot with sufficient elaboration to take us in, he could derive but small pleasure from seeing his false story, in small print and dull anonymity, used to reinforce the better-attested evidence of some three hundred more honourable correspondents. The value of other possible objections—such as the natural proneness to exaggeration and the love of exciting wonder—will be better estimated when the evidence itself is presented in full. It will then be seen, we think, that these elements of narration, even when the utmost allowance is made for them, could not conceivably affect the main fact reported.

We have just used the words "dull anonymity." Why, it may be said, should accounts dealing with these mysterious subjects, whether real or fictitious, be dull? Well, we are perhaps somewhat *blasés* by the number that we have lately read; but we can scarcely hope that those who, in turn, follow our guidance through the same paths will escape the same fate. The very last thing that we expect to produce is a collection of narratives of a startling or blood-chilling character; our pages are far more likely to provoke sleep in the course of perusal than to banish it afterwards. The point in the evidence that impresses us is not its exciting or terrific quality, but its overwhelming quantity —overwhelming, we mean, to any possibility of further doubting the reality of the class of phenomena. Those who are used, as most of us have been all our lives, to hearing now and again a stray story at third or fourth hand, with the usual commentary of vague wonderment or shallow explanation, but without any suggestion of analysing or probing it, can scarcely imagine the effect on the mind of a sudden large accumulation of direct, well-attested, and harmonious testimony. The similarities of unlooked-for detail which bind the phenomena together into distinct groups, the very similarities which make the accounts of them monotonous reading, give the strength of a faggot to the dispersed units which looked as if the mere dead weight of uninquiring incredulity might easily break them.

Further, we must warn future readers that the details of the evidence are in many cases not only dull, but of a trivial and even ludicrous kind; and they will be presented for the most part in the narrator's simplest phraseology, quite unspiced for the literary palate. Our tales will resemble neither the *Mysteries of Udolpho* nor the dignified reports of a learned society. The romanticist may easily grow indignant over them; still more easily may the journalist grow facetious. The collection may be easily described as a *farrago;* but it will at any rate be a *farrago* of facts. For its miscellaneous character we and our colleagues will hardly be responsible. However caused, these phenomena are interwoven with the everyday tissue of human existence, and pay no more regard to what men call appalling than to what men call ridiculous.

The facts which we are thus collecting belong to every department of our subject. That subject, however, must evidently be treated in separate instalments, for which the work of years will be necessary. During the course of this year we hope, in conjunction with our colleagues, to publish the next considerable instalment in the form of a book which will deal more at large with the subject of this paper. But for present purposes, and until the mass of our evidence can be fully set forth, we must claim to assume its general credibility, and confine ourselves mainly to the mode of arranging it. In a chaos such as this subject presents, classification, however rude, is itself light-bringing; it is at any rate an indispensable prerequisite of any true analysis.

Having continually-growing reason to believe that the primary phenomenon of Thought-transference is solidly established, we naturally desired, in framing the scheme of the forthcoming book, to link its matter as logically as possible with the results already achieved. Taking Thought-transference, then, as our starting-point, we propose to examine other cases of transferred or sympathetic impressions. In Thought-transference, so far as we have hitherto dealt with it, both parties (whom, for convenience' sake, we will call the Agent and the Percipient) are supposed to be in a normal state; and we have a few cases which appear to differ from our previous experiments in Thought-transference only in the facts that the transference of the impression was not accompanied by any definite exercise of will, and that the transferred image seemed more objective. Such a case is the following, given us by Mr. J. G. Keulemans, of 2, Mountford Terrace, Barnsbury Square—a scientific draughtsman—with whom one of us is personally acquainted :—

"One morning, not long ago, while engaged with some very easy work, I saw in my mind's eye a little wicker basket, containing five eggs, two very clean, of a more than usually elongated oval and of a yellowish hue, one very round, plain white, but smudged all over with dirt; the remaining two bore no peculiar marks. I asked myself what that insignificant but sudden image could mean. I never think of similar objects. But that basket remained fixed in my mind, and occupied it for some moments. About two hours later I went into another room for lunch. I was at once struck with the remarkable similarity between the eggs standing on the breakfast table and those two very long ones I had seen in my imagination. 'Why do you keep looking at those eggs so carefully?' asked my wife; and it caused her great astonishment to learn from me how many eggs had been sent by her mother half-an-hour before. She then brought up the remaining three: there was the one with the dirt on it, and the basket, the same I had seen. On further inquiry, I found that the eggs had been kept together by my mother-in-law, that she had placed them in the basket and thought of sending them to me; and, to use her own words, 'I did of course think of you at that moment.' She did this at ten in the morning, which (as I know from my regular habits) must have been just the time of my impression."

Such an incident, however, seems very exceptional; and in the great body of our cases one or other of the parties is, or both of

them are, in some condition other than that of normal waking consciousness. In the first place, then, the Percipient may be asleep, and may receive in a dream or vision some impression which may be noted, and subsequently proved to have been coincident with an impression, derived either from outward or inward sources, in a waking mind—that of him whom we call the Agent. The following account, given to us by a personal friend of our own (whose name and address we are at liberty to mention privately), differs from ordinary Thought-transference, not only in the vividness of the impression, but in the fact that one at least of the Percipients was asleep :—

"One Sunday night last winter, at 1 A.M., I wished strongly to communicate the idea of my presence to two friends, who resided about three miles from the house where I was staying. When I next saw them, a few days afterwards, I expressly refrained from mentioning my experiment; but in the course of conversation, one of them said, 'You would not believe what a strange night we spent last Sunday;' and then recounted that both the friends had believed themselves to see my figure standing in their room. The experience was vivid enough to wake them completely, and they both looked at their watches, and found it to be exactly one o'clock." [One of these friends has supplied independent testimony to this circumstance.]

In this case there was a deliberate exercise of will. Similar cases where that feature is absent are likely often to pass unobserved; and all the observed ones that happen to have come under our notice have been complicated by the pre-existence of some sort of mesmeric *rapport* between the persons concerned.

This circumstance affords a natural transition to the next class of cases, where the Percipient is in that rarer and deeper state of slumber known as the "mesmeric trance." Instances of impression transferred from the Agent to the Percipient, when the latter is in this state, are of course exceedingly numerous. *Clairvoyance* will, we hope, be fully and separately dealt with hereafter; but we have little doubt that many of the facts recorded under that head will be found to resolve themselves into simple transference of impression. This distinction, which we think is of the greatest importance to keep in mind, is well illustrated by the following incident :—

A mesmerist, well known to us, was requested by a lady to mesmerise her, in order to enable her to visit in spirit certain places of which he himself had no knowledge. He failed to produce this effect; but found that he could lead her to describe places unknown to her but familiar to him. Thus on one occasion he enabled her to describe a particular room which she had never entered, but which she described in perfect conformity with his recollection of it. It then occurred to him to imagine a large open umbrella as lying on a table in this room, whereupon the lady immediately exclaimed, "I see a large open umbrella on the table."

Here we must certainly suppose that the impression proceeded from no other source than the operator's mind; and it is to transferences of this sort that for the present we intend to confine our

treatment of mesmerism, reserving mesmerism in general and *clairvoyance* proper for subsequent treatment.

We come now to a third class of cases, which at first sight seem to differ in a singular way from those already enumerated. For it seems that not only the apparent *depression* of the vital energies in sleep or trance, but also their apparent *exaltation* in moments of excitement or danger, may have a decisive effect in engendering or increasing the Percipient's susceptibility to impressions from a distance. There is, however, we may suggest, one strongly-marked condition which would seem to unite in itself the characteristics both of depression and exaltation: we mean death, or, as in this connection we prefer to call it, the process of dissolution. During this process, often a prolonged one, mental conditions are undoubtedly observed analogous on the one hand to trance, on the other to exalted excitement. We would venture to suggest, therefore, that in death may be seen a possible key to the mysterious parallelism, in their effects, of conditions so opposite as mesmeric sleep and the excitement of peril. If we may borrow a phrase from magnetism, we may perhaps picture these cases to ourselves as involving a relaxation of some *coercitive force*, which under normal conditions is able to limit the channels of impression to those through which the recognised senses act in the recognised way. However this may be, it would appear that the excitement of danger or imminent death has a potent influence in facilitating the transference of supersensory impressions; and though, as a rule, it is not the Percipient, but the Agent, who is dying or in danger, this is by no means always the case. There seems sometimes to be a distinct interchange of perception, as in the following instance. The narrative is abridged from the words of the late Mrs. Charles Fox, of Trebah, Falmouth (a lady well known to one of us), who had heard the story from her grandmother, one of the children who witnessed the apparition. Few families could be named in which such traditions were likely to be at once more sacredly and more soberly preserved.

In 1739 Mrs. Birkbeck, wife of William Birkbeck, banker, of Settle, and a member of the Society of Friends, was taken ill and died at Cockermouth, while returning from a journey to Scotland, which she had undertaken alone—her husband and three children, aged seven, five, and four years respectively, remaining at Settle. The friends at whose house the death occurred made notes of every circumstance attending Mrs. Birkbeck's last hours, so that the accuracy of the several statements as to time as well as place was beyond the doubtfulness of man's memory, or of any even unconscious attempt to bring them into agreement with each other.

One morning, between seven and eight o'clock, the relation to whom the care of the children at Settle had been entrusted, and who kept a minute journal of all that concerned them, went into their bedroom as usual, and found them all sitting up in their beds in great excitement and delight. "Mamma has been here!" they cried, and the little one said, "She called, 'Come, Esther!'" Nothing

could make them doubt the fact, and it was carefully noted down to entertain the mother on her return home. That same morning as their mother lay on her dying bed at Cockermouth, she said, "I should be ready to go if I could but see my children." She then closed her eyes, to reopen them, as they thought, no more. But after ten minutes of perfect stillness she looked up brightly and said, "I am ready now: I have been with my children;" and then at once peacefully passed away. When the notes taken at the two places were compared, the day, hour, and minutes were the same.

One of the three children was my grandmother, *née* Sarah Birkbeck, afterwards the wife of Dr. Fell, of Ulverstone. From her lips I heard the above almost literally as I have repeated it. The elder was Morris Birkbeck, afterwards of Guildford. Both these lived to old age, and retained to the last so solemn and reverential a remembrance of the circumstance that they rarely would speak of it. Esther, the youngest, died soon after. Her brother and sister heard the child say that her mother called her, but could not speak with any certainty of having themselves heard the words, nor were sensible of more than their mother's standing there and looking on them.

We have at first hand some other very interesting examples of this double percipience. Commander Aylesbury, late of the Indian navy, tells us how, when nearly drowning as a boy, he had a vivid vision of his home-circle, engaged as they actually were at the time, while they simultaneously and distinctly heard his voice, and were thereby rendered apprehensive that evil had befallen him. Singularly like this is the personal experience which the celebrated conjuror, Mr. J. N. Maskelyne, recorded in the *Daily Telegraph* of October 24, 1881. And rare as the type is, it is perhaps less so than that where a dying person perceives, and correctly describes, the surroundings of a living friend who himself has no impression of the dying person's presence.

We pass over now to the second great family of cases; where the transference of impressions is facilitated by some abnormal condition on the side of the Agent, while the condition of the Percipient remains normal.

In the first place, the Agent may himself be asleep, and his vivid dream may communicate itself as an apparently objective reality to a wakeful mind. To this category belongs the following singular dream, written down by the dreamer, the Rev. Joseph Wilkins, a dissenting minister at Weymouth (who died in 1800), and endorsed by the late Dr. Abercrombie of Edinburgh, a man, we need hardly say, of the greatest scientific acumen:—

Joseph Wilkins, while a young man, absent from home, dreamt, without any apparent reason, that he returned home, reached the house at night, found the front door locked, entered by the back door, visited his mother's room, found her awake and said to her, "Mother, I am going on a long journey and am come to bid you good-bye." A day or two afterwards this young man received a letter from his father, asking how he was, and alleging his mother's anxiety on account of a vision which had visited her on a night which was, in fact, that of the son's dream. The mother, lying awake in bed, had heard some one try the front door and enter by the back door, and had then seen the son

enter her room, heard him say to her, "Mother, I am going on a long journey and am come to bid you good-bye," and had answered, "O dear son, thou art dead!" words which the son also had heard her say in his dream.

There are other cases of this type, and the class fades into the next one, where the Agent is in a state of trance, either natural or induced, and is perceived by waking persons at a distance. To this category belong a large number of somnambulic stories; as for instance the well-known account, vouched for by Dr. J. H. Jung-Stilling, of a man who, falling into a trance in Philadelphia, conversed with a ship captain in a London coffee-house, and communicated the results of the interview, which were subsequently confirmed, to the captain's wife in America. Such cases, however, belong to the deferred subject of trance and mesmerism. We may pass, therefore, to the far larger and more important class of apparitions, perceived at moments when the Agent is excited or in danger, and especially at or about the time of his death. We are obliged to use the vague phrase "at or *about the time* of death," in order to cover the whole process of dissolution; for in fact some of these appearances would seem to have been witnessed at some little interval before death, others at the moment of apparent death, and others again some hours or even days after apparent death had supervened. It is obvious that when the interval between death and the apparition exceeds a certain length, we are brought face to face with problems, and possibly with phenomena, of a quite different kind from those which we have been discussing. These phenomena and these problems lie outside the scope of the book on which we are at present engaged. But the cases in which there is approximate coincidence between the death and the apparition are extremely numerous, and comprise, perhaps, as many as half of the first-hand accounts which we shall have to bring forward. In many of these cases (as of those where the excited or dying person is the Percipient), the evidence seems to point rather to a vivification of a general *rapport* already existing between the parties, than to any special transference of the thought or emotion of the moment; and the impression produced on the Percipient's mind is either that of the sensible presence of the Agent, or is a strong general idea of him, without any distinct reference to what is passing in his mind.

We have received the following account from our friend Mr. John Addington Symonds:—

"I was a boy in the Sixth Form at Harrow; and, as head of Mr. Rendall's house, had a room to myself. It was in the summer of 1858. I woke about dawn, and felt for my books upon a chair between the bed and the window; when I knew that I must turn my head the other way, and there between me and the door stood Dr. Macleane, dressed in a clergyman's black clothes. He bent his sallow face a little towards me and said, 'I am going a long way—take care of my son.' While I was attending to him I suddenly saw the door

in the place where Dr. Macleane had been. Dr. Macleane died that night (at what hour I cannot precisely say) at Clifton. My father, who was a great friend of his, was with him. I was not aware that he was more than usually ill. He was a chronic invalid."

Captain G. F. Russell Colt, of Gartsherrie, Coatbridge, N.B., allows us to publish the following narrative:—

"I was at home for my holidays, and residing with my father and mother, not here, but at another old family place in Mid-Lothian, built by an ancestor in Mary Queen of Scots' time, called Inveresk House. My bedroom was a curious old room, long and narrow, with a window at one end of the room and a door at the other. My bed was on the right of the window, looking towards the door. I had a very dear brother (my eldest brother), Oliver, lieutenant in the 7th Royal Fusiliers. He was about nineteen years old, and had at that time been some months before Sebastopol. I corresponded frequently with him, and once when he wrote in low spirits, not being well, I said in answer that he was to cheer up, but that if anything did happen to him he must let me know by appearing to me in my room, where we had often as boys together sat at night and indulged in a surreptitious pipe and chat. This letter (I found subsequently) he received as he was starting to receive the sacrament from a clergyman who has since related the fact to me. Having done this he went to the entrenchments and never returned, as in a few hours afterwards the storming of the Redan commenced. He, on the captain of his company falling, took his place, and led his men bravely on. He had just led them within the walls, though already wounded in several places, when a bullet struck him on the right temple and he fell amongst heaps of others, where he was found in a sort of kneeling posture (being propped up by other dead bodies) thirty-six hours afterwards. His death took place, or rather he *fell*, though he may not have died immediately, on the 8th September, 1855.

"That night I awoke suddenly, and saw facing the window of my room, by my bedside, surrounded by a light sort of phosphorescent mist as it were, my brother kneeling. I tried to speak but could not. I buried my head in the bedclothes, not at all afraid (because we had all been brought up not to believe in ghosts or apparitions), but simply to collect my ideas, because I had not been thinking or dreaming of him, and indeed had forgotten all about what I had written to him a fortnight before. I decided that it must be fancy, and the moonlight playing on a towel, or something out of place. But on looking up there he was again, looking lovingly, imploringly, and sadly at me. I tried again to speak, but found myself tongue-tied. I could not utter a sound. I sprang out of bed, glanced through the window, and saw that there was no moon, but it was very dark and raining hard, by the sounds against the panes. I turned, and still saw poor Oliver. I shut my eyes, walked through it, and reached the door of the room. As I turned the handle, before leaving the room, I looked once more back. The apparition turned round his head slowly and again looked anxiously and lovingly at me, and I saw then for the first time a wound on the right temple with a red stream from it. His face was of a waxy pale tint, but transparent-looking, and so was the reddish mark. But it is almost impossible to describe his appearance. I only know I shall never forget it. I left the room and went into a friend's room, and lay on the sofa the rest of the night. I told him why. I told others in the house, but when I told my father he ordered me not to repeat such nonsense, and especially not to let my mother know. On the Monday following he received a note from Sir Alexander Milne to say that the Redan was stormed, but no particulars. I told my friend to let me know if he saw the name among the killed and wounded before me. About a fortnight later he came to my bedroom in his mother's house in Athol House, in Edinburgh, with a very grave face. I said, 'I suppose it is to tell me the sad news I expect;' and he said, 'Yes.'

Both the colonel of the regiment and one or two officers who saw the body confirmed the fact that the appearance was much according to my description, and the death wound was exactly where I had seen it. But none could say whether he actually died at the moment. His appearance, if so, must have been some hours after death, as he appeared to me a few minutes after two in the morning. Months later his small prayer-book *and the letter I had written to him* were returned to Inveresk, found in the inner breast pocket of the tunic which he wore at his death. I have them now."

Mr. Colt mentioned several persons who could corroborate this narrative. We add the following letter from Mrs. Hope, of Fermoy, sister of Mr. Colt:—

"On the morning of September 8, 1855, my brother, Mr. Colt, told myself, Captain Fergusson of the 42nd Regiment, since dead, and Major Borthwick of the Rifle Brigade (who is living), and others, that he had during the night wakened from sleep and seen, as he thought, my eldest brother, Lieut. Oliver Colt of the Royal Fusiliers (who was in the Crimea), standing between his bed and the door; that he saw he was wounded in more than one place—I remember he named the temple as one place—by bullet-wounds; that he roused himself, rushed to the door with closed eyes and looked back at the apparition, which stood between him and the bed. My father enjoined silence, lest my mother should be made uneasy; but shortly afterwards came the news of the fall of the Redan and my brother's death. Two years afterwards my husband, Colonel Hope, invited my brother to dine with him; the former being still a lieutenant in the Royal Fusiliers, the latter an ensign in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. While dining, they were talking of my eldest brother. My husband was about to describe his appearance when found, when my brother described what he had seen, and to the astonishment of all present the description of the wounds tallied with the facts. My husband was my eldest brother's greatest friend, and was among those who saw the body as soon as it was found."

Miss Summerbell, of 140, Kensington Park Road, W. (who is personally known to us), communicates the following story:—

"My mother married, at a very early age, without the consent of her parents. My grandmother vowed that she would never see her daughter again. A few months after her marriage my mother was awakened at about 2 A.M. by a loud knocking at the door. To her great surprise my father did not wake. The knocking was resumed; my mother spoke to my father, but, as he still slept, she got up, opened the window and looked out, when to her amazement she saw her mother, in full court dress, standing on the step and looking up at her. My mother called to her, but my grandmother, frowning and shaking her head, disappeared. At this moment my father woke, and my mother told him what had happened. He went to the window, but saw nothing. My mother was sure that my grandmother, even at that late hour, had come to forgive her, and entreated my father to let her in. He went down and opened the door, but nobody was there. He assured my mother that she had been dreaming, and she at last believed that it was so. The next morning the servants were questioned, but they had heard nothing, and the matter was dismissed from the minds of my parents till the evening, when they heard that my grandmother had been, in Court dress, at a ball the night before—I think at Kensington Palace, but of this I am not sure—that, feeling unwell, she had returned home, and after about an hour's illness had died at 2 A.M. She had not mentioned my mother's name during her short illness."

It will be observed that in this case the impression from the dying

mother, although fully realised only in wakefulness, made itself felt in the first instance during sleep.

Mr. J. G. Keulemans, whom we have already mentioned, gives us the following account:—

In December, 1880, he was living with his family in Paris. The outbreak of an epidemic of smallpox caused him to remove three of his children, including a favourite little boy of five, to London, whence he received, in the course of the ensuing month, several letters giving an excellent account of their health. "On the 24th of January, 1881, at half-past seven in the morning, I was suddenly awoke by hearing his voice, as I fancied, very near me. I saw a bright, opaque, white mass before my eyes, and in the centre of this light I saw the face of my little darling, his eyes bright, his mouth smiling. The apparition, accompanied by the sound of his voice, was too short and too sudden to be called a dream: it was too clear, too decided, to be called an effect of imagination. So distinctly did I hear his voice that I looked round the room to see whether he was actually there. The sound I heard was that of extreme delight, such as only a happy child can utter. I thought it was the moment he woke up in London, happy and thinking of me. I said to myself, 'Thank God, little Isidore is happy as always.'" Mr. Keulemans describes the ensuing day as one of peculiar brightness and cheerfulness. He took a long walk with a friend, with whom he dined; and was afterwards playing a game at billiards, when he again saw the apparition of his child. This made him seriously uneasy, and in spite of having received within three days the assurance of the child's perfect health, he expressed to his wife a conviction that he was dead. Next day a letter arrived saying that the child was ill; but the father was convinced that this was only an attempt to break the news; and, in fact, the child had died, after a few hours' illness, at the exact time of the first apparition.

The Rev. W. S. Grignon, Hambrook, Bristol, writes to us as follows:—

"I give the annexed narrative of the apparition of a deceased or dying person on the authority of my mother, the late Mrs. Elizabeth A. Grignon, wife of the late William Stanford Grignon, of Upton, near Montego Bay, Jamaica, Esq., and youngest sister of the well-known counsel, Sir James Scarlett, afterwards the first Lord Abinger. I received the account from her, and have had it confirmed by my late sister, Miss Elizabeth Scarlett Grignon, who had often heard it from our mother. I may say that my mother was a cool-headed, accurate person.

"About the year 1820 she was resident at Upton, in Jamaica, and had as an upper-nurse in her family a Mrs. Duchoux, an Englishwoman who had married a Frenchman; with the exception of this nurse, every servant in the house was black or brown. One morning my mother observed that this woman seemed much depressed, so much so that she pressed her for the reason. She said she was sure she should hear of the death of an aunt of hers resident in England. Her statement was as follows:—She had got into bed, but not yet fallen asleep, and had before this locked the door of her bedroom. A negro girl was sleeping on a mattress on the floor of her room. Near the foot of her bed was a small table on which stood a candle under a shade. Looking up, she saw a female figure in a night-dress, standing with its back towards her at the foot of the bed, near the table with the light on it, and holding a roll of paper in its hand. As she looked, the figure turned its face round towards her, and she at once recognised an aunt then living in England. The figure then moved towards the door and seemed to pass out of it or disappear. Mrs. Duchoux was not at all frightened, but jumped out of bed, and found the door still locked on the inside, and the negro girl asleep. She was quite sure that

it was her aunt's and no other face which she saw, and that she should hear of her death. My mother told her that she must have dreamed the whole scene; but nevertheless was so far impressed by the woman's reiterated assurance that she had been wide awake, that she at once made a note of the statement, with the date. On the arrival of the packet which left England shortly after the date of the apparition a letter reached Mrs. Duchoux informing her that her aunt had died just about the date of the vision, and had in her will left her £100. I cannot say that the time of the apparition coincided exactly with the last moments of the deceased. I doubt if this was inquired into at the time. But I remember that my mother stated that the woman had not previously heard anything to make her anxious about her aunt."

The following account has been placed at our disposal by the Miss Sarah Jardine of the story :—

"In 1833, Sarah and Margaret Jardine, daughters of a barrister on the Western Circuit, were girls of about ten and twelve respectively. They lived with their parents in a house in the suburbs of London, and their grandfather and grandmother on the opposite side of the road. Their grandmother was a woman of decided character and very firm will, and between her and the children there was strong affection. One night as the children lay in their four-post bed, sleeping as they did with a rush-light in the room, Sarah saw her grandmother in her night-dress standing at the foot of the bed, looking at them with a pleased smile on her face. She moved round the bed, keeping her eyes constantly fixed upon the children, till she passed behind the curtain at the head of the bed on Sarah's side, and seemed to sit down on the chair that was placed there. Sarah raised herself up and drew back the curtain in order to speak to her, when, to her great surprise, she saw no one there. She was not at all frightened, and awoke her sister, saying, 'Grandmamma is in the room?' They both got up and looked about for her, and finding that there really was no one in the room, Margaret said that her sister must have been dreaming, and scolded her for awaking her. In the morning they were awoke by their father, who told them that a dreadful thing had happened, that their grandmamma had died in the course of the night. She had been ailing, but nothing serious had been apprehended until her son was sent for, after the children had gone to bed. On hearing that her grandmother was dead, Sarah became much terrified at the thought of having seen a ghost and gave a violent scream, without saying anything of the cause of her fright. A day or two afterwards her sister told what Sarah had seen, and in order to reassure her they tried to persuade her that it had been a dream. But she herself was quite certain that it was not; and for long afterwards she had such a dread of seeing the apparition again that they dared not leave her alone at night. After the lapse of more than forty years she still retains the most vivid remembrance of the whole incident."

We received the next narrative from Mrs. Hunter, of 2, Ellesmere Villas, Forest Hill, who is personally known to us :—

Mrs. Hunter had had a friend from whom she had parted in coldness, and whom she had not since seen or corresponded with. "Poor Z. was very far from my thoughts, when one night I had just got into bed. The fire burned brightly, and there was my usual night-light. I was placing my head on the pillows, when I beheld, close to the side of the bed, and on a level with it, Z.'s head, and the same wistful look on his face which it had worn when we parted years before. Starting up, I cried out, 'What do you want?' I did not fear; anger was my feeling. Slowly it retreated, and just as it disappeared in the shadow of the wall, a bright spark of light shone for a few seconds, and slowly expired. A few days after my sister wrote, 'You will have heard,

poor Z.'s death, on his way to the South of France.' I had heard nothing about him for years. Special reasons prevented my inquiring particularly into the precise moment of his death. Strange to say, my bedfellow was his great pet among my children; she, however, slept through this strange interview."

The next account, also given to us by Mrs. Hunter, is made specially remarkable by the prolonged character of the apparition, and the number of persons by whom it was seen :—

Mrs. Hunter's husband had had a Scotch wet-nurse of the old-fashioned sort, more devoted to him than even to her own children. Mrs. Hunter, soon after her marriage, made acquaintance with this nurse, Mrs. Macfarlane, who paid her several visits during Mr. Hunter's absence in India. In June, 1857, Mrs. Hunter, who was travelling to a health-resort, confided to Mrs. Macfarlane's keeping a box of valuables. One evening in the following August Mrs. Hunter was entertaining some friends; but having occasion to return to the dining-room for a moment, she passed the open door of her bedroom, and felt irresistibly impelled to look in; and there on the bed was a large coffin, and sitting at the foot of it was a tall old woman steadfastly regarding it. "Returning to my friends, I announced the vision, which was received with shouts of laughter, in which after a time I joined. However, I had seen what I have described, and moreover could have told the very dress the old woman wore. When my friends left, and I had paid my usual last visit to the nursery, my nurse looked odd and *distraite*, and to my astonishment followed me into the landing. 'O ma'am,' she began, 'I feel so queer; such a strange thing happened. At seven o'clock I went to the kitchen for hot water, and when I came out I saw a tall old woman coming down-stairs, and I stopped to let her pass, but, ma'am, there was something strange about her so I turned to look after her. The hall door was wide open and she was making for it when in a moment she melted away. I can swear I saw her, and can tell you her very dress, a big black poke bonnet and a checked black and white shawl.'" This description of the dress exactly corresponded with what Mrs. Hunter had herself seen. Mrs. Hunter laughed the matter off, and did not even think of connecting her own vision with the nurse's. About half an hour afterwards, when in bed, she heard a piercing scream from her little daughter, aged five, followed by loud frightened tones, and she then heard the nurse soothing the child. "Next morning little E—— was full of her wrongs. She said that 'a naughty old woman was sitting at the table and staring at her, and that made her scream.' Nurse told me that she found the child wide awake, sitting up in bed, pointing to the table, and crying out, 'Go away, go away, naughty old woman!' There was no one there. Nurse had been in bed some time and the door was locked. My child's vision I treated as I did her nurse's, and dosed both. However, a day or two afterwards, I received a letter from Mrs. Macfarlane's son, announcing her death, and telling me how her last hours were disturbed by anxiety for my husband and his family. My nurse, on being told the news, exclaimed, 'Good Lord, it was *her* I saw that night, and her very dress!' I never ascertained the exact hour of her death. My letter of inquiry and condolence was never answered, though my box was duly sent to me."

The following account, given us by Mr. C. Colchester, of Bushey Heath, Herts, somewhat resembles the last, in that the apparition was seen by three persons and in two different rooms :—

"Forty-two or three years ago my father was with a detachment of his regiment, the Royal Artillery, stationed at Montreal, Canada. He had left his mother some months before in England in an indifferent state of health. One evening he was sitting at his desk, writing to her, when my mother, looking up from her work, was startled to see *his* mother looking over his shoulder,

seemingly intent on the letter. My mother gave a cry of alarm, and on my father turning round the apparition vanished. On the same evening I and my brother (aged about six and five years) were in bed, watching the bright moonlight, when suddenly we saw a figure, a lady with her hands folded on her breast, walking slowly, between the bed and the window, backwards and forwards. She wore a cap with a frill tied under her chin, and a dressing-gown of the appearance of white flannel, her white hair being neatly arranged. She continued to walk, it seemed to me, fully five minutes, and then was gone. We did not cry out, and were not even alarmed, but after her disappearance we said to each other, 'What a nice, kind lady!' and then went to sleep." The children mentioned what they had seen to their mother next morning, but were told not to talk about it. The news of their grandmother's death on that same evening arrived a few weeks afterwards. "I may add," Mr. Colchester concludes, "that neither I nor my brother had ever seen our grandmother till that evening, nor knew of what my mother had seen till years after. The apparition I saw is as palpably before me now as it was forty years since."

Mr. Colchester also sends us the following extract from a MS. work on Bermuda, written by his late father, who, at the time of the occurrence narrated, was assistant-surgeon in the Royal Artillery. We abridge the extract, and give the full names of the two officers, viz. Lieutenants Creigh and Liston, which are given in initial in the MS. The author had the account from Lieutenant Creigh, and pledged himself to its strict accuracy.

"The passage from Bermuda to Halifax is in certain seasons hazardous, and in 1830 a transport, containing some two hundred and twenty men, was lost at sea between these two ports. Two officers of the regiment to which the detachment belonged had in a half-jesting way made a sort of promise that whoever died first should come back if he could and let the other know whether there was another world. This conversation was heard by the narrator, as it took place in his presence, perhaps a year before the events happened, though not remembered till afterwards. Liston embarked in charge of the detachment, and had been gone about a fortnight, when Creigh, who had one night left the mess early and retired to bed, and was beginning to close his eyes, saw his door open and Liston enter. Forgetting his absence, and thinking he had come to pull him out of bed (for practical joking was then more common in the army than it is now), he cried, 'No, no, d—n it, Liston, don't, old fellow! I'm tired! Be off!' But the vision came nearer the bed foot, and Creigh then saw that Liston looked as if very ill (for it was bright moonlight), and that his hair seemed wet and hung down over his face like a drowned man's. The apparition moved its head mournfully; and when Creigh in surprise sat up, rubbed his eyes, and looked again: it was gone. Still Creigh avers that all this time he had no idea of its being a spectre, and, believing that he had seen Liston himself, he went to sleep. In the morning he related the occurrence, when he recollected, but not till then, Liston's absence on duty from the island."

In this case it is of course impossible to say whether the transport foundered at the precise moment that the vision occurred. We may remark in passing that a large proportion of these appearances at death seem to have been preceded by some such half-jesting compact as existed between Liston and Creigh.

We proceed now to give a few cases where the agent was not at or near the point of death, but in some condition of abnormal disturbance or excitement. The following account was given us by Mrs. Gates, of 24, Montpellier Road, Brighton, whom we know per-

sonally, and who has given us several instances of the singular sympathy existing between herself and her children, and manifesting itself by marked disquiet at moments when they are in danger or pain, although she may have no means of knowing it. The fact, in the present instance, of her premonitory alarm and vision of blood has been confirmed to us independently by the daughter to whom she described it. We suppress the son's name, and that of the monastery where he resides.

"One August morning at breakfast the well-known feeling stole over me. Waiting till all had left the table excepting my second daughter, I remarked to her, 'I am feeling so restless about one of our absent boys! It is ——; and I feel as if I was looking at blood!'" The son in question, in a letter received a few days later, inquired of Mrs. Gates as follows: "Write in your next if you had any presentiments during last week. We were going to —— canal, fishing, and I got up at the first sound of the bell, and, taking my razor to shave, began to sharpen it on my hand, and being, I suppose, only half awake, failed to turn the razor, and cut a piece clean out of my left hand. An artery was cut in two places, and blod dreadfully." Further details are given which show that the pain and bleeding were probably at their maximum at the hour of Mrs. Gates's breakfast that same morning.

We are allowed to publish the following letter, written by a clergyman to his daughter, who is an intimate friend of our own:—

"When your brother E. was at Winchester College (about 1856 or 1857), on going to bed one Saturday night, I could not sleep. When your mother came into the room, she found me restless and uneasy. I told her that a strong impression had seized me that something had happened to your brother. The next day, your mother, on writing to E., asked me if I had any message for him, when I replied: 'Tell him I particularly want to know if anything happened to him yesterday.' Your mother laughed, and made the remark that I should be frightened if a letter in Dr. Moberly's handwriting reached us on Monday. I replied, 'I should be afraid to open it.' On the Monday morning a letter did come from Dr. Moberly, to tell me that E. had met with an accident, that one of his schoolfellows had thrown a piece of cheese at him which had struck one of his eyes; and that the medical man, Mr. Wickham, thought I had better come down immediately and take your brother to a London oculist."

The next account was given us by Mrs. Swithinbank, of Ormleigh, Anerley Park, S.E., with whom we are personally acquainted:—

"When my son H. was a boy, I one day saw him off to school, watching him down the grove, and then went into the library to sit, a room I rarely used at that time of the day. Shortly after, he appeared, walking over the wall opposite the window. The wall was about thirteen feet distant from the window, and low, so that when my son stood on it, his face was on a level with mine, and close to me. I hastily threw up the sash, and called to ask why he had returned from school, and why he was there; he did not answer, but looked full at me with a frightened expression, and dropped down the other side of the wall and disappeared. Never doubting but that it was some boyish trick, I called a servant to tell him to come to me, but not a trace of him was to be found, though there was no screen or place of concealment. I myself searched with the same result. As I sat still wondering where and how he had so suddenly disappeared, a cab drove up with H. in an almost unconscious state, brought home by a friend and schoolfellow, who said that during a dictation lesson he had suddenly fallen backward over his seat, calling out 'in

a shrill voice, 'Mamma will know,' and becoming insensible. He was ill that day, prostrate the next; but our doctor could not account for the attack, nor did anything follow to throw any light on his appearance to me. That the time of his attack exactly corresponded with that at which I saw his figure, was proved both by his master and class-mates."

The Reverend H. Swithinbank, eldest son of the writer of the above, explains that the point at which the figure was seen was in a direct line between the house (situated in Summerhill Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne) and the school, but that "no animal but a bird could come direct that way," and that the walking distance between the two places was nearly a mile. He describes his brother as of a nervous temperament, but his mother as just the opposite, a calm person, who has never in her life had any other similar experience.

Still more remarkable is the following case, from the fact that the exciting experience on the part of the Agent was not of pain or danger, but only of strong momentary surprise and shock. The account is from Mr. R. P. Roberts, 10, Exchange Street, Cheetham, Manchester, who is personally known to one of us.

"When I was an apprentice in a drapery establishment, I used to go to dinner at 12 and return at 12.30. My employer was very strict and hot-tempered, which made me anxious to avoid his displeasure. The shop stood at the corner of Castle Street and Rating Row, Beaumaris, and I lived in the latter street. One day I went home to dinner at the usual hour. When I had partly finished I looked at the clock. To my astonishment it appeared that the time by the clock was 12.30. I gave an unusual start. I certainly thought it was most extraordinary. I had only half finished my dinner and it was time for me to be at the shop. I felt dubious, so in a few seconds had another look, when to my agreeable surprise I found that I had been mistaken. It was only just turned 12.15. I could never explain how it was that I made the mistake. The error gave me such a shock that for a few minutes I felt as if something serious had happened, and had to make an effort to shake off the sensation.

"I finished my dinner and returned to business at 12.30. On entering the shop I was accosted by Mrs. Owen, my employer's wife, who used to assist in the business. She asked me rather sternly where I had been since my return from dinner? I replied that I had come straight from dinner. A long discussion followed which brought out the following facts. About a quarter of an hour previous to my actually entering the shop (*i.e.* at about 12.15) I was seen by Mr. and Mrs. Owen, and a well-known customer, a Mrs. Jones, to walk into the shop, go behind the counter, and place my hat on the peg. As I was going behind the counter Mrs. Owen remarked, with the intention that I should hear, 'that I had arrived now that I was not wanted.' This remark was prompted by the fact that a few minutes previous a customer was in the shop in want of an article which belonged to the stock under my charge, and which could not be found in my absence. As soon as this customer left I was seen to enter the shop. It was observed by Mr. and Mrs. Owen and Mrs. Jones, that I did not appear to notice the remark made. In fact I looked quite absent-minded and vague. Immediately after putting my hat on the peg I returned to the same spot, put my hat on again, and walked out of the shop, still looking in a very mysterious manner, which incensed one of the parties, I think Mrs. Owen, to say, 'that my behaviour was very odd, and she wondered where I was off to.' I of course contradicted these statements, and endeavoured to prove that I could not have eaten my dinner and returned in a quarter of an hour. This, however, availed nothing, and during our discussion the above-mentioned

Mrs. Jones came into the shop again, and was appealed to at once by Mr. and Mrs. Owen. She corroborated every word of their account, and added that she saw me coming down Rating Row when within a few yards of the shop; that she was only a step or two behind me, and entered the shop in time to hear Mrs. Owen's remark about my coming too late. These three persons gave their statement of the affair quite independently of each other. There was no other person near my age in the Owens' employment, and there could be no reasonable doubt that my form had been seen by them and by Mrs. Jones. They would not believe my story till my aunt, who had dined with me, said positively that I did not leave the table before my time was up. You will no doubt notice the coincidence. At the moment when I felt, with a startling sensation, that I ought to be at the shop, and when Mr. and Mrs. Owen were extremely anxious that I should be there, I appeared to them, looking, as they said, 'as if in a dream or in a state of somnambulism.'"

Of a still rarer type is the next account, where an impression, though unmistakably produced, was only physically felt, and not understood by the Percipient. It has been placed at our disposal by our friend, Mr. F. Corder, a gentleman of very high reputation in the musical world.

"On July 8, 1882, my wife went to London to have an operation (which we both believed to be a slight one) performed on her eyes by the late Mr. Critchett. The appointment was for 1.30, and, knowing from long previous experience the close sympathy of our minds, about that time I, at Brighton, got rather fidgety, and was much relieved—and perhaps a little surprised and disappointed—at not feeling any decided sensation which I could construe as sympathetic. Taking it therefore for granted that all was well, I went out at 2.45 to conduct my concert at the Aquarium, expecting to find there a telegram, as had been arranged, to say that all was well. On my way I stopped, as usual, to compare my watch with the big clock outside Lawson's, the clockmaker's. At that instant I felt my eyes flooded with water, just as when a chill wind gives one a sudden cold in the eyes, though it was a hot still summer's day. The affection was so unusual and startling that my attention could not but be strongly directed to it; yet, the time being then eleven minutes to three, I was sure it could have nothing to do with my wife's operation, and, as it continued for some little time, thought I must have taken cold. However, it passed off, and the concert immediately afterwards put it out of my mind. At 4.0 I received a telegram from my wife, 'All well over. A great success,' and this quite took away all anxiety. But on going to town in the evening, I found her in a terrible state of nervous prostration; and it appeared that the operation, though marvellously successful, had been of a very severe character. Quite accidentally it came out that it was not till 2.30 that Mrs. Corder entered the operating-room, and that the operation commenced after the due administration of an anæsthetic, at about ten minutes to three, as near as we could calculate."

Exigencies of space compel us here to break off our classification —to be resumed at an early date by the discussion of the family of cases, logically last on our list, where *both* the parties concerned are in a state to some extent abnormal. And we shall conclude with a consideration of some objections, general and particular, which we must expect to pass through our readers' minds in much the same order as, upon our first introduction to these subjects, they passed through our own.

EDMUND GURNEY.
FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE Kilmainham Court House enquiry has had the effect of prolonging by a few nights the debate on the address. It was scarcely to be expected that the Conservatives would forego the opportunity of raising a discussion that would, it was hoped, damage the Government in the eyes of the country. As a matter of fact, they have failed signally to accomplish their object, and the attack has no sooner been made than it has recoiled upon the aggressors. Sir Stafford Northcote and his colleagues have shrunk from directly challenging the Ministerial policy in Egypt or Ireland; but while avoiding such an act of personal responsibility, they endorsed the criticism of the Fourth Party. By that means, it would appear, they hope at once to escape the charge of vexatiously harassing the Government and of supinely abstaining from any attempt at a hostile demonstration. To taunt Mr. Gladstone with the protraction of his stay at Cannes, to endeavour to discredit the Irish executive and to paralyze its action at a critical moment, are the two characteristics of the action of the Conservatives since the meeting of Parliament. The Crimes Act is doing its work well and surely; that is the unpardonable offence of the Government. The measure has, under the administration of Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, proved instrumental in unearthing the authors of the Phœnix Park assassinations and of other outrages equally abominable. But the very testimony which proves the efficacy of the Crimes Act is spoken of as if it were fatal against the Government. This Act was framed to ensure the detection and punishment of scoundrels like those who have been examined during the past fortnight at the Kilmainham Court House. Yet now that its purpose is fulfilled, the state of things which it brings to light in Ireland is the chief count in the indictment against Ministers. Whatever they do or do not, the Government are equally guilty. If criminals escape, it is upon the head of the Government that the blood of their victims rests; if criminals are brought to justice and the web of their conspiracies is unravelled, Ministers are represented as in some sort accessories before the fact.

The speeches of Sir William Harcourt, the Attorney-General for Ireland and others, furnish complete answers to the charge against the Government that they allowed themselves to be entangled in negotiations with conspirators and assassins, and that they did so in opposition to the advice of the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Forster. What are the facts? A year ago it was clear to all impartial judges

that the Coercion Act of 1881 was a failure, and that the imprisonment of the suspects did not contribute to the diminution of crime. The "*mauvais sujets* and village ruffians," for the terror and chastisement of whom Mr. Forster had specially demanded the machinery of the measure, were not touched by it. Gradually the government of the country was slipping from the hands of the executive. Under these circumstances, what was to be done? The first question to be considered was whether Mr. Parnell and his friends might not at least do as little mischief out of prison as in it—whether, in other words, it was a wise economy of force to continue the incarceration of men who, no one denied, had it in their power to influence for good or evil the Irish people. Mr. Forster agreed with his colleagues in answering these questions in the negative. The suspects—such was the conclusion arrived at in common between them—were to be released. A difference of opinion only presented itself when the conditions on which their release should be effected were discussed. Mr. Forster was for terms which the other members of the Cabinet deemed unnecessarily stringent. The assurances which satisfied Mr. Forster's colleagues did not satisfy Mr. Forster himself, but to the principle of restoring the suspects to liberty, every member of the Cabinet, as it then existed, was pledged. In the same way, the responsibility for the failure of the Coercion Act belonged to the Cabinet collectively. Ministers must see now plainly what they failed to see in 1881—that it is the secret conspiracies which have been the prime agency in Irish disaffection and disorder. With these the Coercion Act was not adequate to grapple, and the Crimes Act is. The fatal proof of the collapse of the former measure is most plain. To imprison the suspects was, as the event has shown, to play the game of the secret societies, whose members were thus left the masters of the position. The conspiracy which culminated in the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke was matured while Mr. Parnell was an inmate of Kilmainham gaol.

The Conservatives are welcome to any advantage which they may think they have derived from a debate whose practical gist is summed up in the two preceding paragraphs. The country will see, in the attitude of the Opposition throughout the whole of this business, signs of an ungenerous and unpatriotic reluctance to allow Ministers their due credit for the success of the Crimes Act. There could indeed be no better tribute to the wisdom of the course the Government are now adopting than the persistency with which their opponents endeavour to recall the attention of the country from the present to the past. The fact is that in Ireland as little as in Egypt is there any fresh issue to be fought. The opportunity, if it existed, has been allowed to pass by. Hence the entire demonstration against Ministers, upon one plea or another during the

debate on the Address, had what is known as an air of unreality about it. The attempt to stir the country against the Cabinet has been made and has failed, and results, we venture to predict, will show that for all purposes of legislation the Ministerial position is one of renewed strength. For what are the facts? The chief legislative projects of the Session are allowed by the Conservatives to be expedient, or are declared by the voice of public opinion to be necessary. Factiously to resist them would be equivalent to an act of political suicide, and each bill obstructed would be a nail driven into the coffin of the Conservative party. The more closely the Ministerial programme is examined, the more clearly will it be seen that the opportunities of a party struggle, at once keen and legitimate, do not exist. Upon the Corrupt Practices Bill there can be no controversy. The Conservatives are committed to it quite as fully as the Liberals, and anything like obstruction would be interpreted by the country as a proof of insincerity. Upon what pretence then is enough feeling to be aroused, or in what manner is sufficient force to be generated, seriously to impede the measures of the Government? Take the case of the Bankruptcy Bill. Some measure of bankruptcy reform, which shall have the effect of preventing dishonest insolvents from enjoying the impunity now awarded to them, and which shall ensure to creditors the maximum, and not the minimum, value of an estate, is admitted on all sides to be necessary. The particular measure brought forward by the President of the Board of Trade has the approval of the bankers and accountants of the United Kingdom, of the Law Society, and of many separate chambers of commerce. Its chief characteristic and its main feature of novelty are that it will ensure for the first time an impartial, judicial, public investigation into the causes of bankruptcy. The bankrupt will, to use a metaphor applied by Mr. Chamberlain, be in the position of a captain who has lost his ship. There will be no hushing up of the matter. The inquiry will be at once searching and economical. The individual and the classes immediately interested in legislation on this subject have, as we have seen, recognised the soundness of the Ministerial reform. Clearly, therefore, it is impossible the measure should be made a *cheval de bataille*.

There are signs that the efforts of a section of the Conservative party will be directed to compel the Government to have recourse repeatedly and on a variety of protests to the Clôture. They calculate that in this way the Ministerial measures will be discredited by anticipation, and that the House of Lords will be justified in throwing them out. But nothing is more certain than that the Clôture will only be invoked to put down obstruction of the most audacious character. Unquestionably the general sense of the country strongly disapproves of an opposition conducted upon such principles as these.

But we have been repeatedly told of late, the House of Lords represents the sense of the country in its most serious and deliberate shape. How then is it conceivable that the hereditary chamber should supply its opponents with a gratuitous argument against the unrestricted use of its present powers by making common cause with the obstructives in the House of Commons, who, *ex hypothesi*, set themselves against the national feeling? Should there be any inclination on the part of the Opposition to adopt the policy now indicated, the House of Lords will give the obstructed bills a reception very different from that which is anticipated. It will be impossible for the Peers to ignore the circumstances under which the power of closure has been exercised by the Government in the Commons, and instead of the measures being rejected the chances are that they will pass through the Upper House at an accelerated rate and with slight alteration.

Although the contingency of the general question of Local Government in other parts of the United Kingdom than in the metropolis was not ignored in the Queen's Speech, it is tolerably certain that we shall hear nothing of County Government Bills either for England or for Ireland during the present session. The meaning of the sentence in the Royal message to which we have just referred is obvious. It implicitly declares the opinion of the Cabinet that the reform of Local Government in counties is not to be confined to one portion of the United Kingdom—namely, to England—but is to be extended at a convenient season to another portion—namely, to Ireland. That season will not arrive just yet, and what is now asserted is rather a political principle than an immediate legislative intention. As regards the metropolis, there is a general conviction that some reform of its administrative system is imperatively called for. It is assumed that the City corporation and the vestries will resist the treatment to be applied to them by the Government. This is a premature and gratuitous hypothesis. Supposing, however, that the various metropolitan bodies were not reconciled to the Ministerial scheme, it may be safely predicted that they would not be able long to continue their resistance to it. Considerable as is the power which they can bring to bear upon the House of Commons, they would in the long run be impotent if they could not in the exercise of it secure the national support. Can any one seriously believe that the country would uphold the Corporation of the city of London or the vestries in their refusal to assimilate themselves to the municipalities of the United Kingdom?

The Government Bill is so constructed as to conciliate, rather than alienate, the powers whom it directly affects. Its two chief features are the creation of a central body of wide-reaching authority and great dignity, and the delegation of jurisdiction to local bodies.

By the former there is secured unity of administration; by the latter this administration is, as far as possible, decentralised. Sir William Harcourt has, in deference to the views of root-and-branch reformers like Mr. Beal, decided upon a great metropolitan municipality, which will be supreme over a vast area. On the other hand, he has relieved this central body of many unnecessary and confusing duties, by conceding local powers to local bodies. In this manner not only will the new municipality be spared a variety of perplexing details, for dealing with which it would not in truth be peculiarly appropriate, but a considerable economy of individual force will be effected. For instance, though the present vestries may disappear, their most active and capable members will be drafted into the new bodies which take their place, and will, in the first elections to them, enjoy a right of preference. One question raised by the Government measure cannot fail to excite great and prolonged controversy—the control of the police. The attitude adopted by Ministers towards this subject is clearly defined. As Mr. Gladstone said recently at Cannes to M. Clémenceau, there is no sufficient reason to be urged against giving such power to the new municipality. It would be an anomaly if the Corporation of London were not to enjoy the prerogative which belongs to every other municipality in the country. More than this is not asked; with less than this the chief magistrate of the capital could not rest content. Much, of course, will be said of the menace which such a body, being independent of the Imperial Parliament, might constitute to the representatives of the English nation at Westminster in times of great political excitement. There is no reason to expect that the city of London would at a crisis of this sort be wanting in loyalty to Parliament; nor would there be any objection, for that matter, to exacting a guarantee which would place Parliament beyond the limits of possible peril. Thus the Government might fairly claim a voice in the appointment of the chief of the London police, or, if this were not considered enough, a House of Common's body-guard might be specially constituted, or a different body of Westminster police might be maintained.

The Government are to be congratulated on having at last determined to deal with the whole question which Mr. Bradlaugh's claim to affirm has raised. In bringing in a Bill which makes it optional for any one returned to the House of Commons to make affirmation of his loyalty instead of swearing it by oath, Ministers have accepted the challenge thrown down by their opponents, and applied a test to the sincerity of many of their supporters. Of course the matter will not be decided without prolonged and acrimonious controversies. Objections of all kinds—some founded on conviction, others purely hypocritical—will be urged against the measure, which is already described as one for admitting atheists in general, and Mr. Bradlaugh

in particular, to the House of Commons. But Mr. Bradlaugh is only the proximate cause of the promised legislation. At any moment the constituencies may return to St. Stephens some member who on grounds of conscientious agnosticism dislikes, or refuses, to take the oath. An actual difficulty of formidable dimensions must be disposed of; a potential difficulty of dimensions still more formidable must be anticipated. The point which the House of Commons will have to decide is simple. Is compliance with a religious test to be the indispensable qualification of the representatives of the English people to discharge their duties to their constituents? Are the constituencies to be partially disfranchised because of the theological heterodoxy of those whom they return to Westminster? It is unnecessary to recapitulate the absolutely unanswerable arguments against the existing condition of things. What there has been always to be said in favour of abolishing religious tests of all kinds is to be said now. The only hostile arguments are those supplied by prejudice and superstition. Which of the two alternatives is the more disrespectful to the Deity: that the name of God should in a certain number of cases be taken in vain, or that it should not be necessary lightly to invoke that name at all? The Conservatives, and not a few Liberals, will now enjoy the opportunity of showing what value belongs to the professions upon this subject, frequently made by them in the past. They have, they have declared, resisted and resented the action of the Government in endeavouring to open the doors of the House of Commons to Mr. Bradlaugh, not so much because he was an atheist, as because they disapproved of letting him in by a side wind. If, so ran the argument, he was to take his place, let it at once be declared that the affirmation might be substituted for the oath, let the requisite legislation be forthcoming, and let not the oath itself be degraded into a mockery and a farce. The Government have decided that there shall be such legislation. The Bill embodying this purpose is before the House; nothing remains but to fight it out.

Prophecy is never more rash than in politics, and it may be that we are condemned once more to witness a sterile session; but the chances are, we venture to think, against it. Not only is the country ripe and eager for most of the important measures which the Government have announced, but the Conservatives are by many reasons precluded from meeting them with a factious opposition. Under these circumstances, will the Irish be able to break down the determination of the country, and to prevent the attention of the session from being mainly given to the affairs of England and Scotland? There is happily no reason to suppose that they will be able to do anything of the sort. There will be Irish debates at intervals, and Irish grievances will periodically be ventilated. The operation

of the Land Act and the Arrears Act may be criticised, and protests may be forthcoming against the Crimes Act; but as regards the operation of this last-named measure it is impossible for the Irish members to be very importunate. The answer to the objections which may be urged against it are the Kilmainham Court House disclosures. Even the Irish members must bow to public opinion, and the incidents of the last three weeks in Dublin are the best guarantees we can have against the renewal of Irish obstruction.

A debate on the Egyptian policy of the Government will doubtless be raised before many weeks have elapsed. The criticism offered on it by the Opposition thus far has been of the most ineffective character. Political attention generally has been removed during the last month from the Nile to the Danube. The conference of plenipotentiaries held at the Foreign Office has not, at the present moment of writing, arrived at any conclusion on the weightiest of the problems which it had to decide—the claims of Russia in regard to the Kilia arm and mouth of the river. It has, however, settled the composition of the mixed commission, which is to consist of representatives of Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, and Europe, the last named being elected in rotation by each of the great European powers. The authority of the European Commission on the Lower Danube is somewhat extended, and already measures have received the consent of the plenipotentiaries which will ensure that the mixed commission shall faithfully execute the resolutions of the international body. Nor is it premature to anticipate that the existence of the latter will be prolonged for a considerable period, probably for not less than twenty-five years. Although concessions will unquestionably be made to Russia on the subject of the Kilia portion of the Danube, the conference will in no way have surrendered or violated the principle that the control of the navigation of the river is a matter which concerns all Europe, and that nothing can be decided by one power without reference to the wishes of the others. Russia demands to be allowed to open up the Kilia mouth at her own expense, and, in return for the public service she will thus render, to be permitted to regulate the traffic on the Kilia arm. The other powers, led by England, reply that whatever regulations may be imposed by Russia in the first instance, they shall receive the sanction of Europe before they are accepted as valid. It is not impossible that Russia may fail entirely to open up the Kilia mouth. The enterprise would be costly, and the money may not be forthcoming. Under any circumstances the value of the work done by Russia will be considered and practically acknowledged, but without any disparagement of the claim advanced by the plenipotentiaries of the other States, that Russia can no more be allowed an

exclusive and independent jurisdiction than, in a different part of the stream, can be accorded to Roumania. Roumania, like Servia, has not been allowed a vote at the conference, and has, therefore, declined to take part in it. At present, she refuses to recognise the competence of the European Commission, employing the mixed commission as its executive body, to regulate the navigation between Galatz and the Iron Gates, asserting that between these points she is the riverain Power; but, ultimately it may be expected, she will recognise the expediency of abiding by the collective judgment of Europe.

Next to England, the interest of France on the Danube is greater than that of any other Power, and the internal condition of France remains in a state of political ferment. It is not necessary here to follow the various incidents which have marked the accession of M. Jules Ferry to the Premiership as successor of M. Fallières. What it is rather important to do is to protest against the spirit and language in which the contemporary affairs of France are habitually discussed on this side of the Channel, and to point out that, though France itself is unquestionably, so far as its political parties are concerned, disorganized, the Republic is not, as we might be led to expect from the reckless comments passed upon it in some quarters, imperilled. Sensible men, if they wish to form an opinion of the real condition of affairs in a foreign country, should look, not at petty details or passing incidents, but at the broad features of the situation. Now the chief fact in the situation in France is, that the Republic is not affected, as might have proved the case, by the blunder its rulers committed in dealing with the manifesto of Prince Napoleon. No sober enemy of the Republic can see in the immediate future any chance of a Buonapartist, an Orleanist, or a Legitimist restoration. The utmost which can be said is, that the political system of the country is held in solution. Something more is wanted to overthrow the Government which was established on the ruins of the Empire, and which commands the loyalty of the great majority of a happy and prosperous people. And, in conclusion, we may ask whether the disturbances of which France is now the victim are, in the nature of things, peculiar to her—whether it is not even conceivable that, under certain circumstances, we might ourselves see the political power exercised by the House of Commons, instead of being divided between the two great parties in the State, distributed among, and fought for by, an aggregate of loosely coherent groups and factions.

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THE FRENCH ARMY.

The decision lately taken by the new Cabinet in regard to the Orleanist princes, who were on active service in the French army, has not produced the excitement which was anticipated in some quarters among French officers. The placing of the names of the Dukes D'Aumale, De Chartres, and D'Alençon on the retired list was, it is now generally seen, an event of far less importance than the enemies of the Republic represented. Many French officers may be Legitimists, Orleanists, or Buonapartists; but they are soldiers first and politicians afterwards. Their entire intelligence and energy are devoted to the reform of the national forces. Especially in the younger commanders of brigades, of regiments, and of battalions this love of the profession has taken deep root. They who, both as Frenchmen and as soldiers, suffered so deeply twelve years ago, have since had no other desire than to secure the fatherland, and the army against a similar catastrophe. Thus it was that many of them first gave the Republic their undivided allegiance when they saw the sustained efforts which the majority of the members of the National Assembly were making to render the military re-organization complete. This, too, was the reason that caused so large a number of earnest and ambitious officers to range themselves on the side of Gambetta, who had become for them the living embodiment of patriotism. Thus General de Galliffet, a master of cavalry tactics, was indifferent to politics, and only became a personal friend of the great statesman on seeing the eagerness shown by him for all military reforms, and for any measure which was calculated to benefit France. "You must indeed be ambitious, General," said to him, a few months ago, a dowager of the old aristocracy, "to dance such constant attendance upon the recognised leader of the Republican party, from whom your name, your title, your past life, and your official position ought to separate you." "You are right, Madame. I cannot disguise the fact that it is ambition which alone attracts

me to this man." "Is it permitted to know the substance of your dreams?" "Certainly, Madame." "Confide to us, then, General, the object of your secret hopes?" "As you wish it, Madame, I will. My chief desire at present is that the French may one day be able to erect to me a statue in one of the squares of Strasbourg, opposite that which shall recall the memory of him who was the inspirer and the hero of the National Defence of 1871, not far from the monument of Desaix, and near the statue of Kléber." In this reply the French officer of our day is drawn to the life. Experience of the action of the monarchical parties since 1871 has taught him that the welfare of France is bound up with the Republic. Exceptions there are, but this is the rule; and among the minority there is scarcely one who would use his position to attack the Republic by force. Yet the French officer is, perhaps, the only one in Europe who is not bound by any oath of fidelity to the power which gives him his commission. The Republic, while confirming him in all his prerogatives, has exacted from him no pledge.

What, then, has been the object of French military reformers during the last twelve years? Let me premise that the French army, faithfully reflecting the spirit of the nation, has no wish to attack any of its neighbours. France to-day only considers her own interests. The time for interventions is past. Well aware of her isolation, she has sought no alliance, but has simply placed before herself the probability of another Continental war, and the necessity of being prepared to resist any attack, were she assailed on two or more points of her frontiers. The object accordingly of the military reorganization has been the defence of French territory; and if some military leaders have looked beyond this, it is only because their duty compelled them to consider the case in which France, being attacked, should repel the invader and pursue him to his capital. This, then, was the aim, and in order to attain it without delay it was necessary to proceed at the same time to reorganize the *personnel* of the army, and to recreate the military stores, &c.; for not only the *matériel*, but also the soldiers themselves seemed to have disappeared in the cataclysm of 1870–71. We will now indicate the measures taken.

I.

There are still some soldiers—and these not the least able—in France as elsewhere, who refuse to admit that the number of the combatants is one of the chief elements in determining the issue of a campaign. They base their opinion upon the indisputable fact that quality is more important than quantity, and cite historical instances of important victories won by a handful of disciplined soldiers over

a horde of barbarians. But the analogy is misleading; for all Continental armies being to-day recruited in the same manner, all having nearly the same organization, the same arms, the same technical instruction, the one which on the battle-field is numerically superior will most likely be victorious. "The last word will always belong to the largest battalions," said Napoleon I., and what was true at the beginning of this century has become to-day a truism. Accordingly, in 1871, Frenchmen—the most thoughtful men of the nation included—unanimously demanded compulsory and universal military service. The first duty of the citizen in a free country is personally to aid in its defence, and the obligation is especially binding where the country is exposed to invasion. The recognition of this duty guided the drawing up of the Army Bill, which became law on the 27th of July, 1872. By this measure every citizen capable of bearing arms is compelled to serve during twenty years in the army. As soon as the youth has completed his twentieth year his term of service begins, or more correctly, it begins on the 1st of July afterwards, and ends on the 30th of June twenty years later. This term of years he passes as follow: five years in the active army, four years in the active reserve, five years in the territorial army, six years in the territorial reserve.

In order to show the mechanism of the system, let us take for example the recruitment of 1873, the first which was carried out according to the new method. All the youths called to service in any one year are known under the name of "class," and these classes are distinguished one from the other by the date of the year in which the youths composing it fulfilled their twentieth year.

Accordingly the class of 1872 first entered on its term of service in 1873. Here are the dates of its passage through the different stages of the army until its final liberation. It remains—

In the active army from the 1st of July,			1873, to the 30th of June,			1878.
,,	active reserve	,,	,, 1878	,,	,,	1882.
,,	territorial army	,,	,, 1882	,,	,,	1887.
,,	territorial reserve	,,	,, 1887	,,	,,	1893.

On the 30th of June next, the class of 1872 will be free, and on the morrow, the 1st of July, the class of 1882, which is being formed at the present time, will be inscribed upon the military registers. Let me proceed to explain the nature of these four divisions.

First of all it is essential to distinguish between the active army and the permanent army. The permanent army is only a part of the active army—a small part, too, as it numbers but 500,000 men, counting the garrisons in Algeria and in Tunis, though not those of the other colonies, which are composed of bodies of marines—

whereas the active army is 1,923,000 men strong. This difference is due to various causes, but the larger number would at once be ready for mobilisation. It must here be remarked that the enrolment and the liberation from service never take place at the legal time. Thus, the class of 1872, which was enrolled on the 1st of July, 1873, does not join the flag before the 15th of November following; and this same class, which ought to remain in the army till the 30th of June, 1878, was sent back home in October, 1877. Its service of five years was, therefore, in reality, reduced to a little less than four years. This, too, has been the case with all subsequent classes, and the projects for modifying the law which are now under discussion seek to limit the term of service to three full years. All men who are thus dismissed from the permanent before being incorporated into the active army, and all who are liberated from service before their term is ended, are included under the name of the disposable forces (*disponibilité*) of the active army; under which heading, too, come, after their one year of service, the old soldiers engaged under this condition, and those young men who, thanks to luck in the lottery, enjoy the privilege of only remaining one year with the flag.

The military authorities are exactly informed as to the full resources of the active army, which is much larger than it seems to be; for each year they hold a roll-call of the disposable forces and of those men who are exempted from service because of family needs, and of those in the auxiliary services. At the end of their five years the exempted and the auxiliaries, together with those who have been all, or nearly all, this time with the flag, pass into the active reserve, in which they are numbered for four years. Such men, however, as are fathers of four living children are exempted, and pass directly into the territorial army. The active reserve has no special organization, but it is portioned out into territorial districts among the various troops which are stationed in the region in which the men of the reserve have their homes. In time of peace the reserves have two periods of drill, each of four weeks' duration; that is, two classes of the reserve are each year during twenty-eight days with the colours. Thus there are about 340,000 men who take part year by year in the drill, exercises, &c., of the permanent army, and the majority of them participate also in the great autumn manœuvres. The military authorities allow the men of the reserve some privileges; for instance, they are permitted to enter on their month's training a little sooner or a little later than the time fixed by the law; those indicated by the municipal authorities as being the indispensable supporters of indigent families are exempted from military training, as also are the men who were placed in the auxiliary service of the army. These are the only exemptions which

are allowed. The rule is very strict, and its infraction severely punished.

The first line of the French army is accordingly made up of the permanent army, of the disposable forces, and of the reserve of the active army. These are distinct categories in times of peace, but unite to form one group in case of war. Behind this first line the territorial army, together with its reserve, is drawn up. The only difference between these two classes is that the men of the territorial army are compelled to train two weeks during the five years which they pass in this force, whereas the men of the territorial reserve during their six years of service are exempted from all training. The organization of the territorial army is nearly the same as that of the active army, and this organization is permanent, so that the soldiers of the territorial army are called up every two years for their training, and their mobilisation would be as rapid and orderly as that of the active army. This consideration is of the first importance, for, although the very name given to the second line of defence indicates that it would in war be especially reserved to garrison fortresses and to occupy important strategical positions on French soil, it must not therefore be forgotten that the law of the 24th of July, 1872, authorises the Government to group the territorial army in brigades, divisions, and army-corps destined to accompany the corresponding divisions of the active army. Besides, it is no secret that certain infantry battalions of the territorial army, which have their quarters near the eastern frontier, would march in the first line with the infantry of the active army stationed in the same district. Praise is due to the enthusiasm and zeal shown by the soldiers of the territorial army. Like the reserves, they submit, without sign of resistance, to all the inconveniences entailed by the trainings. The whole system has now become a matter of habit to Frenchmen. All know that a Republican Government will not incur the hazards of war unless the very existence of the fatherland is threatened; all know that the order to march will only be given if France is threatened, and it is certain, when their patriotic enthusiasm, their respect for discipline, and their mature age are considered, that the soldiers of the territorial army, if wisely led and well commanded, must be the most formidable adversaries which an enemy has ever encountered.

II.

Now that the nature of the military duties incumbent upon each French citizen capable of bearing arms has been explained, it will be well to give the number of defenders with which the law of 1872 provides the country. Before the 15th of January in each year the mayors of the different communes draw up a recruiting-list of all the

young men who have attained twenty years of age in the course of the previous year. The average annual number of these recruits is 300,000, which gives a proportion of eight recruits to every 1,000 inhabitants—for France has a population of 37,000,000. A similar list is prepared in Algeria of all youths of French parentage and of all who have become naturalised French citizens; and it is now proposed to put the same principle in force in the other French colonies, but these further resources will not here be considered. The recruiting-lists of the communes are examined in the chief town of each canton, and the names are erased of those individuals who prove themselves to be foreigners, and of those who have been condemned in judicial penalties which render them unworthy of the honour of bearing arms. It is now suggested to amend the law in relation to these two classes. As regards foreigners, it is urged that such of them as have found homes in France enjoy the protection of French laws, and ought to discharge the same obligations as other French citizens. As regards those excluded from the army in consequence of a judicial sentence, it is proposed that they should be drafted into special disciplinary corps, and be stationed abroad. After these erasures have been made, generally to the number of 2,000, those whose names stand on the lists draw lots to determine the conditions under which they shall enter the army. The force of the permanent army being 500,000 men, of whom 130,000 are made up of officers, or of volunteers, or of such as have re-enlisted, there only remain 370,000 places to be filled up by the recruits. Under these conditions it is not only impossible that the recruits should remain five years, as required by the law, with the colours, but even when the term of service is reduced to four years it is impossible to find room for all recruits for this shorter period. Some conscripts, therefore, are kept with the colours only one year, and to determine who shall be so favoured lots are drawn. The lottery then separates the recruits into two classes: 66 in every 100, or two-thirds of the young soldiers, are required to serve the long term of four years; the remaining one-third, or 33 per cent., have but one year of service. The first class is further divided, inasmuch as some men are detached from it in order to compose the infantry and artillery of the marines—these number about 4 in every 100 recruits. So, supposing a commune ought to furnish 100 men, those who draw the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 are drafted into the marines, in which service they remain nearly four years; the numbers from 4 to 66 serve this long term in the land army; the last 33 are incorporated in the land army for one year. After the lots are drawn a revisional council sits in order to examine whether the conscripts are fit for military service, and to decide upon the exemptions which shall be allowed. There is no complete exemption, either in peace or in war, save for such as are pronounced

to be absolutely unfit for any service. Some 30,000 annually obtain this entire immunity.

In still another category are placed about 15,000 youths, who are declared to be incapable of supporting the fatigue of active service, and who are drafted into the auxiliary service of the non-combatants. A third category is made to include nearly 30,000 men, who, by reason of constitutional weakness, or of shortness of stature, can neither be immediately drafted for active service nor yet totally disqualified and placed definitely in the auxiliary service, as they may grow, or become stronger. These are, therefore, sent home, and required to attend at the next annual revision for another examination; this is sometimes repeated twice or thrice; but after the third examination they are either declared absolutely unfit for all service, or are drafted into the auxiliary service, or incorporated in the permanent army.

The total, therefore, of each annual class of recruits is lessened by 77,000 partial or complete exemptions—to wit, 2,000 foreigners, or unworthy; 30,000 unfit for any service; 15,000 drafted into the auxiliary service; 30,000 adjourned. Now the whole class numbers, as was noted, 300,000—223,000 conscripts annually are therefore declared fit to bear arms.

Further, according to the law, certain individuals are, in time of peace, exempted from service because of family obligations: these are—the eldest of a family of children who have lost both father and mother; the eldest or only son of a widow; the brother of a soldier on active service, &c.; and they number some 45,000 men yearly. Again, the youths who intend to teach in the public schools, or to become teachers of the religion recognised by the State, are absolutely exempted from all military service in time of peace or of war. Of such exemptions the yearly average is 5,000. Finally, of the 223,000 men of the yearly class, there are about 25,000 who have beforehand entered the army as volunteers, or who fall under the heading of those subject to service at sea. It may be added that certain youths are allowed, before the lottery takes place, to volunteer for one year. These must possess a university degree, or must pass an examination specially prescribed, and they are all required to pay a sum of 1,500 francs for their board, &c. In round numbers, 5,000 yearly volunteer under these conditions. When these various additions are taken into account, it will be found that 153,000 young soldiers are annually recruited, of whom 114,000 are required to serve for four years and 39,000 for one year.

It is probable that the existing law will be amended as regards various points. It is proposed to reduce the term of service to three years, and to abolish the drawing of lots; to grant no exemptions to teachers, whether religious or lay; and finally, to permit no one to

volunteer for one year. Those who desire that the term of service should be reduced to three years urge that this period is sufficient for the training of the soldier. They insist, further, that the lottery is an immoral institution, making against equality and justice in the bearing of the burden; and they argue that the training of the troops would be much more perfect and, so to say, homogeneous if they all remained with the colours for the same length of time. It is necessary to add that this term of three years was advocated in the National Assembly by General Trochu, and that the term of five years was adopted solely because of the obstinacy and love of routine of Thiers. The teachers themselves have desired the abolition of this privilege of exemption, and it is to be hoped that Parliament will accede to their request. As for the exemption of ministers of religion, this also is likely to be abolished, in spite of the opposition of the clergy. It is a source of extraordinary abuses. It has lately been shown that persons have been exempted from service on this ground, who could not even read, and who, instead of consecrating themselves to the teaching of religion, devoted their time to the trimming of lamps, &c., and the religious orders profited by these exemptions. Besides, the Protestants and the Israelites accept this reform; only the Catholic clergy are opposed to it.

To summarise, then, as the foregoing data enable me to do, the forces of the French Republic according to the existing system:—the first of these forces is the permanent army, 500,000 men strong. The second comprises all those men who are at the disposition of the military authorities, all who belong to the auxiliary services, all the so-called disposable forces of the active army; and lastly, the reserve of the active army. Then comes the territorial army with its reserve. The permanent army is composed of two groups: the first includes all those who do not come from the annual contingents, the second group is formed of these contingents.

The number of men classed as being at the disposition of the military authorities is 470,000, all of whom are untrained. The number of men classed as composing the disposable forces of the active army is 260,000. It must be remembered that these 260,000 men of the disposable forces of the active army have all served for at least one year, whereas the 470,000 men at the disposition of the authorities are totally untrained. The reserve of the active army is made up, as has been said, of four "classes," which are to-day those of 1876, 1875, 1874, and 1873, and which, taken together, number 693,000 men, of whom 529,000 are trained and 164,000 untrained.

The whole number, therefore, of French troops of the first line is 1,923,000, of whom 1,289,000 are trained and 634,000 are untrained, to wit: 500,000 trained men of the permanent army; 470,000

untrained men classed as being at the disposition of the military authorities; 260,000 trained men belonging to the disposable force of the active army; 693,000 men of the reserve of the active army, of whom 529,000 are trained and 164,000 are untrained.

It now remains for us to indicate the numerical strength of the second line, that is, of the territorial army and of its reserve. Unfortunately this estimate cannot be based on such exact knowledge as was the previous one, for there are as yet in the territorial army only two "classes," those of 1871 and 1872, which were enrolled in accordance with the provisions of the law of 1872.

A careful calculation, however, estimates the territorial army at 735,000 men, of whom 597,000 are trained and 138,000 untrained. According to the same estimate, the total strength of the territorial reserve is 654,000 men, of whom 554,000 are trained and 100,000 are untrained.

The second line—that is, the territorial army together with its reserve—is made up of 1,389,000 men, of whom 1,151,000 are trained and 238,000 untrained. When this force is added to that of the active army, we find that France can command 3,300,000 soldiers in case of a Continental war. If we consider, further, the sea forces, and the volunteers who would flock to the standard if the war threatened the life of the nation, it may be said without exaggeration that the French Republic can count upon 3,700,000 able-bodied and armed defenders—that is, one in every ten of the entire population.

This is the most eloquent answer which could be given to those men who, disregarding the plain teaching of facts, continue to assert that republican institutions must necessarily unfit a country for war.

III.

After having ensured the recruiting of the army, the legislature had to take into immediate consideration the whole question of its organization, and the formation of tactical and strategical units. These were provided for by the laws of the 24th of July, 1873, and of the 13th of March, 1875. The method followed shall be described in the sequel.

The first step was to divide France into eighteen military districts, in each of which an army-corps resides. The head-quarters of each of these army-corps was set up in the following towns: the first corps at Lille, the second at Amiens, the third at Rouen, the fourth at Le Mans, the fifth at Orleans, the sixth at Chalons-sur-Marne, the seventh at Besançon, the eighth at Bourges, the ninth at Tours, the tenth at Rennes, the eleventh at Nantes, the twelfth at Limoges, the thirteenth at Clermont-Ferrand, the fourteenth at Grenoble, the fifteenth at Marseille, the sixteenth at Montpellier, the seventeenth

at Toulouse, and the eighteenth at Bordeaux. It was decided at the same time that each army-corps should contain two divisions of infantry, one brigade of cavalry, one brigade of artillery, one battalion of engineers, and one squadron of train, as well as the staffs and those accessory services indispensable for command and for administration, which the general nature of this sketch compels us to pass over. Upon this organization of the active army as a foundation, that of the territorial army was built up. This force also was divided into eighteen army-corps in such a manner that each corps is composed of the same number of infantry, and as nearly as possible of the same number of cavalry, artillery, engineers, and train, as the active army. Further, each district was subdivided into eight recruiting sections, to each of which an infantry regiment of the territorial army was apportioned. In order to recruit and group the men in this way, the authorities were compelled to take the political divisions of the country, such as departments, arrondissements, and cantons, into account, without losing sight of the question of population. In general, each district wherein an army-corps resides has 2,000,000 inhabitants, and raises 180,000 soldiers for either the active or the territorial army. Each of the 144 sections (each of the eighteen districts being subdivided into eight sections) corresponds to a population of 250,000 and provides 22,500 men, thirty-six regiments of artillery forming eighteen brigades, or one for each army-corps of infantry, eighteen battalions of engineers, eighteen squadrons of train.

The nineteenth army-corps, allotted to Algeria, is composed of—

Four regiments of Zouaves, each having four battalions of four companies, with a depôt of two companies per regiment.

Three battalions of disciplinary troops.

One regiment of the foreign legion.

Three regiments of Algerian tirailleurs.

Four regiments of light cavalry.

Three regiments of Spahis, serving in the first or in the second line.

In this scheme Paris, Lyons, and Algeria are not considered.

The capital of France and its second largest city were each provided with a military governor. As for the colony, a special army-corps was allotted to it, bearing the number 19.

This being the general plan, I will examine some of its special aspects.

1st.—The Active Army.

The active army is composed of—

641 battalions of infantry,

392 squadrons of cavalry,

494 batteries of artillery:
- 380 batteries of field artillery,
- 57 batteries of horse artillery,
- 57 batteries of foot or fortress artillery,

80 companies of sappers belonging to the engineers,
4 companies of railway workmen,
28 companies of pontoon,
60 companies of train.

2ND.—THE TERRITORIAL ARMY.

We find, accordingly, that the whole territorial army is made up of—
486 battalions of infantry,
225 squadrons of cavalry,
229 batteries of foot or fortress artillery,
54 companies of sappers belonging to the engineers,
36 squadrons of train.

3RD.—THE ACTIVE AND THE TERRITORIAL ARMY.

The active and the territorial army taken together include—
1,127 infantry battalions,
617 squadrons of cavalry,

723 batteries of artillery:
- 380 field batteries,
- 57 batteries of horse artillery,
- 286 batteries for use in fortresses,

134 companies of sappers belonging to the engineers,
4 companies of railway workmen,
28 companies of pontoon, and
96 companies of train.

These are the units which would serve as frames, if the expression be permissible, to include the great majority of the 3,300,000 men from twenty to forty years old, who would, in case of war, go with the colours, each taking his allotted place.

In presence of so vast an organization, the first question which suggests itself is whether the French army possesses a body of officers sufficiently able and numerous to act as leaders of a nation in arms? It has already been noticed that there are 27,000 officers in the permanent army. The mobilisation of the reserve of the active army would call forth the 8,000 officers of the reserve; there are, therefore, about 35,000 officers for the first line. But this number includes the staff-officers who have no command, as well as military functionaries, such as intendants, doctors, veterinary surgeons, agents of the administration, &c. These two classes absorb in time of peace 7,000 of the 27,000 officers of the permanent army. In time of war it is certain that there would be 10,000 such officers to deduct from the 35,000 given as commanding the first line. There would remain accordingly only 25,000 officers to lead the

troops. But now the active army would not put in line the 1,923,000 men which the mobilisation would call together. The number of trained soldiers of the first line would not amount to more than 1,000,000 men, and to lead them 20,000 officers are sufficient. The other 5,000 officers would remain, for the time at least, in the depôts with the rest of the active army. This would mean that there would only be 5,000 officers for 600,000 untrained and undisciplined men. The temper of this mass, in case the army in the field suffered defeat, would certainly show itself in manifestations or in open rebellion. Such a danger is no less great in the territorial army, where there are only 16,000 officers (and this number includes the staff-officers and the functionaries already specified) for 1,400,000 men; that is, there is scarcely one officer for every hundred soldiers. This situation is full of danger, and must be attended to at once. It may be admitted that all party struggles would cease in view of the common enemy, but there are eventualities which it is impossible to foresee, and the present state of things is not reassuring. Common prudence requires that, where the nation is the army, the organization should be as perfect as possible. The number of officers in the French army is not large enough. This must be admitted; and though in this respect no great military power is perfect, the imperfection of France is conspicuous. Everywhere the proportion of commanding officers to the soldiery is as one to forty, and this proportion is considered to be the minimum.

But as regards the quality of the officers, as regards their zeal, their technical knowledge, their fitness to command, I, as a Frenchman, assert that there is no army in Europe equal to the French. All officers, without exception, have laid to heart the cruel lesson of 1870. As soon as peace was declared they set to work with so much ardour and perseverance that the moral regeneration, no less than the material reconstitution of the army, has been promoted by their patriotic efforts. Essays on professional subjects have been multiplied beyond counting, each officer wishing to communicate to his comrades the fruit of his experience and study. Many have gone to study foreign armies on the spot, and have published such complete descriptions of the different systems that the French officer of to-day is nearly as well acquainted with the armies of the other European nations as he is with his own. That the methods of instruction are continually improving is put beyond doubt by the progress seen in the manœuvres which are held yearly in the autumn. Reforms have been made in the smallest details. French officers, too, have prepared all the preliminaries of mobilisation with such care, they have trained the men in the part to be played in case of an unexpected war so thoroughly, that France to-day cannot be taken by surprise. They are accordingly held in higher esteem by the country than

they were formerly. The uniform is now everywhere respected, for it is a symbol of the country's strength. The soldiers, too, have complete confidence in their leaders; they esteem and love them, and consequently would follow them wherever they led. No higher praise could be given either to officers or men.

There is yet one grave defect in the constitution of the French army to be noted—the indisposition, or rather refusal, of the non-commissioned officers to re-enlist. Their position has been improved in every respect; but all efforts to keep them are made in vain. As soon as their legal time of service expires they leave the army. Now the system of volunteering for one year, and that of granting exemptions to all lay and religious teachers, deprives the country of the material out of which the best non-commissioned officers could be made. The result is that the officers furnished by the yearly contingents represent the lower class of the population, and this is a cause of weakness to the whole army. All attempts at reform have proved ineffectual. At the present moment, however, the authorities are beginning to consider another plan. There is, namely, at present an institution for the education, &c., of the children of soldiers. It is now proposed to train these children for the position of non-commissioned officers; and this proposition seems to afford the best solution of the problem. The number of such children is large enough to supply the need; and it cannot be doubted that men trained from childhood on would be most capable instructors.

IV.

To make this sketch even approximately complete, I must say something about the material of war. In this respect the progress already made defies description. After the war with Germany, the French frontier was completely exposed by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine; the cannon, rifles, horses, material of all sorts had been taken away by the enemy. Everything had to be replaced; and this was done so rapidly and in such profusion that the French army of to-day is perhaps better equipped than that of any other nation. The arsenals are full of rifles, cannon, and ammunition. The magazines, too, are packed with clothes, shoes, harness, tents. Parliament has voted any sum asked for by the military authorities without hesitation, and the military administration has used the grants honestly and to good purpose. Every army-corps has its general magazine of raiment, &c., and every body of troops possesses its own particular one. The most perfect order reigns in these depôts. Each thing is in its place, carefully marked and ready for use.

In two respects, however, improvement is possible. Enough has not been done to provide good horses fit for war, and too much

has been done in the way of permanent fortifications. The French cavalry, in spite of the efforts of the officers and the consequent improvement in technical knowledge and training, is not yet in a position to contend advantageously with the cavalry of certain foreign nations, and this is chiefly due to the inferior quality of the horses. Notwithstanding its paramount importance, the cavalry has been somewhat neglected by the authorities. The reason is not far to seek. The cavalry is a weapon of attack, and the aim of the authorities has been to provide first of all the weapons for defence. This desire, too, has led them to multiply forts and fortified camps beyond all reason. It was necessary to close the breach made on the eastern frontier; but even considered as a defence, walls of men's breasts are better than any walls of stone.

Such is the present condition of the French army. It includes every Frenchman capable of bearing arms, and the laws allow the military authorities to requisition everything they need in the way of food, lodging, and other necessaries. The whole nation has become militant. Even in the primary schools there are battalions of scholars. The process is the more significant because it has taken place with the consent of the inhabitants, who have pushed fanaticism so far that voluntary societies of marksmen and gymnasts have been formed. The moral regeneration brought about by patriotism has kept pace with the military reorganization and with the growth of public prosperity. Let danger threaten the country, and forthwith a simple telegraphic message will call 3,000,000 of armed, disciplined, and trained men around the banner of the French Republic. France may now look upon the future without fear. Granted, as I have pointed out, that it is possible for her still further to improve certain features of her military system; the danger of a catastrophe is past, and her alliance can no longer be disdained by any nation.

H. BARTHELEMY.

THE AFFIRMATION BILL.

The prolonged controversy upon the whole subject, or group of subjects, suggested by the Affirmation Bill will in a short time be brought to a distinct issue. Parliament will be asked to decide whether the option of substituting an affirmation for the oath should apply to any member, instead of being limited, as at present, to those who belong to certain sects. Hitherto the discussion has been partly fed by conflicting views and statements regarding matters which are not strictly relevant to the subject; and though it is too much to hope that the next stage of debate will be kept clear of such side issues, yet it seems eminently desirable that during the present interval all persons who are interested in this dispute, whether in Parliament or out-of-doors, should, calmly surveying the question in its present position, once more examine the ground which may legitimately be occupied by the forces on either side.

Such a review is rendered all the more expedient by the fact that, with regard to the character and effects of the Bill now pending, a number of assertions have been publicly made which, if well founded, would certainly lead to conclusions that ought to ensure the rejection of the measure. It has, for example, been designated a Bill for the abolition of the parliamentary oath. But in what sense can it be said that the measure contains any such destructive element? The essence of the Bill is not to abolish a rule, but to provide for the exceptions to that rule. In one sense the exemption is general, inasmuch as the qualification for coming under its operation is not restricted to any specified class of men; but the presumption of law, and also, in the main, the practice, would, under the proposed measure, remain as at present.

It has been further declared that the contemplated legislation is to secure the admission to Parliament of atheists in general, and of Mr. Bradlaugh in particular. This opinion is of course based upon the assumption that the oath is a test, and an effective test, of the religious opinions of those who are returned to Parliament. The exacting of this oath, however, if in any sense a religious test, is so only in an accidental and inferential manner. The design of the oath is clearly to obtain a reliable declaration of loyalty to the Sovereign as head of the Constitution. It is strictly an oath of allegiance, and that such is its character and intention may also be inferred from the alternative form, the affirmation, which runs as follows:—

"I do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty, Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, according to law."

Keeping in view the fact that the use of this affirmation in place of the oath was a concession to persons whose creed, though it forbade the actual taking of an oath, was essentially religious, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that, if the obtaining of a religious test had been one of the objects in view, some allusion at least, implying a belief in the existence of the Almighty, might have been inserted without offending the consciences of those for whose relief the formula was provided.[1] But, as we have seen, the form of affirmation contains no such allusion.

The absence of any intention to include a religious test within the character and scope of the oath is, however, still further manifested in the history of the various modifications to which it has from time to time been subjected. It is unnecessary here to examine these changes in detail,[2] but it may safely be asserted that the conclusion to be drawn from the mode in which each difficulty as it arose was discussed and adjusted, is that the careful supervision which Parliament has exercised on the taking of the oath has not been prompted by a desire to ascertain what were or were not the religious opinions of those who presented themselves as claiming the privileges of duly elected members, but that this watchful control has been exercised simply with regard to a literal conformity to existing law and usage; and further, the decisions of Parliament in this matter have pointed to an increasing recognition of the principle that the object to be aimed at is, that each member should give the required assurance in the form most binding on his conscience.

But it may be conceded that both the original intention and the subsequent significance of the oath would be of comparatively little consequence, as regards the particular argument with which we are now dealing, if it could be shown that the obligation forms an efficient and satisfactory bar to the admission of professed atheists to a seat in the House of Commons. This, then, is the contention which we have now to examine.

With regard to Mr. Bradlaugh (whose figure is so constantly and so prominently thrust upon our view that it is sometimes difficult to catch sight of the other aspects of the subject under discussion), he will undoubtedly, if the Affirmation Bill becomes law, immediately take advantage of it; or rather, to speak more correctly, he will, under its operation, take his seat in the House of Commons; for as to advantage, he, and those who agree with him, have gained more prominence, and it is to be feared more sympathy by his exclusion than would have accrued by his immediate admission. But as to his exclusion, although it has thus far been secured by means of the

(1) In a form of marriage ceremony which is largely recognised by the Society of Friends the bridegroom says, "I promise, *in the fear of the Lord*, to love, cherish," &c.

(2) For further information on this subject reference should of course be made to Sir T. Erskine May's book on Parliamentary Practice.

statutory provision regarding the oath, it must be borne in mind that this result has not been attained through the inherent efficacy of that instrument as a religious test. Its force has been derived from adventitious and, in a large measure, extraneous circumstances. In the first place it is certain that some good authorities are of opinion that when originally Mr. Bradlaugh claimed the right to affirm, he might, without contravention of the statute, have been permitted to do so. Therefore the success of the challenge which was then offered in opposition to his claim may be regarded as having depended upon at least an arguable point of law.

Next, there can be no doubt that it was owing to the utterances of Mr. Bradlaugh, and the notoriety attaching to them, that his subsequent attempt to take the oath was frustrated, although he expressly declared (after the complication had reached a somewhat advanced stage) that the taking of the oath, although the religious sanction was to him without meaning, would yet be binding on his conscience. But after the emphatic declaration which Mr. Bradlaugh had made of his utter and scornful rejection, not only of the religious sanction of the oath, but of all that is implied in a recognition of that sanction, it was felt that to permit him publicly to enact such a farce would have been an intolerable offence against not only every sentiment of reverence but of decorum, and Parliament very naturally passed a resolution prohibiting such a proceeding.

A reference to these transactions has a not unimportant bearing upon the discussion of the allegation which we are at present considering; for if, under the existing statutory arrangement, even Mr. Bradlaugh has barely been debarred from entering upon the full priveleges of membership, it follows, by an *à fortiori* argument, that in the case of other persons professing atheistic or agnostic views (who may hereafter be elected), the Parliamentary oath would be even less effective. If Mr. Bradlaugh is willing to take the oath, it may be assumed that others who wholly or in part agree with him would do the same.

If, then, for the sake of argument, we contemplate the possibility of several persons of such views being returned to Parliament (μὴ γένοιτο), it would become necessary that a discussion should be held, or an inquiry instituted, in order to decide whether their previous public utterances or writings of an anti-religious description had in each case been of a character so emphatic as to render the taking of the oath a profanation. Can anything be imagined which would be more injurious, we need not say to the dignity of Parliament, but to the interests of religion itself? No; if the object to be aimed at is the statutory exclusion from Parliament of all who profess to be unbelievers, we must strike deeper, and enact that all such persons are *ipso facto* disqualified from sitting in Parliament, and are there-

fore ineligible for election; and it is well that the opponents of the present Bill should consider and declare whether they would be prepared to advocate such a measure, and whether, if such a measure were passed, it would under present circumstances be favourable to the maintenance and growth of national religious feeling.

We must now pass on to consider a third count in the indictment of the Affirmation Bill. It is declared that by the passing of such an Act *the religious basis* on which all legislation, at least in theory, rests, will be damaged or destroyed. The argument on which this statement rests is, apparently, that the proposed measure involves the formal recognition of atheism as such by the legislature. It is admitted that men whose views might fairly be described as agnostic have obtained, and may again obtain, admission to Parliament under the law as it now stands; but it is urged that in such cases the legislature does not make itself cognisant of the fact. It is to be noted, however, that the preamble of the Bill justifies no such interpretation. It simply recites that "Whereas it is expedient to amend the Parliamentary Oaths Act," and then, after the customary preface, follows the enacting clause, which provides that every member "may, if he thinks fit, instead of making and subscribing the oath of allegiance . . . . make and subscribe a solemn affirmation." All this is doubtless a matter of formal expression, but the argument under consideration deals avowedly with Parliamentary form and phraseology apart from individual conviction; and from this point of view the wording of the Act is of the utmost importance.

It will perhaps be represented that the deleterious character of the Bill lies in its intention, and that it is brought forward for the purpose of enabling Mr. Bradlaugh, the atheist, to sit in Parliament. As to any avowal of a purpose or intention on the part of the legislature concerning the admission of an atheist, we have already pointed out that there is nothing in the Bill which will bear this interpretation; and as to the actual wishes of the members of Parliament, it is certain that a very large majority deplore the election of any such person, and abhor the idea of his having a seat in the House. With regard to the accusation implied by such opprobrious designation as "The Bradlaugh Relief Bill," it may at once be admitted that had it not been for the unfortunate complications and painful scenes which resulted from Mr. Bradlaugh's election, the proposed legislation might have been indefinitely postponed; but it is primarily with the view of removing all occasion for such scandals that the measure is introduced; and indeed if Mr. Bradlaugh were now to disappear altogether, the Bill would no doubt be proceeded with in order to prevent a repetition (which might otherwise recur at any time) of a scandal discreditable to the character of Parliament, damaging to the cause of order, and detrimental to the influence of religion; and therefore instead of describing the Bill as

having been introduced for the sake of Mr. Bradlaugh, it might be more accurate to speak of it as introduced for the sake of order, of morality, and of religion.

We have now considered three principal charges which have been brought against the Bill. No doubt other objections of a more or less subordinate character have been or will be raised against it; but it will probably be found that most of these may be grouped under one or other of the heads which have been here quoted. Each of these propositions, if accepted, would furnish premises for a formidable argument—formidable, at least, to every religious mind; and therefore such propositions having been freely laid down and somewhat hastily accepted, the vast amount of hostile feeling which has been excited is not surprising; nay more, on the assumption that the character attributed to the Bill is justly earned, the hostility which has been evinced towards it is not only natural, but it is altogether commendable.

The dislike and suspicion with which the proposed measure has been regarded are largely due to an impression that its enactment would involve the withdrawal, at least in part, of the public and national recognition of Almighty God. Anything which deals even in appearance, with this great principle ought undoubtedly to be regarded as most serious and important; and assuredly any arguments connected with it should be met in no captious or inconsiderate spirit, especially by those who hold that every genuine acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the All-wise Ruler of the universe, and the recognition of His guiding hand, ought in every way to be fostered and maintained. And although with regard to the best and truest mode of attaining that end, there is scope for a wide divergence of opinion, yet most religious men agree in supporting the general principle. But if the Parliamentary oath of allegiance to the Throne and Constitution possesses any real significance in this sense, it is a significance due not to intention and purpose, but is of that accidental character which, as we have already remarked, attaches also to whatever efficacy it contains as a religious test, and has in fact been mainly derived from the assertions and inferences of a special controversy largely political in character.

The main contention rests, after all, upon this same *test* character which is attributed to the oath. The oath, coupled with a strictly limited option of making affirmation in lieu thereof, is regarded as the barrier by means of which atheists are to be excluded from the national council and government. Now even those who believe in the general efficacy and advantage of religious tests, will probably admit that an accidental test can scarcely be satisfactory or efficient in operation. An illustration (which seems rather pertinent to the present discussion) is afforded by the history and effects of a clause which was for a time inserted in the Parliamentary oath. When the

Catholic Emancipation Act was passing through the House of Lords (in which House, by the way, the measure had an easy victory), one of the bishops moved and carried the insertion of the words "On the true faith of a Christian." What was the practical effect of the test thus imported into the oath? Simply to postpone for thirty years the admission of Jews to Parliament. In more than one instance during the interval an elected member belonging to the Jewish persuasion presented himself at the table and was permitted (somewhat inconsistently it would seem) to swear on the Old Testament; but when it was reported to the House that such member had omitted the words "On the true faith of a Christian," it was resolved that he should not be entitled to sit or vote in the House "until he shall take the oath in the form appointed by law."[1]

If we turn from the question of the efficiency of indirect as compared with direct methods, and glance at the general effects of the whole system of religious tests, what do we find is the teaching of history regarding the general utility of such provisions? With respect to England during the past three centuries, it would hardly be too much to say that the religious life of any particular creed appears to have been in an inverse ratio to the rigour with which that creed was artificially protected. When we look, for example, at the state of matters towards the beginning of the present century, what do we find? The Church of England then enjoyed exclusive privileges in matters too numerous to mention here; but that, too, was a period of comparatively little life and activity in the Church; a period of dreary services and drowsy sermons; while at the same time, in manners and morals the tone of society was generally low. Those, too, were the days when slavery was tolerated, when duelling was fashionable, and when other evil practices prevailed which are now happily regarded with public reprobation. Let it not for a moment be supposed that these matters are alluded to by way of suggesting a self-satisfied comparison between ourselves and our forefathers. There is enough around us to check any such complacency; but while it is unnecessary to discuss how far, if at all, the vast increase of spiritual life in the Church has been affected by "test acts," it is certain that this increase of vigour and usefulness has advanced contemporaneously with the removal, to a large extent, of those precautions.

I am aware that tests in favour of a Church are not to be regarded in the same light as those which rest upon a more comprehensive theological basis; but in principle there seems to be enough in common between the two to justify some such inference as that to which I have alluded.

Reverting again to the legislation before us, it is no doubt the case that many people who have no great faith in the efficacy

of religious tests in general, and who admit that the Parliamentary oath is not a real or sufficient safeguard in that sense, nevertheless object to the Affirmation Bill on the ground that, however laudable may be the intention of its promoters, the controversy by which it has been preceded, and with which it must to some extent be associated, has so largely turned upon the question of the admission or non-admission of a professed unbeliever, that the passing of the Bill will inevitably be regarded in many quarters as a secularist victory, and will thus give a stimulus and encouragement to the propagation of freethinking views. It is no doubt to be expected that the advocates of those views will do their best to represent the matter in that light, and unfortunately the more that the Bill is opposed on religious grounds, the greater will be the plausibility and emphasis of such misrepresentations. But the risk of misunderstanding and misinterpretation is not sufficient to counterbalance the indirect benefits which, as I have endeavoured to show, may be expected to result from the adjustment of the present difficulty; and whatever undesirable significance may be attributed to the passing of the measure, it is tolerably certain that still greater mischief in the same direction would be occasioned by its rejection.

That it should be necessary, in any sense, to take account of the forces of infidelity may well cause pain and regret; but to ignore that of which we disapprove is not always the best way to counteract and overcome it; and (to adopt a common simile) to insist upon the continued occupation of an inconvenient and unimportant outpost is not always essential to the maintenance of the prestige and supremacy of the power in whose name it may nominally have been held. This illustration naturally leads us to remark that it seems scarcely fair to speak of the passing of the Affirmation Bill in the language which is increasingly used concerning it, as the sweeping away of every vestige of recognition, on the part of the legislature, of the Divine power. It is suggested, for instance, that in quitting "the narrow ledge of Theism" we shall be guilty of "governmentally disowning God." But have we no better tribute of allegiance to the Almighty than that which is implied by the oath? We may point to the invariable usage according to which, in the speech from the Throne at the opening and at the conclusion of every session of Parliament, the guidance of an over-ruling Providence is in the one case sought and in the other acknowledged; and especially we may point to the institution of daily prayers in both Houses of Parliament.[1] Here we have, I submit, a far more direct and intelligent

(1) In the House of Commons the Speaker's chaplain reads prayers, but if the chaplain happens to be absent the service is conducted by the Speaker. "Every man a priest in his own house."

expression of a public and Parliamentary recognition of the Supreme Being than is to be found in the oath. And any proposal to destroy the existence or significance of these observances ought to be resisted unanimously by all religious men. Moreover, if even with respect to the present proposal those who are responsible for its introduction were to declare that their action was prompted by a disregard of religion, the aspect of the controversy would be entirely changed; but when upright and responsible statesmen publicly disclaim any such disposition of mind, we are bound to accept their assurance, whatever may be our opinion as to the wisdom and expediency of the course which they are adopting. A time may possibly arrive when the contest between the confession of religious faith and the profession of agnostic unbelief will take a new and more decided shape—when the trumpet shall give no uncertain sound, and when all will be called upon to battle on one side or the other; but is it wise, is it just, to summon us to the defence of what many regard as a citadel of straw, the perpetuation of which will not ensure a practical gain, while its overthrow, if such should take place, will, owing to the warlike resistance which has been offered, acquire an unnatural and damaging significance? I may probably be told that at a critical time there will never be wanting those half-hearted adherents who, through motives of fear or self-interest, will always counsel a discreet surrender. Granted; but let us at least endeavour to secure that the question on which the contest is to be waged shall be free from the influences of party politics, of which the present controversy has certainly a considerable admixture. I would even venture to implore those earnest men who are using every exertion to ensure the rejection of the Bill before us, to consider once more whether their efforts are really calculated to promote the interests of that sacred cause which with such absolute sincerity they have at heart.

Thus far we have kept in view the opposing arguments of persons who do not rest content with a barren orthodoxy, but whose professed principles are carried into the practice of useful and earnest religious activity. Representations from such a quarter are entitled to the respect of all; and in the case of religious men there will be combined with that feeling of respect an element of sympathy, though not necessarily of agreement.

But is it not at the same time true that with regard to some of the loudest denunciations against the Government proposal, it is impossible without a considerable stretching, nay, a positive straining of charity to attribute to the attack a character of consistency? We who support the Bill are taunted with being "Bradlaughites," and so forth. Yet it is certain that many who regard the Bill with approval, albeit a reluctant approval, regard the doctrines of which Mr. Bradlaugh is the exponent, with detestation; and this feeling

applies not only to the doctrines, but to the language and style in which at times they have been set forth. Mr. Bradlaugh may endeavour to pose as the enlightened agnostic philosopher, but the grossness of many of his past attacks on Christianity render the assumption of such an attitude preposterous. His so-called arguments have frequently been mere vituperation, and to couple such methods with those, for example, of men like the late John Stuart Mill, would be something like including the monstrous tyranny of "boycotting" under the head of constitutional agitation.

But the matter for reproach lies not in the fact of Mr. Bradlaugh taking his seat in Parliament, but in the fact of his election. That election may be described as the result of crass ignorance, mingled with that irrational conceit which is produced by a smattering of information imparted to a prejudiced mind. Such, too, is the state of mind (not found only among the humbler classes) in which the nominal adherence which may have been accorded to the Christian religion is easily disturbed or overthrown by any shallow infidel tract. Such a state of matters naturally excites a feeling of contempt; but the feeling may well be checked by a reflection, an inquiry, as to what we professing Christians have done towards the cure of these evils. How far has our influence been exerted in support of those various religious agencies whose teaching and operations are the surest antidode to Socialistic habits of thought as well as to depraved habits of life? Have we not often been content either to ignore such efforts, or to assent to the polite sneer with which (no matter by what particular school of religious conviction the work is being carried on) these exertions are sometimes referred to as the outcome of superstitious enthusiasm or of puritanical fanaticism? Nor is it surprising that mistaken opinions should be held concerning both the motive and the influence of such zeal, if we allow ourselves to drift into the delusion of regarding Christianity as a prohibitive system of forms instead of as a spiritual commonwealth, enfranchisement in which is the only road to the true, the spiritual freedom. And further, is there not in many circles where great stress is just now being laid upon the necessity of excluding atheism from Parliament, a remarkable toleration concerning much that is altogether inconsistent with the revealed will of that God whose name is, as it were, invoked against the contemplated legislation? The reports of those scandals which are sometimes so airily discussed over the tea-table or in the smoking-room are not confined to the social grade in which they happen to originate. They are not helpful to the cause of order and religion among "the masses." They are quoted and very plainly commented upon in the tailor's shop, in the dressmaker's workroom, and far beyond. Yes, and they are not unnoticed amidst the ghastly merriment and reproachful despair of the street pavement.

But irrespective of the force or consistency which may be claimed for the arguments against the Affirmation Bill, the practical question remains, What is to be done? It is vain to urge that if the Government had managed better this measure would not have been required; certainly an intention to support the Affirmation Bill by no means necessarily implies a conviction that the Government have made no mistakes in dealing with the delicate and novel phases of the painful complication which has preceded it. But it is useless to attempt now to "hang up" the question. What, then, would be the result of the rejection of the Bill? Two courses would be open to the Government. They might at once abandon the proposal, in which case we would have to contemplate a long vista of agitation and mob meetings, and especially of determined efforts to return members pledged to support another similar Bill on the grounds of secularism. There would, moreover, soon be a tendency (if it does not exist already) on the part of the least educated portion of the populace to regard Mr. Bradlaugh as a martyr not merely to religious but to class prejudice—something of the kind which produced such declarations as "I don't care whether he's Tichborne or whether he's Orton, but I won't see a poor man done out of his rights."

On the other hand, the Government might possibly consider it their duty to resign, the result of which might conceivably be that a Conservative ministry would succeed to office. But a victory thus gained would be hollow and temporary. It would not in the end promote the best interests of Conservatism any more than those of the sacred cause of religion.

"Do you then suggest," it may be asked by the Opposition, "that we should be false to our convictions, and assent to that of which we disapprove?" By no means; but it may reasonably be suggested that if the opponents of the Bill were to decide to offer one united protest—as, for instance, by leaving the House in a body when the question is put at one of the early stages of the Bill—they would declare their disapprobation and their freedom from responsibility in a more dignified and more effectual manner than by maintaining a prolonged discussion upon a question which has already been debated from all points of view.

There can be no doubt that the importance and interest of this question has arisen mainly from the religious aspect which it has assumed; it is therefore one which no religious politician can afford to shirk. The occasion demands a full recognition of all the facts connected with it, including the fact that the personal realisation, by individuals, of their responsibilities which leads to active sympathy with the efforts to promote genuine godliness, will, more than the maintenance of religious tests or external badges of orthodoxy, tend to the promotion of true religion and the practical recognition of the sovereignty of the Almighty.

ABERDEEN.

THE PRODUCTION AND LIFE OF BOOKS.[1]

It is intended to trace in the following pages the life of a book, from its first conception in the womb of an author's mind to its grave, that long home, unknown, often long deferred, yet which surely awaits all which is wrought by man, as well as the toiling hand and busy brain which made it. It may seem an obvious matter that no one has any business to write if he have not something definite to say, which is, or at least appears, worth saying. But this is not so. If a person have fallen into poverty, say a lady left by the death of father or husband with limited means, or a gentleman who has failed in business, the lady is recommended to keep a school, the gentleman to take pupils, and both to write a book. The whole outfit is supposed to consist in a few quires of foolscap, a steel pen, and a bottle of ink. Sir Walter Scott had no more, indeed he had not the steel pen, and yet how great a fortune he made and lost; Lord Macaulay's cheque is among the curiosities of literature —it was for £20,000, and is now preserved at Messrs. Longman's; Miss Mitford maintained her spendthrift father; round everybody is almost sure to be a certain circle, who, totally ignoring all mental qualifications, or those derived from education and experience, think their friend has only to put pen to paper in order to win fame and money.

It may be taken as an axiom, that no first books and few others are worth putting before the world which do not spring naturally from the author's feeling that he has something to say which will benefit others to hear. That quality, called inspiration, existing in very different degrees, is always needed for the making of a true book. There are, of course, some limitations to this statement. A practised writer, long warmed by the sacred flame, may retain an after-glow, may have learned a trick of pen, which may carry him on for some time when the impulse has ceased; but even then some lighting of the brands by fire as from heaven, some kindling from a wind from without, is needful again and again, were the writer as copious as Scott, as versatile as Goethe.

But, granted this inspiration, this something which is not self, more still is needed—a liberal education. Of course here, too, are exceptions, such as the "Ettrick Shepherd," or Bloomfield, the farmer's boy, and Chatterton. But without asking too carefully whether the great majority of such exceptions have contributed aught really

(1) The substance of the following article was delivered as a Lecture at the Albert Institute, Windsor.

worth having to literature, and without insisting on the fact that the great majority are lyrical poets, whose "cry" is more spontaneous and less dependent on the treasures of the past than is the work of epic and dramatic poets or prose authors, the exceptions may be admitted; yet it may be maintained that the more a man has of learning and general culture the more likely he is to write well, even on his own special subject. It is not here meant that he is to drag in illustrative quotations, than which perhaps nothing is more tiresome, but the turn of a phrase, the allusion to a character, and other indications which show an intellectual reader that he and the author are denizens of the same spiritual land, and have wandered through the same scenes, often make the whole difference between the sensations of delight and weariness. A knowledge of logic and of the rules of metaphor are also much to be desired, and of foreign languages, if an author undertake to translate, as so many do, considering it an easy task, whereas it is one of the very hardest to do well. Perhaps the most singular bundle of metaphors ever produced in writing came from a gentleman who was thoroughly acquainted with the matter which he was treating, but was not equally familiar with the rules of English composition. He wrote thus:—"Eclecticism is like the mule in creation, essentially barren. Without foundations it soon totters to its fall, and dies as it has lived, childless and intestate." That writer was a man, and the work was original; but the chief translators are women.

Not long since, a lady undertook a very simple translation from the German, in which Count von Moltke gave an account of the coronation of the late Emperor of Russia. She wrote, "The archbishop poured the oil on his head, and two bishops fastened on his spurs." The word in German is "spur," and means a trace, and what the bishops had really done was to wipe the oil away. Another lady called the father of Cardinal Cusanus, "a mussel fisherman at Trèves," from simple ignorance that the river is called the Mosel, and that mussels are sea fish.

Let us suppose that a book is written and that its author has surmounted the preliminary difficulties of want of inspiration and want of learning. We will assume it has been written on one side of the paper only, and in quarto, not in folio size; that the pages are numbered, and that they are not fastened together, a most irritating and vexatious proceeding. It is, perhaps, too much to assume that the MS. has been carefully revised, because many people put this off till, as they say, they can see it in print. Things look so different in type, they are tired of MS.; the alterations can be, at worst, but slight, and are far more easily made in proof. Now herein are several fallacies. Correcting proof, except the mere errors of the printer, is an expensive business. The estimate made for printing a book, whether

given to the author or the publisher, assumes that only such corrections and a few more will be made in proof, and all else is charged extra. There never yet lived an author who was not quite sure he had corrected very little, and those who are most guilty are the most confident that they have made next to no changes. Nor is it true that all things can be best corrected in proof. When the MS. leaves the writer he has taken leave of his book as a whole. He afterwards gets it only piecemeal—he is unable to compare the beginning with the middle and the end.

However, suppose the book to exist in MS., and that it has to take its chance, first of finding favour with a publisher, next with the public. Let it be carefully remembered that not every book which has a literary has also a commercial value; and that the one is not necessarily in any degree the measure of the other. If a book is transcendently good on any subject, it will, no doubt, sooner or later, succeed; if it is bad, it will sometimes succeed because of its very badness—it may appeal to the vulgar, or the base, or the trivial. But if the writer be not a Robertson as a preacher, or a Macaulay as historian, a George Eliot as a novelist, or a Browning as poet—if he be one of the average public who has written a fairly good book, success will depend on whether the book at the moment hits the fancy of the public or supplies a want just then felt: it rarely creates the demand. Whatever it be, it will probably be carefully and kindly considered if sent to a publisher. No author need ever seek an introduction to a publisher, nor fear that a MS. will not be examined. Good authors are too rare for publishers to run the risk of passing them over, and it is quite certain that there is no respectable firm who does not give just so much attention as is its due to every MS. offered to them. There are stories, mostly fabulous, though some may have a grain of truth, of MSS. which have wandered from house to house, rejected and despised, at last accepted to the fortune of the clever publisher who discovered the author's merits, and to the shame and confusion of face of those who refused the offered boon. But what of that? The legends, however true, would only show that publishers are not infallible, not that the MSS. were unconsidered. And the book got into print at last! The fact is, that books worth having are rarely, if ever, lost to the world; in the literary market, as well as all other markets, good wares are willingly taken and fetch their full price.

What that full price is depends on a number of causes; but it may be said that it is rarely indeed the value the author puts upon it. Suppose, for instance, that a book will cost £100 to produce, and is to sell at 6s. Says the author glibly, "A thousand copies, which are sure to sell, will realise £300, so that after the book is produced and paid for, there will remain two-thirds of that sum to divide."

"Stay," says the publisher; "how are you to get it distributed? What is to become of the booksellers, who must make their profit? What of the review copies, without which it will not be noticed at all? What of the chances that it does not sell, and is a loss instead of a gain?" This may serve to show the marvellous kind of mistakes into which authors fall when they estimate the value of their wares. There comes a happy time to some when they can in a degree fix the value aright. A successful novelist, like Mr. Trollope, or George Eliot, a successful poet, like Mr. Tennyson, does attain to know the trade value of a story or a ballad; but the experience must first be a wide and a long one, and even then the author does not always understand that his name in a magazine at a given time may be worth more than the story or the poem, which in itself, and in another magazine or at another time, might not be worth half the money.

Again, much will depend on the number of copies likely to be needed. There is a vast amount of books, good and useful, of which a very small edition, likely to satisfy the whole demand, just pays its expenses, leaving little for division. And there are certain technical books appealing to only a few, which can never, under any circumstances, pay their cost. It would be well if, on proper examination by competent persons, these were now and then subsidised by Government, as they are in other countries; but these must always be too few to need any special mention. Of ordinary ways of publishing there are several. 1. The sale of copyright. In this case the publisher takes all the risk, the author receives a lump sum down, and, as far as he is concerned, there is an end of the transaction. In the case of a work of but ephemeral value, such as the ordinary novel, the arrangement is good for the author, and the publisher knows, or ought to know, his business. 2. The payment by royalty. That is, that the author assigns the book to the publisher, taking, by agreement, so much on each copy sold, either from the first or after a certain reserved number of copies, or on each edition; but these modifications do not affect the principal arrangements, by which the publisher takes the risk, and the profits are divided in a definite specified manner. If the book have any permanent value, and is likely to run to edition after edition, this is by far the fairest way. For take a book, say like a scientific treatise, or a school book requiring revision from time to time, of which the author sells the copyright, and after a couple of years, on a new edition being required, a complete revision is needed. But without a further payment the author does not care to revise that on which he now has no interest; if the book sells the publisher's temptation is great not to bring it up to the highest standard; therefore the ideally excellent arrangement is one by which both are interested in making the book always complete by fresh revisions. The

system of "half profits" is misleading and unsatisfactory; it should never be employed; a definite royalty on definite copies is one on which there can be no mistake and no dispute. Or, 3, a book may be published on commission; that is, the writer bears the whole expense, the book belongs to him, the publisher taking a certain commission on the sales. If the publisher consider a book will prove a success, he would of course willingly make it his own speculation; and the fact of taking it on commission often shows that in his judgment the work has but a slender commercial value. But there may be many reasons why it should yet be brought out. And if it be the mere whim of the writer, the £100 or £200 spent upon it, some of which is sure to be returned, is of more good to the world, and of more pleasure to the writer, than would be the case did he buy a picture or a gem of the same cost, to be seen by fewer than those whom his book may instruct or amuse. Some books are also published on commission because the author is so confident of his work that he prefers to take for himself the risk and the profit.

"Why should I not get my own estimate and print for myself?" is a common question, and the answer is manifold. A book arranged by an amateur is almost always disagreeable to the eye. The reader will often not know why a given page is so much pleasanter to read than another, when an experienced person will see at a glance that the print of one is too broad on the paper, and the breadth of a single letter would make all the difference; and there are a dozen little details of this sort which need personal attention at every turn. Nor can an amateur successfully advertise or distribute his book. Even an author of the celebrity of Mr. Ruskin has crippled his usefulness and injured his sale by attempting amateur publishing.

When all these matters are decided, a specimen page fixed, the different kinds of type decided, and so on, the printers begin their work. The MS. is given to a number of men who are arranged in a group, which is called a "companionship," and these are, or ought to be, occupied continuously on the book till it is done. But authors give the printers trouble, if, on the other hand, it is sometimes amply repaid in kind. They will not always send all the "copy," as it is termed, at once, when it is most important that the printers should have their whole work before them; they will not return proofs promptly, nor make their corrections at once, but send them in by driblets as second thoughts, all of which are exceeding interruptions to business. Those who have had proofs to correct have noticed on the MS. returned with them names written on the margin. This shows what portion has been allotted to each man of the group, and explains why it is important that only one side of the paper be written on, or the same sheet might have to be divided amongst two men, and paper is not yet made so thick as to enable them to split it in its thickness.

As soon as the printing is begun—usually on long strips of paper containing from one and a half to two pages of the book—begins also too often the strife as to spelling between author and printer. It has probably occurred but little to many readers what variations there can be, and how different are the customs of different printers. If a writer have any wish that his own punctuation and spelling be followed, let him be quite clear that he knows his own mind, and give, in writing, the strictest orders that no alteration whatever be made. If there be any one thing a really good writer knows, it is that punctuation is simply meant to aid the reader, and there is no hard-and-fast rule for commas and semicolons. But a printer has his hard-and-fast rule, only that the rules are not uniform in different houses. So with spelling. If we left it to the printers we should, unhappily, soon cease to write English, we should write American. We should have "favor" and "honor" for "favour" and "honour;" we should "commence" instead of "begin;" we should have the vulgarity of "Did you have?" instead of "Had you?" Within the last few weeks a volume of Dr. Pusey's sermons was sent back from the printer with his spelling in a *printed volume* altered on almost every page—"judgement" with an "e" to "*judgment*" without one; "Oh!" into "O!" and the like—simply because the pedantry of that particular office decided that its rule was better than that of one of the greatest scholars of England.

But now to come to misprints proper. The present Provost of Eton, when a tutor, had a formula which he never tired of repeating, "Never think till you are in the Sixth Form;" till then his pupils were to look out and verify each word in a dictionary. Yet he would have been the first to admit that the boy who never thought was even more hopeless; the truth lay between the two contradictions, "never think" and "ever think." So a printer has to steer with difficulty between them, and it is hard to say which is the most trying—the man who blunders because he thinks, or the one who does so for an opposite reason. Misprints are wonderful, and are often such as seem invented by the evil one himself, there is so perverse an ingenuity about them.

Some recur after all alterations, when the printer is quite certain that he is and must be right. Victor Hugo once used the English word "*varlet*" in one of his plays. It came back again and again printed "*valet.*" M. Louis Blanc, when living in England, wrote an article in English, in which he correctly gave the French phrase, "*à outrance.*" But since one of the commonest mistakes made by Englishmen is to use that phrase as "*à l'outrance,*" M. Louis Blanc, in spite of all his corrections, got it finally printed wrong. How could a Frenchman possibly know better than a British workman? If this were so, where were the uses of Waterloo?

The cost of such corrections as are necessitated by blunders of the printer is charged to the printer, but all else falls on the author or publisher, as may have been arranged. Few matters connected with books are a more frequent source of disagreement than corrections; for, as the printers work by time, it is difficult to decide what minutes, or fractions of minutes, are occupied in any given change. This further may be said for those who write, that all corrections made when the book is divided into pages are more costly than when the matter is in slip.

When the book has advanced a certain stage, varying with the size of the volume, the resources of the printer, and in great measure with the type adopted, the printer will often ask for "a release" of type, that is, he will print from his forms already set up as many copies as are wanted of those sheets, and distribute the type, or take the letters apart. Then it is that the number of the book likely to sell has to be calculated, 500, 750, 1,000, or more, and whether it shall be moulded, or stereotyped. Few persons have the smallest notion of the great weight or cost of the type used in printing, say, a crown octavo book of 500 pages. In such a book, for instance, there will be nearly 25 cwt., and the cost will be over £160, exclusive of what is called furniture, chases, &c., all that is used in holding the type. When distributed the type must, of course, be set up again if a new edition be wanted, and the cost incurred *de novo*; and to avoid this expense, and the still vaster cost and warehouse room of keeping any large number of books standing, stereotyping, or electrotyping, which is a sort of glorified form of the first, is adopted in regard to such books as are likely to have any large sale without being changed to any great extent. The first process of this is called moulding, and in case of uncertainty this alone may be at first undertaken. The types as they stand for each page have a cast taken of them in soft yielding material, papier-maché or plaster-of-Paris, which becomes hard as it dries, just as the impression of a seal is taken in bread-crumb or wax; the stereo-plate is made by running metal into the mould, which, in the case of electrotype, is coated with a harder metal, so that there is an exact and immoveable copy or duplicate of the page of shifting type. It is, of course, just infinitesimally less sharp and clear, but it gains in stability; there is no chance of a dropped letter, such as is found now and then in the very best printed books; but with perfectly careful workmen the artistic effect of a first-rate book printed from moveable type is better than that taken from a plate. In any case the first edition is usually taken from the moveable type, the worked sheets are laid aside till joined by others, and the cast is then taken from the type before distribution.

It is, then, on these worked sheets, printed on the paper supplied

for the book, instead of the rough waste on which proofs are pulled, that the quality and appearance of the type and work can be for the first time judged. It must be confessed that while a modern press can turn out a vast number of volumes with great credit, scarce any book nowadays can vie in beauty with the old Aldine books, with many printed in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or with those printed by our English Baskerville in the last century, between the years 1756 and 1775. One reason of this is that our types are not so beautiful. In old days each type-founder was desirous of getting designs for his letters from men of real artistic feeling; nor did these disdain to design a comma, any more than they would scorn to make a beautiful leaf or flower in a picture devoted to saints or historical personages. There is a tradition that Hogarth designed Baskerville's types, which is likely enough; at any rate, they were the last English types of originality or beauty. The best now existing are copies of copies, reproduced mechanically, which have long ceased to have the human brain infused, as it were, into the molten metal. The best existing types at this moment are French, and they, not ours, are the true descendants of Baskerville's; for at his death in 1775 his types were sold to France, and used to print an edition of Voltaire, still well known, and most excellent in its workmanship. The modern French types of the best founts are reproduced, as it would seem, from these, but with less of exact mechanical copying and more of human variation and fancy. There could scarcely be a better work for the artistic future of books than that which might be done by some master of decorative art, like Mr. William Morris, and some great firm of type-founders in conjunction, would they design and produce some new types for our choicer printed books.

That the great bulk of the paper now made is not so good as it used to be is, I suppose, universally admitted. One reason is obvious. Far greater quantities are used every year, the best paper is made from linen rag, and there is less linen rag available since the larger wear of calico and woollen goods. Ultimately, of course, paper is now what it always was since first it was made from the fibres of the rush or papyrus. It was at first manipulated in no degree; the outer peel was stripped off the rush, and the strips were fastened together. Gradually it was discovered that the vegetable fibre, beaten and disintegrated into pulp, then allowed under certain conditions to settle into a film and dried, was better. But the more the fibres can be disintegrated the better the paper; and no process is so complete as the making it in the first place into another material, and allowing it to be worn and broken, as the completest mode of destroying its stringiness. Every kind of material has been tried, especially those on which St. Paul said it would not

do to lay a foundation—"wood, hay, stubble," the most common being the coarse form of vegetable fibre known as Esparto grass, a species of broom. In Sweden, previous to 1866, a newspaper was printed for some considerable time on a paper made from horse dung. It is not wholly fanciful that human wear and use has something to do with the excellence of paper, as with all other things of art. Mechanism is fatal to the higher and more spiritual qualities which make art. It has its great uses in cheapening and rendering plenteous much which is valuable and in a limited degree beautiful. But just as a chromolithograph is vile compared with an oil painting, just as a photograph of a picture compared with a beautiful print of it, so in exact proportion as you bring human work and human wear to bear on paper and printing you will have it, of its kind, supremely good, or only tolerable. This brings us to another reason why old paper was better than all but the best to be now procured. It was all hand-made; there was no machinery. The best paper now made, such as Whatman's in England, or the best Dutch, which is all still made by hand, is better, or at least as good, as was ever made since the world was; but the greater part of cheap paper is bad.

So again, if we will have first-rate work in the printing of a book, it must be done by hand. Nowadays there are few printers who will or can do this well, and therefore again the Aldines and the Baskervilles are no more; the average printing is better, but the highest, except in a few cases, is not so high. This is because the exact pressure given to ensure beautiful printing can only be given by the skilled human hand. In all things where tenderness of feeling is required, machinery breaks down. In Italy and other wine countries grapes have been and are crushed by machinery, but be it never so carefully adjusted, this bruises the skins and breaks the stones, giving a rough and tart flavour to the produce; so that in all the finer qualities they have to go back to the old fashion of the days of Isaiah, when the garments of him that trod in the wine-vat were red; and of the early days of the Italian peoples when, as Macaulay said, the must foamed round the white feet of laughing girls. It cannot too often be said that machinery must crush and destroy that highest art which demands the human touch.

The first patent for making paper by machinery was taken out by one Robert, a workman attached to a paper mill at Essone, in 1798; it was set up in the following year, but proved quite unworkable from its great imperfections. M. Didot, the proprietor of the mill in which Robert was a workman, bought the patent in the following year, introduced some improvements in the original model, and came over to England to have the plans executed. The machine was first used successfully at Mr. Hall's mill, in Hertfordshire, in 1803

Printing by machine-press instead of hand has been introduced very gradually, but it has at last almost driven out the old art. We are not here denying the convenience and the general accuracy of machinery, nor its exclusive adaptability for the generality of books, we are simply asserting that it is not the highest nor the most artistic work for those that are truly beautiful.

The area of type upon the page will have usually determined the size of the finished book, but this is only absolutely regarded as fixed when the paper is delivered to the printer, who folds his sheet of paper so many times according to the size needed. When paper was made by hand all sheets were, as a rule, the same size; the sheet once folded making two leaves and four pages was called in-folio, or shortly folio, each leaf being a folio. These were once very common, the reason being in great measure that the size of the type required it. It is now rare, as is also the quarto, being the sheet folded into four, or eight pages. These two sizes are now rarely used, except for dictionaries, encyclopædias, church bibles, books of reference, or those which will usually be read at a desk standing. The book folded in eight was called an octavo, and in twelve a duodecimo Now, however, that sheets may be of various sizes, the demy octavo, roughly speaking the size known as library books, is the only one that almost precisely keeps the old size and name; and the books in most common use are known as demy octavo, large crown, or post, crown octavo, and foolscap. Smaller books, approaching to the size once called duodecimo, will so vary in shape that no special name is, or can be, attached to them.

The old theory of a book was, that if it were good enough to print it was good enough to bind, so as to preserve it permanently to be read over and over again. But since no book is sufficiently dry, nor is the type *set* on the paper for this purpose, it was necessary to place it in some kind of wrapper to serve a temporary end. The most elementary covering is that paper wrap, known and cursed by all purchasers of German and French books; the lightest sewing, the flimsiest cover, so that the book is in rags before it is read through. But the miraculous thing is, that Continental students not only seem willing to endure this, but, whether it is that they read their books laid flat on a table and less at the fireside than we do, they certainly tear their books less apart, and actually keep them on their shelves for years, referring to them now and again in that condition. The amazement was great with which when, on first making his acquaintance many years ago, the writer gazed on the library-shelves of that great scholar and charming writer, M. Renan, nearly all of which were filled to overflowing with books in paper covers, which, because he wanted them so often for reference, he had never had the time to send to the binders.

The old boarding of the last century, as practised amongst ourselves, was pleasant, pretty, and useful. It was simply two sheets of stiff cardboard united by a back, the sides covered with blue or grey paper, and the name of the book on a pasted label. It served its purpose till the book could be bound; it was neat and cheap, and there was no pretence that it imitated anything beyond itself. Yet it had its disadvantages; it caught the dirt easily and soon became shabby; while, unquestionably, there are many books not good enough to deserve a leather binding, which yet are worth preserving as long as we are likely to need them. Hence has sprung up what are called cloth bindings, more or less ornate, fairly inoffensive in the hands of a person of taste, but also frequent vehicles for pretension, vulgarity, and imitation. There is little to be said in reference to this matter, except that in the case of really good books, "boards" should always be regarded as temporary inadequate coverings. And in reference to future bindings all faces should be set, like flints, against a detestable habit lately introduced of using wire instead of thread to fasten the sheets together. When a book stitched in this fashion is sent to be really bound, the difficulty of removing the wire is so great that the book is almost sure to be torn; and moreover this again introduces into books what we should so eagerly strive to eliminate, the merely mechanical non-human labour.

Readers are much divided on the question whether books should or should not be cut. Some people are angry with the publishers that books to be read are not issued like Bradshaw's Guides, Bibles, Prayer Books, and the like, with cut edges. The reason is that when a volume is bound, the edges, being thrown out of the level smoothness they have acquired from the first cutting, will need a second trimming, and the margin will be sensibly reduced, so that the broad type will have a miserably inadequate setting, as though you should put a picture in a frame too narrow for it. Those who care for the future of our well-bound books, will see that there is reason on the publisher's side for refusing to give in to the hasty American and unreasonable cry for books with cut edges. But when the paper-knife is used it should be done thoroughly. Some people never cut a book humanely, they treat it, or maltreat it, as though they had a special enmity towards it. An intelligent literary man used to say, in an altogether sweeping and ungallant manner, that he would never, if he could help it, trust a woman with a book. First, he said, that if she left it on a table she invariably put it open face downwards and broke the back, and next that she never cut it well into the corners, so that as soon as it was really opened the leaves were torn. Would that these iniquities were confined to the weaker sex!

When a book worth preserving is really to be bound, the binding should be suitable, and done by a good workman. The early bindings

were most costly. In the British Museum, and other great collections, are to be seen covers in gold or silver, or carven wood, with bosses of precious stones, or of the metal itself wrought into special ornament on velvet or leather. But of bindings which were to be used and handled daily, the earliest fine specimens, which even now cannot be outdone, date from the first half of the sixteenth century. Many of the bindings executed for Jean Grollier are still extant, and fetch very high prices when they come into the market; they are remarkable in another way than their beauty, in showing the large and liberal spirit of the man, for they are inscribed, "Of the books of Jean Grollier and his friends." His notion of a book was that it should be used, and indeed if books are to be valued men must be trusted with them, and allowed access even to those which are the most precious. The French school of binding still stands very high, but our best Englishmen are as good, save that they want a little looking after in the way of head-bands and small details. But whoever will have his books really cared for must learn to take in them an intelligent interest, must consult with, instruct as well as defer to, the artist, and spend at least as much pains about the clothing of his books as about that of his own person, or that of his wife and daughters.

The books, however, of which we are speaking are for the most part boarded only, and have next to be distributed to the public. This is done in three ways: by advertising, by sending them to reviews, by subscribing them to the booksellers.

As soon as the volume is ready it is shown round by a traveller to all the leading booksellers in London and the provinces, and each of these speculates in as many copies as he thinks fit, getting them at that time and in that manner on special terms. As everyone knows, we can, by paying cash, get a considerable reduction on the price of a book, amounting in many cases to 25 per cent., and since the bookseller must also make his profit, the difference between the nominal and the actual sum received for a book is very considerable. The system employed by modern booksellers, while it has no doubt cheapened books to the public, has materially changed the character of the bookselling trade. We now meet more rarely than of old the man of intelligence who knew all about the books published, and was able to advise and help his customer. He is succeeded by the man who tries especially to sell the class of book out of which he can, under the changed circumstances of the trade, get the most money; and he speculates in as few books as possible, leaving it to his customer to find out what books are in demand, and order them through him. The customer must discover the books by means of advertisements and reviews.

As a rule, if a book is good the public, review or no review,

finds it out and buys it; if it be bad, no amount of praise from injudicious or foolish admirers will make it go. There is no such thing as "pushing a book," except to put it fairly before the public, give it its opportunity, and let it take its chance. It is often said that the system of monster circulating libraries is a good thing for literature; but this may be doubted or even emphatically denied. Some thirty years ago, before the rise of these establishments, there were in every part of the country book clubs, containing from a dozen to fifty members, who chose and circulated the books from house to house. If, then, a good book of travel, or historical research, or biography were written, the publisher might feel sure that among these clubs an edition would sell, and on that security could offer good terms to the author. The book clubs have vanished, and the half-dozen monster libraries, if indeed there be so many, make less than half the number of books do among their far larger number of readers. The present system has fostered the growth and development of the second-rate novel, but it has in no degree aided literature properly so called.

So our supposed book is launched on its life voyage. It may perish as so many do, almost at its birth, "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung," save perhaps by its begetter, and he sometimes, if it fail thus miserably, has the grace to be ashamed of his own abortion. But if it live in any true sense, its life may be as varied as any human existence, and like that it depends much on intrinsic character. Say it is a volume of poetry. In that case it is a miracle indeed if it attain success in life. For poetry, refined, subtle, romantic, unconcerned with the most obvious things of life, is ill-suited to make its way in a material world.

Or, the book may be a novel. How soon these die, all but a few! Some indeed are very long lived. To speak only of English books, we shall not willingly let die *Tom Jones* or *Tristram Shandy*, the great masterpieces of humour, which if now and then coarse, were so after the fashion of the time, and less harmfully than certain modern novelists are indecent behind a veil; but how are their coevals vanished! In a later day Scott remains one of the giants of all time; but where is Galt? Miss Austen lives; but where is Mrs. Brunton? And of the novels which we read when we were young, Miss Porter's, Mrs. Gore's, "*Où sont les neiges d'antan?*" as Villon sings: "Where are the snows of a year agone?"

Or in history, Grote's *Greece* is alive, but where is Mitford's? Another history of the same country, learned and painstaking, was never fully born. "And Mr. Wordy's *History of the Peninsular War*, to prove that Providence was on the side of the Tories?" dead, dead; dead as the Tory party, and with less hope of revival.

To go into a library is like the wandering into some great cathe-

dral church and looking at the monuments on the walls. Every one there was in his or her day the pattern of all the virtues, the best father, the tenderest wife, the most devoted child. Never were such soldiers and sailors as those whose crossed swords or gallant ships are graven in marble above their tombs; every dead sovereign was virtuous as Marcus Aurelius, every bishop as blameless as Berkeley. The inscriptions are all of the kind which George IV. put on the statue of George III. at the end of the "Long Walk" at Windsor. Having embittered his father's life while that father had mind enough to know the baseness of his son, he called him "pater optimus," best of fathers! This same George, it may be said in a parenthesis, gave to the library of Eton School, not such a tomb of dead books as is the library of Eton College, the dead Delphin Classics, which have been well described as "the useless present of a royal rake."

Yet those names so forgotten which meet us in the Church were not without their influence. If there be one statement more than another to be disputed among those made by Shakspere's *Mark Antony*, it is—

> "The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones."

It has a truth, but a less truth than that the good more often lives, and passes into other lives to be renewed and carried forward with fresh vigour in the coming age. Were it not so the human race would steadily deteriorate, weltering down into a black and brutal corruption, ever quickening, if at all, into lower forms. As it is we know that the race, with all its imperfections, "moves upward, working out the beast, and lets the ape and tiger die." The great men stand like stars at distant intervals, individuals grander, perhaps, than ever will be again, each in his own way; but still the average level of every succeeding age is higher than that which went before it. We may never again have an Homer, Aristotle, Archimedes, St. Paul, Cæsar, or Charlemagne; but in all things those great ones who forecast philosophy, or science, or mediæval civilization bear sway over us still,—"the living are under the dominion of the dead." Those lesser forgotten ones of whom we have spoken have carried on the torch of life in his or her own home circle, were influential even if not widely known, and have helped to make humanity what she is and will be,—our lady, our mistress, our mother, and our queen.

It is the same with literature. The shelves of a library are catacombs. There stand out among the dead who are yet alive such names, to speak only of more modern days, as Dante, Milton, Shakspere, "on whose forehead climb the crowns o' the world. O eyes sublime, With tears and laughter for all time"; there too are "the

ingenious" Mr. This, or "the celebrated" Mr. That, now forgotten. But they too have formed the literature which is ours. Does a modern strive after originality, ten chances to one his best things have been said before him; the only true originality is to reconstruct, recast, and transmit, with just the additions enforced by the special circumstances of the time. Again: "the living are under the dominion of the dead."

And as perhaps no human life was ever wholly worthless, and the worst use to which you can put a man, as has been said, is to hang him, so no book is wholly worthless, and none should ever be destroyed. We have probably all had the same experience, that we have never parted with a book, however little we fancied it would be wanted again, without regretting it soon afterwards. There is a spark of good remaining in the most unvirtuous person or book.

But it is the peculiarity of books as apart from men, that while the man is enshrined once for all in one body only, a book has many duplicates; and in regard to some it may be perhaps admitted that the copies stored up in libraries are indeed enough. In the British Museum, or in the Bodleian, or in the Bibliothéque Nationale, persons may read two thousand years hence how we in the dawn of science and civilisation lived, more legibly than we can read in the relics of the lacustrine dwellings how lived our forefathers before the dawn began. They will marvel at our manners if they take some ladies' fictions for gospel truth about us.

The remaining copies—preserve them while you can, unless indeed they be what Charles Lamb called *biblia abiblia*, railway novels, birthday books, and the like—will fade away, will light the fire, and wrap the parcels of generations to come. The best use is that to which many unsaleable books are put at once, they are "wasted," that is, are sent to the mill, ground up, pulped down, and made again into paper for fresh books and newer readers.

We have not been unmindful of the spiritual nature of books while we have dwelt especially on their material fabric, nor forgotten that, by books alone, we come to know intimately the mind of the mighty dead or of the living writer. Did even Mr. Bethell, who was his Eton tutor, or Provost Hawtrey, who was in his form, and thought him a very commonplace boy, did Byron, or Medway, or Trelawney, know Shelley as we may know him? The muddy vesture of decay was about him, and veiled his pure spirit; we see him in his books as he was. Did Anne Hathaway, the wife who lay in Shakspere's bosom, know how divine was the intellect which informed that tenement of clay; did even the friend of the sonnets? We, not Hamnet who died young, nor Susanna and Judith, who survived their father, are Shakspere's true children.

C. Kegan Paul.

DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE.

THE comparatively old demand for a special Government Department for Agriculture received a marked impetus when the Chambers of Commerce joined the Chambers of Agriculture in asking for a Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; but a great mistake was made in asking for a single Department to deal with affairs in most respects so entirely disconnected, as those of agriculture and commerce are. In a communication upon the subject, addressed to the representatives of the Chambers last November, Mr. Gladstone stated that the Cabinet had a plan ready; though, as the Chambers were invited to give expression to their views for the consideration of the Cabinet, it is to be presumed that the plan was not fixed and unalterable. It is to be hoped not, at any rate; for, since Mr. Gladstone's letter was received, the Chambers of Agriculture, almost with one voice, have urged that whether there should be separate Ministers for Agriculture and Commerce or not, there should undoubtedly be separate departments. It is urged that the interests of agriculture and commerce are to a great extent identical, and no doubt the prosperity or adversity of either great branch of enterprise re-acts on the other; but to show that this is the case is not to show that such control as the State may exercise over agriculture and commerce respectively could advantageously be committed to the charge of the same set of officials. If there exists any survival of the absurd idea that once prevailed of an antagonism between agriculture and commerce, every one would rejoice to see it finally extinguished; but the object would be more effectually promoted by separate superintendence, working in different channels, though directed to a common end, than by an attempt to combine functions that require altogether different training and experience for their efficient discharge. Although the general prosperity of the nation is the common end of those who promote agricultural advancement and of those who work for commercial progress alike, their fields of labour are frequently separated, and their methods of working usually entirely different.

Great stress has been laid by some agricultural associations and single authorities upon the need for a Minister of Agriculture who would have a seat in the Cabinet. Now, apart from the fact that the constitution of the Cabinet is the function of the Prime Minister, and not a matter for outside dictation, it appears to me far more important that agriculture should have a separate department than that the head of any State superintendence of agriculture should be a Cabinet minister. In other words, if the choice lies

between a single department of agriculture and commerce presided over by a Cabinet minister, or separate departments with a minister not of Cabinet rank at the head of the agricultural department, the latter arrangement seems to me preferable.

Commerce already has, in effect, a department, the Board of Trade, with a Cabinet minister at the head of it. If the functions of the Board of Trade require to be extended, it would be easy to extend them instead of creating a new department; and, if there is so very much in a name, the Board might be termed the Department of Commerce, and its chief the Minister of Commerce. The problem remaining would be how to create a Department of Agriculture, with a minister at its head, without increasing the present number of ministers; and there are two ways of solving that problem. The Department created, the plan most in accordance with the expressions of opinion made known by the Chambers of Agriculture would be to place the Minister of Commerce at the head of the Department, and to name him Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. It seems to me, however, that a far better plan would be to create a Department of Agriculture, and to place at its head the President of the Local Government Board, who might then be named Minister of Agriculture and Local Government. A good Minister of Agriculture could scarcely be a bad Minister of Local Government. At any rate, the training required by the one would be similar to that needed by the other, and such as could be acquired in the same fields of education. As a rule, a well-educated agriculturist is also a local ruler of low or high grade under the present defective system of local government, and when County Boards have been established, the connection of agriculture with local government will probably become even more intimate than it is now. Further, as the training required to make a good Minister of Agriculture and that necessary for producing an efficient Minister of Local Government are to be acquired in the same sphere, so would the work of the two, or of one occupying the dual position, lie very much in the same groove.

There are few great agricultural countries in which the State does so little for agriculture as in our own. To show this as briefly as possible, I have condensed information chiefly given to me by her Majesty's representatives in foreign countries, foreign consuls resident in England, and colonial agents, whose kind assistance I here gratefully acknowledge.

The Department of Agriculture established in the United States, both as that of the greatest agricultural country in the world and as that, on the whole, most worthy of imitation, first demands description. The Department sprang from a branch of the Patent Office, under Commissioner Ellsworth, who, soon after his appointment in

1836, was greatly impressed with the benefit which the agriculture of his country might derive from a regular system of selecting and distributing grain, seeds, and plants, of new or choice descriptions. Upon his own responsibility he distributed seeds and plants sent to him gratuitously during his first two years of office as Commissioner of Patents. In March, 1839, Congress authorised the appropriation of 1,000 dollars from the Patent Office fund for the purposes of collecting and distributing seeds, prosecuting agricultural investigations, and procuring agricultural statistics. No statistics, however, were collected until 1841, when they were based on the census of 1840, and supplemented by information given by a few correspondents in different parts of the country. An appropriation from the Patent Office fund was continued, with some intermission, till 1854, when it was made directly from the Treasury. In no year up to that time had the appropriation exceeded 5,500 dollars per annum, while it was generally below that amount; yet the reports issued were very creditable, and the work done was of value to the agriculture and arboriculture of the United States. In 1854 Congress voted 35,000 dollars for agricultural purposes, the expenditure of the fund still being administered under the Patent Office. The subject of entomology, which had previously received some attention, was then more systematically dealt with through the appointment of Mr. Townsend Glover to investigate and report upon the habits of insects injurious or beneficial to agriculture. In 1855 arrangements were made for publishing meteorological statistics, and a chemist and a botanist were employed. From such small beginnings the Agricultural Department, established in May, 1862, sprang. The Department was placed under the superintendence of a chief executive officer, appointed by the President of the United States, and styled the Commissioner of Agriculture. Although the head of an independent Department of the Government, the Commissioner was not appointed a member of the Cabinet, and the Department was thus not represented in the Legislature. This is considered to have been a mistake, and a bill for appointing a Secretary of Agriculture with a seat in the Cabinet, and otherwise improving the organization of the Department, has recently been brought before Congress.

It would occupy too much space to describe, even in a condensed manner, the progress of the United States Department of Agriculture. A very interesting little history of the Department, to which I am indebted for the few details above given, was published by the chief clerk, Mr. J. M. Swann, in 1872, and this is still issued, apparently gratis, by the Department at Washington. It must suffice to state that the range of operations and inquiries was gradually extended, until at the present time it embraces many subjects in addition to those had in view when the Department was created.

In spite of the unfavourable criticism of the Department by a portion of the American press, it appears to me that the country is far better served by the Department than it has any right to expect for the money devoted to the important purposes for which the institution exists. Any new development of agricultural enterprise receives the prompt attention of the Department, as shown by such inquiries as those relating to sorghum and other sugar-producing plants, vegetable fibres for textile fabrics, vine-growing, and ensilage. Very little had been heard of ensilage —the preservation of green fodder in pits or "silos"—as practised in the United States, until last year; yet before the year was over a most valuable report on the subject, containing records of the experience of a large number of farmers in various parts of the country who had tried the system, was issued by the Department. That there is ample room for improvement in the organization of the Department, and scope for extending its labours with advantage, the officials freely acknowledge. Mr. Le Duc, as he was shortly about to leave his post when he wrote his report for 1880, was able to speak without reserve. After showing that the exports of agricultural produce in 1880 were 90 per cent. of the total exports from the United States, he complains of the comparatively small attention paid to agricultural interests by the Legislature. He compares the salaries of the officials of the Department of Agriculture with those of officials in other departments. For instance, the Commissioner of Agriculture received, in 1880, 3,500 dols., while the Commissioner of Internal Revenue got 6,000 dols., the Commissioner of Patents 4,500 dols., and the Commissioner of Lands 4,000 dols. The other principal officials in the Department of Agriculture are, or were in 1880, paid as follows:—Chief Clerk, 2,000 dols.; Chemist, 2,000 dols.; Statistician, 2,000 dols.; Entomologist, 2,000 dols.; Superintendent of Grounds, 2,000 dols.; Botanist, 1,800 dols.; Microscopist, 1,800 dols.; Disbursing Clerk, 1,800 dols. These are miserably poor salaries, as salaries run in the United States, and they are quite inadequate to secure the constant services of the most highly qualified men. Again, Mr. Le Duc complains that the chemical division has at its disposal only three rooms twenty feet square each, two being basement rooms, and a small closet. For a national laboratory such accommodation is simply disgraceful, and one is not surprised to learn that, with chemical work yearly increasing, great inconvenience and delay are incurred.

The total sum voted by Congress for the Department of Agriculture in January last, for the year 1883-4, was only 405,640 dols., divided as follows:—Office of the Commissioner, 62,980 dols.; Chemical Division, 9,500 dols.; Entomological Division, 27,900 dols.; Garden and Grounds, 17,500 dols.; Microscopical Division,

1,800 dols.; Botanical Division, 3,000 dols.; Museum, 4,120 dols. Laboratory, 16,000 dols.; Seed Division, 82,840 dols.; Agricultural Statistics Division, 109,500 dols.; Furniture, cases, and repairs, 6,000 dols.; Library, 1,500 dols.; Cattle Diseases Investigation, 25,000 dols.; Reclamation of arid and waste land, 10,000 dols.; Postage, 4,000 dols.; Contingent expenses, 14,000 dols.; Forestry, 10,000 dols. Now, an expenditure of about £81,000 on the Department of Agriculture in a country whose agricultural exports alone, in 1880, amounted to nearly £150,000,000, is so small that it might be at least doubled without extravagance.

Before taking leave of the great American continent it will be well to refer to Canada, the only British colony in which a Department of Agriculture is yet established, and that, as will be seen, not purely agricultural. It was established in 1868, under Vict. 31, cap. 53, in which Act the subjects under the superintendence of the department were stated as follows:—"Agriculture; Immigration and Emigration; Public Heath and Quarantine; the Marine and Emigrant Hospital at Quebec; Arts and Manufactures; the Census, Statistics, and the Registration of Statistics; Patents of Inventions; Copyright; Industrial Designs and Trade Marks." The Department is presided over by a Minister of Agriculture, who is a member of the Cabinet. Under him are the Deputy-Minister and the Departmental Secretary, who are permanent officials. The expenditure of the Department on immigration in 1881 was 206,180 dols., and on quarantine—including cattle quarantine—36,700 dols. With respect to agriculture proper, the work of the Department is rather general in its nature. In the several provinces which make up the Dominion there are similar departments, which deal with agricultural affairs locally. In Ontario there is an Agricultural College, in connection with which experiments are conducted, and in other parts of Canada attention is given to agriculture by the local governments. The principal agricultural shows, held annually, are assisted by grants of public money. The work of the Department in preventing the spread of cattle disease has been of immense importance to the country, Canada, except in some of the cities, having been almost free from the diseases which have been rife in Europe and some parts of the United States, and for that reason allowed to ship cattle to our own country when other countries were scheduled. Veterinary surgeons attached to the Department investigate any cases of disease that occur, and advise the Minister as to the measures desirable to take in order to prevent any spreading of the complaint. The Department attends to statistics, the census, taken every ten years, being under its management. The report of the Minister of Agriculture for 1881 is chiefly concerned with the subject of immigration, to the promotion of which the energy of the Department is mainly devoted. Agents are em-

ployed by the Department, both in Canada and in England, to obtain colonists for the vast unoccupied tracts of country in the North-West Territories and the remote parts of the provinces. Cattle disease and a few other topics receive some attention in the report. The Ontario School of Agriculture is the centre of scientific argricultural instruction in the Dominion. Its Annual Report is a record of useful experiments and investigations in relation to the feeding of live stock, the use of manures, the growth of cereals and other farm crops, and the culture of fruits and garden vegetables, well worthy of the careful study of Canadian farmers.

In New South Wales there is no Department of Agriculture. The Government only aids the development of agriculture by granting sums of money to agricultural societies equal in amount to the sums raised by private contributions. Last year the Colonial Parliament voted £5,000 for this purpose, and it is proposed to double that amount for the present year. Cattle diseases are dealt with under Colonial Acts, and there is a Chief Inspector of Live Stock under the Administration. At present no systematic attempt is made under Government auspices to investigate or control crop diseases, but they are dealt with by special legislation as necessity arises. Statistics are collected by the police under the direction of the Registrar-General. Immigration is under the control of the Colonial Secretary, as well as Botanic Gardens and "Government Domain." The Minister of Public Instruction has charge of church and school estates, while yet, as I also learn from an official report, the Secretary for Lands has control over "the business of the church and school estates not otherwise provided for by the Act specially dedicating the revenues thereof to the purpose of public instruction." The same official is charged with business relating to Crown lands, commons, reserves for recreation and public purposes, and public cemeteries; but the Secretary for Mines has to manage the occupation of Crown lands for pastoral purposes, the regulation of commons, and works for the storage of water in the pastoral districts. By an anomaly similar to that of placing the control of cattle diseases under the Education Minister in England, the Minister for Mines in New South Wales has charge of "the inspection of sheep and cattle, with a view to the preservation and eradication of disease." Altogether, the functions of Ministers in the colony, so far as they relate to land or agriculture, appear to be somewhat mixed.

In Queensland the Department of the Colonial Secretary deals with cattle disease through the Inspector of Cattle and Sheep; and vine and cereal crop failures are also attended to by the same department. The water supply is under the control of the Colonial Treasurer's Department, though there is a special waterworks board directed by an engineer. There is no State-supported agricultural college in the colony, and, so far as I can learn, no funds are appro-

priated to agricultural experiments or agricultural education in any form.

All matters connected with agriculture in South Australia are under the control of the Minister for Crown Lands. An experimental farm, under the management of a Professor of Agriculture, is supported by the Colonial Government, at an annual cost of £1,839. The Professor will deliver lectures, probably in different parts of the colony, for the extension of agricultural instruction. The professorship is a new appointment, and it is to be presumed that in future the Professor will superintend the investigation of crop diseases, upon which Parliamentary committees have sat several times. There is a staff of inspectors, under the Chief Inspector of Stock, to deal with cattle diseases. There is no system of irrigation in the colony, though one is needed, and is, I believe, under consideration.

The Minister of Lands in New Zealand has no functions appertaining to agriculture. All matters of agricultural interest are, as a rule, referred to the Colonial Secretary. Sheep Inspectors are appointed to act under the Sheep Act, 1878, chiefly intended to prevent the spread of scab and catarrh. The Diseased Cattle Act, 1881, provides against the importation of diseased animals. The only public endowment of agricultural education is that appropriated to the School of Agriculture near Christchurch. This institution is noteworthy as being, probably, the cheapest agricultural college in existence; the charge, including board, lodging, and all extras, being £40 per annum, or £5 per annum for non-resident students. The travelling expenses of resident students from any part of New Zealand are paid once each way in the year. A farm of 660 acres is attached to the school, and students are required to take part in the daily work upon it, being paid for their work at the discretion of the director. A portion of the land is set apart for experimental purposes. It has been stated that young men able to perform farm work properly can earn the cost of their tuition. The object of the school is to enable youths of fifteen years of age and upwards to acquire a thorough knowledge of the science and practice of agriculture. The buildings are planned for the accommodation of fifty-six resident pupils and the staff of masters. The institution is one deserving of imitation in our own and other countries.

In Tasmania matters relating to agriculture are dealt with by the Department of the Minister of Land and Works.

At the Cape at present there is no Government supervision of agriculture; but I am informed that "something of the kind has for some time been under discussion."

In India the Government, besides being the sole landlord in the Presidency of Bombay, exercises a general superintendence over the agriculture of the whole country. Since the Report of the Famine

Commission was issued, an Imperial Department of Agriculture, and a similar Provincial Department in each of the great Provinces, have been constituted. There are several experimental farms, gardens, and plantations under Government control; and under the same auspices the improved breeding of cattle, the naturalisation of plants and trees new to India, irrigation and other public works, the promotion of veterinary science, and the extension of agricultural education are attended to.

Turning to European countries, France may first be noticed. In that country the Department of Agriculture has recently been separated from that of Commerce, to which it was formerly united. The official syllabus of subjects which come under the superintendence of the Minister of Agriculture is divided into sections, of which the following are those most important:—

"1. Agricultural and veterinary instruction; farm schools; agricultural colonies and establishments; practice of veterinary medicine; epizootics.

"2. Encouragement and assistance to agriculture; general surveyance of agriculture; agricultural chambers; agricultural societies; agricultural exhibitions and competitions; improvements in rural industry; draining; irrigating; agricultural loans; rural police; centralisation and publication of agricultural information.

"3 Legislation on corn; regulating prices of corn imported and exported; prices in French and foreign markets; regulations respecting the brokers' and butchers' trades; slaughter-houses; the sale of eatables, &c.; breeding establishments."

It must be confessed that this is a pretty comprehensive list; but the numerous subjects are carefully attended to. The total expenses of the Ministry of Agriculture for 1883 are found down in the Report of the Minister just issued at 43,166,967 francs. Of this total the amount devoved to forestry is 16,165,617 francs. Liberal provision is made for schools of agriculture, model farms, plantations of fruit and shade trees, new and valuable seeds and grain, and improved stocks of horses, cattle, and sheep. There are stations at which stallions are kept for the public advantage, veterinary schools, and arrangements for the prevention of cattle disease. Travelling professors of agricultural science are appointed to visit all parts of the country and instruct the farmers. The principal agricultural shows are under the direction of the Department. Viticulture, of course, is specially cared for, and the diseases of the vine receive a great deal of attention. The silk and beet-sugar industries are also encouraged by the Department.

The Spanish Department of Agriculture is a division of the Department of the Ministry "*de Fomento*" (agriculture, industry, and commerce), and besides the Direction-General, consists of a

Superior Council and Agricultural Exhibition Branches. There is a school of agriculture, styled the "Institute Agricola de Alphonso XII.," with a staff of professors; also a General Association of Cattle Breeders, under the direction of a president and a permanent commission, with auxiliary commissioners of breeders and importers of live stock in each province. Agricultural statistics are obtained frequently during the year. Monthly reports on the crops are issued, and at the proper seasons the acreage of autumn and spring wheat respectively are chronicled, the condition of the crop later on, and the yield of this and other crops after harvest.

Prussia appears to be the country in which agriculture is held in the highest estimation, if we may judge from the liberality of the expenditure upon it. The Prussian Minister of Agriculture, Domains, and Forests (which does not include in its scope of action the whole German Empire) is divided into two departments—the Agricultural and State Stud Department, and the Domains and Forests Department. To the first belong the national educational establishments for agriculture and veterinary science, agricultural stations for experiments, national loan institutes, the State studs and breeding establishments, and the Supreme Court for agricultural cases; to the second, the Examination Commissioners for chief foresters at the forest schools. The total estimates for the Ministry for the year 1883—4 amount to 9,644,850 marks, or £482,242. This includes 214,404 marks for the encouragement of fisheries. The receipts for the same years are estimated at 2,154,000 marks, to be derived from the various establishments. The expenditure is apportioned as follows, the figures representing marks:—For the Ministry itself, 410,880; for agricultural schools, including the building of new establishments and the sums to be spent for scientific purposes, 925,917; for veterinary schools, officials, &c., 707,849; for the encouragement of breeding, 618,420; for the encouragement of fisheries, 214,404; for land improvements, 789,599; for Courts for agricultural cases, 136,430; authorities, &c., 3,463,611; general expenses, 330,142; exceptional expenses, 2,047,597. The Minister receives a salary of 36,000 marks, the Under-Secretary of State 15,000 marks, the Master of the Horse 12,000 marks, and seven Heads of Departments from 7,500 to 9,900 marks each. The domains consist chiefly of forests, but include some large farms of 1,000 acres and upwards, which are let to well-educated farmers, who are bound to conduct them as model farms, to improve the live stock, to use the best varieties of seeds, and to introduce new machinery recommended by the Department. In every province there is a farm set apart as an experimental station, under the direction of the Department. These farms are all said to be self-supporting; but there is a horse-breeding establishment in connection with

each which receives a Government subvention, and to which farmers are allowed to bring their mares for a small charge. Agricultural pupils are taught at the experimental farms, which are managed by overseers under the Department. On the larger farms above referred to agricultural pupils are also taken. According to Professor Riley, of the United States, who appears to be thoroughly acquainted with the working of the Prussian Department of Agriculture, information tending to promote agriculture is conveyed to the public partly through the official paper, the *Amtsblatt*, and partly through the various Government officers in the provinces, who are required to gather statistical and other information; and in cases of inundations or dangerous epidemics of cattle disease, the Department has power to demand the services of the police, and even of the army. In the case of a serious failure in the harvest there is a free distribution of seeds. No annual reports are published by the Department, but prizes for essays on agricultural subjects are offered. Professor Riley adds: "It is part of the duty of the consuls and consular agents in foreign countries to make reports on agriculture and agricultural improvements, to send home new seeds, and otherwise to advance agriculture in their own country. There is a Governmental School of Agriculture, and also one of Forestry. The pupils pay a tuition fee, and must pass an examination in science before entering. The Government offers small prizes at the regular country fairs (shows), and gives free transportation on the railroads under its control for all objects destined for such exhibition, while private railroads are required to do likewise, or to carry for this purpose at nominal cost. The public roads in Prussia are lined each side with a row of fruit or other useful trees, which are cared for by the Government; and private companies that build high-roads are obliged to similarly line them. The crop from these trees is annually rented out, and the revenue obtained helps to keep the roads in repair. Finally, farmers are required to remove and destroy caterpillars and various insects whenever the public weal demands it."

In Austria there is a Ministry of Agriculture which has supreme control over all matters relating to the cultivation of the soil, the management of forests, and mining. The functions of the Ministry are classed in two main divisions, with six separate departments under the first and three under the second. To each department one or more of the branches of agriculture and mining are assigned. In the Budget of 1881, the sum of 1,096,520 florins was appropriated to "culture of the soil," 1,547,700 to the breeding of horses, and a large amount to forests and mining purposes.

There is a Department of Agriculture and Commerce in Italy, which was established in 1861, under a Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. The Department has superintendence over the breeding of

horses at the expense of the State, geological survey, provident societies, statistics, weights and measures, the survey and regulation of mines, and the assay of metals. A proposal to establish technical schools of agriculture is now under the consideration of the Italian Parliament. Cattle-disease regulations come under the control of the Home Office.

In Russia there is a Department of Agriculture and Rural Industry under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Imperial Domains. Its staff consists of a director, a vice-director, several chiefs of sections, and numerous subordinate officials. The salaries of the staff and other office expenses are put down in the estimates at £6,300; and the total expense of the Department at about £90,000 per annum. The Department publishes throughout the Empire useful information bearing upon agriculture, organizes and offers prizes at agricultural exhibitions, maintains a permanent museum of agricultural products and implements at St. Petersburg, supervises and directs agricultural schools and model farms in different provinces, and grants subsidies to agricultural societies to the amount of about £3,000 annually. The system under which agricultural statistics are collected in Russia is especially deserving of attention, three reports being collected in the year—one in the spring, another in the summer, and the third in the autumn. The autumn report gives valuable information as to the yield of crops, prices of corn and live stock, and other particulars. As in several other European countries, pisciculture is encouraged by the Department.

Government supervision over agriculture in Turkey is exercised by the Ministry of Commerce, which is divided into four sections—those of Commerce, Arts, Agriculture, and Statistics. The Directors of these four sections form a Council, presided over by the Minister of Commerce, to which all questions of importance concerning any of the sections are submitted. The functions of this Council in relation to agriculture were defined by a decree of the year 1875 in a very elaborate manner, and include the establishment of a school of agriculture and veterinary surgery, and of model farms in each vilayet; the investigation of methods for bringing waste land into cultivation; the creation of a statistical department; the establishment of agricultural loan banks; the prevention of cattle disease; and various means of advancing agricultural education and progress, which want of space prevents me from stating. The scheme, however, has only been carried out very imperfectly.

In Roumania, at present, agricultural affairs are under the direction of the Minister of Public Works; but on February 16th the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution in favour of the creation of a Ministry of Agriculture.

In Servia, under the "Law on Central Administration," promulgated in 1865, the interests of agriculture were intrusted to the care

of the Ministry of Finance, under which a distinct department, called the *Economic Department*, was formed for the purpose of giving special attention to agriculture. In December last, however, the *Economic Department* was transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the newly-established Ministry of Commerce. Under the supervision of the Department are the model farms at Topchidere and Tubichevo, the farmers' school at Kralyero, and the "Haras" (breeding stud) at Tubichevo, with its branch at Dobrichevo. From April to October the Department collects and publishes, every ten days, reports on the condition of the crops and the state of the weather from all parts of the country. By publications it gives popular instruction on the cultivation of useful plants, great attention lately having been given to the potato, the vine, and tobacco. From time to time teachers of agriculture are sent to travel through the country in order to instruct the peasant-farmers. The Department is charged with the duty of taking such measures as may be necessary to check the ravages of the phylloxera, and with the management of the communal magazines for corn—a provision against famine in the event of a failure in the crops. The specimens of Serbian wines sent to the Exhibitions of London in 1874, and Bordeaux in 1882, were arranged by the Department. The cost of the Department, including salaries, is 291,600 francs.

Switzerland has a Department of Commerce and Agriculture, presided over by a Member of the Executive or Federal Government; the present head being Monsieur Droz. The Department is divided into separate sections for commerce, agriculture, forests, weights and measures, manufactures and trade-marks, &c., respectively. Accordin to the *Federal Calendar* for 1882-3, the first-named section has a staff of six principal clerks, and the second one of three. Apart from the duties of the Department relating to commerce, it is charged with the encouragement of agriculture generally, and particularly with the granting of subsidies to agricultural enterprise; with measures against epizootic diseases and all kinds of calamities which may threaten agricultural production; with the forest-police in mountainous districts; and with the superintendence of emigration. The sum named in the Budget for the present year for the entire purposes of the Department is 725,570 francs, by far the greater portion of which is devoted to commerce.

In Greece the *Economie Department*, under the Ministry of the Interior, is charged with some superintendence over agricultural affairs, together with other duties. For instance, the Department makes regulations in relation to the phylloxera as occasion arises. Cattle disease regulations are under the direction of the Sanitary Department.

Neither in the Netherlands nor in Belgium is there a separate Department of Agriculture; but in Belgium the Ministry of the

Interior regulates the importation of cattle, provides for the checking of the spread of cattle diseases, and has superintendence over the Government Veterinary Schools. In Holland I am not aware of any collection of agricultural statistics, and in Belgium this branch of inquiry is not well attended to.

"Everything" is said to be under the Government in Denmark, and in that country the Ministry of the Interior has charge of all matters concerning agriculture, forestry, horticulture, veterinary science, and statistics. There is a "Royal Agricultural Veterinary Institute," partly supported by State funds, and partly by voluntary contributions. The officials and professors are appointed by the Ministry. There are no resident pupils; but lectures are delivered publicly. A small fee enables a student to enter for an examination and to obtain a degree on passing, without which he is not allowed to give evidence as a veterinarian in a court of law. Help is also afforded by the institute to students by sending them abroad for study, and to farmers by supplying them with information and advice with respect to dairies, dairy appliances, and other matters. The system of agricultural statistics is defective.

Turning to Asiatic countries, it appears that there is nothing of the nature of a Department of Agriculture in China or Persia. In Japan, on the other hand, a Department of Agriculture and Commerce was established in 1881. The *Japan Mail*, of May 12th, 1881, states the expenditure for agriculture and forests as follows: Bureau of Agriculture, 314,479 yen; Bureau of Storage of Grain, 31,941 yen; Bureau of Forests, 200,000 yen; Agricultural College at Komaba, farm in Shimosa, and nursery garden at Mita, 144,793 yen; total, 391,218 yen—nearly £80,000. English Professors of Agriculture have for some time been employed by the Japanese Government, and the work done at the college and on the farm is said to have produced excellent results in improving the agriculture of the country. The functions of the Bureau of Agriculture include "all business connected with the development of agriculture, fisheries, hunting, reclamation of land, geological surveys, agricultural schools and similar institutions, compilation of agricultural statistics, and affairs having relation to the deliberative Board of Agriculture."

I have attempted nothing more than a sketch of the most important features of the systems of State superintendence of agriculture in the various countries to which I have referred. To describe them in detail would fill a large volume, and a very interesting book might be written on the subject. Imperfect as my survey is, however, it suffices to show that in most of the civilised countries of the world far greater attention is bestowed by the Government upon agriculture than is given to that most important of all industries in our own

country. The systems in most of the European countries in which Departments of Agriculture exist are of too "paternal" a character to be in all respects models for us to copy; yet there is not one from which we may not learn something to our advantage. The great munificence and public spirit of our Royal and other Agricultural Societies, and the enterprise of our landowners, breeders, farmers, manufacturers, and merchants, render much that is done usefully abroad needless here. We do not require the Government to breed horses or cattle for us, to store corn for us, or to distribute seeds and plants among us. But we do need a more comprehensive and more exact collection and compilation of agricultural statistics, a more thorough system of cattle-disease prevention, and far more attention than has yet been given to agricultural education and the promotion of agricultural science. The establishment of agricultural stations in different parts of the kingdom, under the joint management of scientific men and skilled farmers, could not fail to produce great national benefits, as it has done under the admirable system long carried out in Prussia. Schools of agriculture, with model farms attached to them, are also to be recommended. The travelling dairies recently started by Canon Bagot and other gentlemen in some parts of Ireland have already done a great deal of good, while in England the agricultural science classes and lectures already referred to are generally regarded as a most hopeful innovation. The Institute of Agriculture just organized, although a private venture not subvented by Government, may be expected to systematize the somewhat fitful efforts made to promote agricultural education.

In addition to such uses as are above roughly indicated, a Department of Agriculture would be of great value as a medium between agriculturists and the Government. The permanent officials, and the Minister of Agriculture through them, would be in the best possible position for ascertaining and examining the legislative demands of those who own, farm, or work upon the soil. Among the few measures for the redress of agricultural grievances passed by Parliament in recent times there is scarcely one that is not marred, if not rendered abortive, by some flagrant defect, which would certainly have been avoided if the Minister in charge of the bill had been as thoroughly acquainted with the subject of it as a Minister of Agriculture might and should be.

No one asks for a gigantic bureaucracy and a lavish expenditure for the benefit of agriculture. First of all we need the systematization of the work already done by the State in this direction. Let us have a well-constituted Department of Agriculture, with a well-selected staff of officials, and we need not overload it with a cumbrous, ready-made system, but may leave the development of its functions to time.

WILLIAM E. BEAR.

A TOUR IN THE TROAD.

The north-western corner of Asia Minor could hardly be matched for scenery of a certain kind—wide views of sea, islands, and hills, marvellous in their beauty of outline and colour. It is on the highway from the Ægean to Constantinople. And yet even in these days the Troad is not a frequent resort of travellers. Nearly a century has passed since Le Chevalier's visit originated the modern controversy as to the site of Troy. Homeric pilgrims in long succession have since tested their doubts or confirmed their faith on the plain of sacred Ilios. But, apart from such, the visitors have not been very numerous. Certainly the land is Homer's; he has no rival there. No places on the earth belong so exclusively to a poet as Ithaca, by pre-historic right of spiritual conquest, still belongs to the creator of the *Odyssey*, and the Troad to the creator of the *Iliad*. For those who seek them, the Troad has interesting points of contact with the historic age of the old world, but they are not points which stand out boldly in a survey of the past. And, since the Christian era, the Troad is scarcely heard of in history, except as a field of plunder for passing marauders. In the third century, when the torrent of Goths burst upon the empire in divergent streams, one flood swept across the Troad, going on to wreck the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus. In the thirteenth century, just after the capture of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders in 1204, Henry of Flanders, brother of the Emperor Baldwin, reduced the Troad with his Belgian knights, helped by Armenian colonists whom the Byzantine Emperors had planted there. Those two incidents, a thousand years apart, are fairly representative. In a political no less than a physical sense, the Troad has been the weather-beaten front of north-western Asia Minor. It has had to bear the first shock, or the last exaction, of hosts crossing the Hellespont; it has been the brief resting-place of predatory migrants, who left decaying towns behind them; it has known gleams of prosperity, but never stability of civil life. The earliest tradition associated with it is the utter destruction of Troy by the invading Achæans, and it is typical of the sequel. The natural advantages of the region are in some respects so striking that Constantine once thought of founding the New Rome on its northern shore. But the Troad has never become the seat of a state which attained to great or enduring power. Priam has had no successor; the true heroes of the land are still Hector and Achilles.

In a recent visit to the Troad which I made in company with Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, at present Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, one of our objects

was to see Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik, the site which he supposes to be Homer's Troy. But there was another point of equally strong attraction. The site of the ancient Assos, on the south coast of the Troad, has within the last two years been explored by American archæologists, under the able direction of Mr. J. T. Clarke, with results of very remarkable interest.

Before entering on the Troad, a few words may be said as to the route by which we reached it. An Austrian Lloyd steamer leaves Trieste every Saturday at 2 P.M., and arrives at Constantinople about 7 A.M. on the following Friday. The voyage is one of the most interesting and beautiful that can be imagined. The course steered from Trieste down the Adriatic keeps close to the eastern shore, the Italian coast never being visible. After passing Istria, Dalmatia, and the bit of Montenegro that touches the sea, we found ourselves, on Monday morning, the third day, off Albania. For some three hours we were moving along under those

> "Thunder-cliffs of fear,
> The Acroceraunian mountains of old fame,"

—a long sea-wall of tremendous cliffs, with the bleak Albanian hills disclosed in dreary vistas behind them. Soon after three in the afternoon we had come to anchor in Pantokrator Bay, at Corfu. Here there is a stay of about four hours—long enough to admit of the drive to Canóni Bay, the spot which legend has chosen as that at which Ulysses touched the hospitable shore of the Phæacians and met Nausicaa with her maidens. In the modern Corfiote story, Nausicaa has become "Chrysida." "Chrysida's spring," on the shore of the bay, is the place at which the clothes were washed. A further local change—due perhaps to the modern sense of propriety, but unhappy for the Homeric poetry—is that the queen, her mother, accompanies her on the clothes-washing expedition. At half-past five on Tuesday morning we were passing between Ithaca and Cephalonia; then, running between Zante and the mainland, we sailed all day close along the western coast of the Peloponnesus. An excellent view is obtained of the ancient Pylos and of the island of Sphacteria. It gave a new vividness to the narrative in Thucydides of Cleon's exploit, when he fulfilled his boast of capturing, within twenty days, the Spartans blockaded on this island. And every one who has read Finlay's graphic account of the battle of Navarino, fought in this bay—at which the allied fleet (French, Russian, English) defeated the Turkish in 1827—could recognise one of the touches which show local knowledge, the description of the twenty thousand Turkish troops, "ranged on the slopes overlooking the port, like spectators in a theatre." At dusk the steamer was rounding the southernmost point of Europe at Matapan; and the Pleiads were rising in a clear starry sky as we

entered the narrow strait between Cythera and Cape Malea. Before nine on Wednesday morning we were at Athens, where we spent the day, sailing again about six in the evening. Thursday morning found us far on our way across the Ægean; Psara, the small island just west of Chios, was dimly seen on our right quarter; no other land was in sight. Then Lesbos came slowly into view, and we ran along the low coast of the Troad, passing Besika Bay, and going through the channel between the mainland and Tenedos. That classic station of the Greek fleet is now remarkable for the number of wind-mills clustered about the little town with its red roofs. The great island of Imbros rose above Tenedos in the north, and, beyond Imbros, the majestic peaks of Samothrace. At 3 P.M. we were at the strait, about two miles wide, between the end of the Thracian Chersonese and the north-west angle of the Troad, which leads from the Ægean into the Dardanelles. About seven on Friday morning the *Saturno* came to moorings at the mouth of the Golden Horn. We had received a continual series of delightful impressions, and were sorry when the journey came to an end. I have ventured thus rapidly to sketch it, because, familiar as I had long been with parts of the route, I certainly had not appreciated beforehand the advantage of seeing all these coasts and waters consecutively. The voyage from Trieste to Constantinople is perhaps the most comprehensive and instructive lesson in Hellenic geography —both physical and political—that it would be possible to have within a like compass of space and time; and it may be safely recommended to those who desire thorough rest of body and mind.

Leaving Constantinople at six one evening in a steamer of the French Messageries, we were at the small town of Dardanelles, on the coast of the Troad, at six next morning. The Turkish name of the place, Chanak, is from the pottery made there. From the ship one sees a row of small houses fringing the water, with green shutters and red-tiled flattish roofs—two flag-staffs flying the white crescent on a maroon ground—and some minarets; behind, a low range of hills sweeping away to the south-west. On landing, our passports were demanded, and some further particulars as to our ages, &c., were entered in a book. At Constantinople, it may be remarked, we had not been asked for passports; but elsewhere in Turkey we found the rule absolute.

Travelling in the Troad must be performed by walking or riding; there are no carriage-roads. The only vehicles to be met with are the low carts or waggons of the country people, drawn by oxen. The approach of one of these carts can be told a long way off by the prodigious creaking of the heavy wheels, rudely made of elm with iron tires. It is a fact tending to show how far man may be the measure of music that the rustics of the Troad take delight and pride

in this portentous sound, which at close quarters is an excruciating torture to the unaccustomed ear. Horse-hire is cheap. The average charge for a riding-horse—including the living of the attendant—is 25 piastres a day, about 4s. 2d. In most cases tourists would find it indispensable to have a Turkish-speaking dragoman, and those who were not prepared to "rough it" a little would need to take a tent with them, and to carry their own provisions. Favouring circumstances agreeably exempted us from such necessity. At the Dar-



danelles we were joined by Mr. J. T. Clarke, the Director of the American excavations at Assos, who, on hearing of Professor Goodwin's intended visit, had come to accompany us thither, and had made the arrangements for the journey. It was also our especial good fortune to be joined by Mr. Frank Calvert, to whose unsurpassed knowledge of the Troad our tour owed not a little of its pleasure and profit. The guidance was the best that any visitors could have had; and it was an introduction to private hospitality for which, on more than one occasion, we had reason to be warmly grateful.

Our party—a rather large one, and therefore in such a country more likely to experience some discomfort—included three ladies, who proved themselves admirable travellers, and reached Assos without having felt inconvenient fatigue. With regard to an impression which appeared to be prevalent, that travelling in the Troad had recently been insecure, I can only say that nothing which came under our observation tended to confirm it. We had no escort of any kind. It is, however, right to add that we enjoyed a peculiar safeguard in the company of one so well known and so highly respected throughout the country as Mr. Calvert.

The Turkish saddles, with their huge shovel-like stirrups, are not uncomfortable, and, like an Irish jaunting-car, make it possible to contemplate the scenery from a position at right angles with the animal's spine; in the little horses themselves the qualities most to be praised are patience and wonderful sureness of foot—over incredibly bad tracks—even in the dark. Our long, straggling cavalcade filed down the narrow and unsavoury street of Dardanelles, eyed with lazy discontent by Turkish loungers, who at this period—a week after Tel-el-Kebir—were beginning to have misgivings as to whether Arabi had really blown up the British fleet and taken the British General prisoner; then we came out on the shore of the Hellespont, and followed it as far as the spot where the British hospital formerly stood. Here the path leaves the shore, and strikes up a hill to the left, winding round a deep gorge, and gradually revealing a most lovely view of Imbros and Samothrace—lit up by the afternoon sun—on the sea to the west. Presently we came to the Christian village of Erenkioi, where, as friends of Mr. Calvert, we were hospitably regaled with coffee, water-melons, and walnuts. It was getting dark when we came down on the eastern edge of the Trojan plain, rough ground clothed with underwood. Then we crossed the bed of the Dumbrek, one of the rivers that can claim to be the Simois. We passed through a village of the Yuruk, a pastoral tribe, who, like the Turcomans—from whom they are probably distinct in race—recall a phase of nomadic populations in Asia Minor which dates from before the rise of the Ottoman Turks. It was 8.20 P.M. when we reached the "chiflik" (farm-house) on Mr. Calvert's property, in the plain of Troy. Including an hour's halt at Erenkioi, we had been about eight and a half hours on the road. The distance from Dardanelles is about twenty miles. The "chiflik" stands on the farm which is now called Thymbra, from the historic Greek town which stood there. The site of Homeric Thymbra was probably not the same, but a little to S.W.S., at the great mound called Hanai Tepeh, which Mr. Calvert excavated. He was at first disposed to regard this tepeh as a common funeral mound of the Trojans, but now holds that it was a seat of pre-historic habitation

Thymbra is only about four miles south-east of Hissarlik, the scene of Dr. Schliemann's excavations. On the way to Hissarlik we obtain a first general impression of the plain of Troy.

Every reader of the *Iliad* necessarily forms some mental picture of the plain and its surroundings. On seeing the reality, I at once felt that it differed in one essential feature from the picture in my mind. Homer gives no set descriptions of the ground, but the incidental hints impress the memory all the more. Now, to me at least, the *Iliad* had distinctly suggested high mountains bordering the plain to the south. The summits, the glens, the spurs, the fountains of Ida are so mentioned that, in the imagination of the reader, this grand range dominates the whole theatre of the war. When Zeus, enthroned "on topmost Gargarus," sent Iris on a message, "she went down from the heights of Ida to sacred Ilios."[1] It is directly "from the heights of Ida" that Apollo descends on the battle-field to bear away Sarpedon, or swoops, in the likeness of a hawk, to seek Hector.[2] It was "on the summits of winding Ida" that Hector was wont to burn offerings to Zeus.[3] Much of the noblest Homeric imagery tends to strengthen this impression. The flashing light from the armour of the Achæan warriors, as they muster in the plain of the Scamander, is as the blaze of fire spreading through a forest "on mountain summits." Paris starts back from Menelaus as from a serpent seen "in mountain glens;" the Achæans break the Trojan lines at such hour as "in mountain glens" the woodcutter's daily toil is over; as the roar of flame "in mountain glens," or the sound of winds "warring on the hill-tops," is the noise of their battle.[4] This pervading strain of suggested contrast between highlands and lowlands is a capital source of natural spaciousness and grandeur in the *Iliad*. The first thing which struck me with surprise on seeing the Trojan plain was the entire absence of high mountains from its neighbourhood. The hills are quite low which bound it on south and east. Some thirty miles away in the south-east we saw from Hissarlik the pale blue form of a mountain on the horizon. That was the highest part of the Ida range. As seen from the plain of Troy, it is by no means a conspicuous feature. The Trojan plain itself is decidedly tame, just from this lack of neighbouring heights to relieve the flat expanse, in which the patches of swamp and the generally dull colouring have a depressing effect to the eye. The finest prospect which the plain affords is when one looks from near its centre towards the north-west. The bright waters of the Hellespont are the northern boundary; and near the north-west corner the "tomb of Achilles" is seen on the low shore—the very mound, we may believe, mentioned

(1) *Il.* xi. 196. (2) *Il.* xvi. 677; xv. 237. (3) *Il.* xxii. 171.
(4) *Il.* ii. 455; iii. 33; xi. 88; xiv. 397; xvi. 765.

in the *Odyssey*[1] as "set on a jutting headland by the wide Hellespont, that it might be seen afar off from the sea by men that now are, and by those who shall live in after-time." Then out on the sea to the north-west is Imbros, about twenty miles off; and beyond it, the soaring peak of Samothrace. Ida's highest point is about 5,700 feet, that of Samothrace about 5,200; and while Ida is thirty miles from the plain, Samothrace is forty-five. Yet, though lower and more distant, the island peak, not the inland mountain, is the true glory of the scene. While Gargarus is the post of the Homeric Zeus, it is on "the highest top of wooded Samothrace" that the poet places the outlook of the sea-god Poseidon. Thus, by the stations of two gods, the poet has marked the two salient points—seventy-five miles apart—which command the plain of Troy. And it is in taking a bird's-eye view from a height, not in looking around one on the level, that the comprehensive truth of Homeric topography is most vividly grasped. Homer is as his own Zeus or his own Poseidon, not as one of the mortals warring on the lower ground.

The plain itself has an average length of seven or eight miles from north to south, with a breadth of two or three. Many a trait of the *Iliad* can be recognised. There was "a wheat-bearing plain" near the walls of Troy, and the goddess Athenè, striving with the war-god Ares, hurls at him a stone, "black, rough, and huge," "which men of other days had set to be the corn land's bound."[2] Again, it was "a reedy marsh" that sheltered the ambush of the besiegers.[3] At the present day such marshy tracts still divide the area with fields of wheat, barley, rye, and maize. Along with the valonia oak, "elms, willows, and tamarisks,"[4] such as fringed the Homeric Scamander, may still be found by the channels of the rivers. It was in a thicket of the thorny tamarisk that the horses of the Trojan Adrêstus were caught,[5] as they swept his chariot along before the pursuing foe; and, though borne by a steed which is far from meditating headlong flight, the modern visitor may have a similar fate. He, too, like Ulysses and Diomede,[6] may chance to hear the cry of the heron, and—as *they* could not "in the murky night,"—see it rise. Or, like Priam, he may greet an omen from Zeus in "the dusky bird of chase," an eagle with almost black plumage, the only species now found in the Troad.[7] Cranes, "when they have escaped the winter,"[8] still leave the Troad for "the streams of Ocean," or at least for the northern climes, from which they return only in August. The truth of such touches clearly shows that intimate local knowledge informed the tradition from which the *Iliad* took its origin, whether the Ionian poets who worked it up were, or were not, personally familiar with this region.

(1) *Od.* xxiv. 81. (2) *Il.* xxi. 602, 403. (3) *Od.* xiv. 474.
(4) *Il.* xxi. 350. (5) *Il.* vi. 39. (6) *Il.* x. 274.
(7) *Il.* xxiv. 316. (8) *Il.* iii. 4.

Hissarlik is nearly in the middle of the plain. It is a mound at the end of a long, very low ridge, which runs out into the plain from the hills on the east. The area of the mound is about three hundred and twenty-five yards by two hundred and thirty-five, and the height rather more than a hundred feet above the plain. Dr. Schliemann's trenches have laid the mound completely open, and bared remains of human habitation down to the bed of native rock. One finds oneself in a labyrinth of cuttings, bordered by remains of small ruined buildings, amid which blocks of the original mound, spared in excavating, stand up like rough towers. At the top, fringing the edge of the excavated area, are the remains of Roman walls, contrasting, by their comparatively solid and handsome character, with the squalid and petty ruins of more flimsy structures in the diggings below. As to these latter, a person with no previous information might suppose at a first glance that he found himself on the site of an ancient village, or petty town, the buildings of which had been very small and rude, and had suffered a tolerably complete destruction. It is among these ruins that Dr. Schliemann recognises the vestiges of Homer's Troy.

The main questions involved require only to be put clearly and concisely in order to be understood by everybody. This is what, in passing, I shall try to do here, referring readers who desire further details to my treatment of the subject elsewhere.[1] About 700 B.C.—perhaps earlier—Greek colonists founded a town at Hissarlik. They called it "Ilion," after the Trojan town of Homer. Homeric names were given to such settlements in the Troad much as English names were given in America, the sentiment of the settler ruling the choice; thus the Greek Dardanus was on the shore of the Hellespont, though Homer's was far inland on the spurs of Ida. The Greek "Ilion" was a very small and poor place down to about 300 B.C., when it was adorned and enlarged; it was burnt in 85 B.C., soon rebuilt, and favoured by the Emperors from Augustus onwards; it is last heard of in the fourth century A.D. The point to bear in mind is that it had three main phases of architectural existence—the Greek, the Macedonian, the Roman.

Now the question is, How far does this town go towards explaining the ruins dug up on its site? Only a very little way, was the substance of Dr. Schliemann's answer in his work *Ilios*. All traces of it cease at six feet under ground. Below that, down to forty or fifty feet, everything is pre-historic. And the pre-historic ruins admit of cleavage into six pre-historic cities, one on top of another. The third from the bottom is Homer's Troy.

After studying *Ilios*, and still more after seeing Hissarlik, I was disposed to say: "The ruins of the historic Ilion must go down much

(1) *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. iii. p. 185.

deeper than six feet; probably some of the 'pre-historic cities' are merely phases of it. Below it, no doubt, there is something older still; but what that something is we do not know."

Dr. W. Dörpfeld, an eminent architect with four years' experience of Olympia, this summer examined Hissarlik. He discerns five (or six) periods of building. (1) At the top, remains of the latest or *Roman* Ilion—reaching below the surface to the point at which it had been assumed that *all* traces of that historic town ceased. (2) A town which, like (1), used the mound of Hissarlik only for acropolis, and spread beyond it on the plain. (3) A smaller town, confined to the mound. (4) A village on the mound. (5) A large town, extending beyond the mound; this town was utterly destroyed by fire. (6) If distinct from (5), a previous and very much smaller settlement.

The architect has not yet stated, except in the case of the first period, how he interprets the remains. I read them thus:—(2) the Macedonian Ilion, destroyed in 85 B.C.; (3) the earlier Greek Ilion; (4) if Hellenic, the earliest Greek lodgment on the mound; (5), (6) pre-historic. Pieces of pottery which cannot be older than 350—100 B.C. have been found at depths which confirm this view of (2) and (3).

We next ask, Is the pre-historic town, No. 5, Homer's Troy? The *Iliad* being a poem, not a history, we must define what is meant by "Homer's Troy." A town would be, in a sense, "Homer's Troy," if it was that town of which the siege gave rise to the poetical legend of a siege. In that sense the town at Hissarlik *may* be Troy. We cannot positively affirm it; neither can we deny it. No ruins presumably so old have been found in or near the plain. But is it the very town which Homer *describes?* Can we expect to identify among the ruins at Hissarlik the traces or sites of the very buildings mentioned in the *Iliad?* Assuredly not. Homer's Troy is a city of wide streets and great marble palaces. The character and the scale of the remains at Hissarlik are altogether different. Homer embellished the age of the heroes with traits borrowed from the manners and civilisation of his own day. So, too, he imagined his Troy in the likeness of great cities which the life or the art of his own day had shown him—such cities as those of Phœnicia represented on the Assyrian bronze gates in the British Museum—such cities as Miletus must have been while it was still "the glory of Ionia." The pre-historic town at Hissarlik *may* have been the historical prototype of Troy. It cannot have been the immediate original.

Bunárbashi ("head of the waters") is a little Turkish village of some twenty houses, on an open, sandy piece of ground, which slopes up to the hills from the southern edge of the plain. It is about six miles south of Hissarlik. We reached it in a leisurely ride of an

hour from Mr. Calvert's house at Thymbra along the shady banks of the Kimar—visiting the Hanai Tepeh on the way. A little beyond the village to the west are the springs called in Turkish "The Forty Eyes" (Kirke Gheuz). The first to which one comes is a small pool of limpid water welling from a rock, with shade near it—willow, agnus castus, wild pear, and a somewhat rare tree, combining the characters of poplar and ash, of which Mr. Calvert has sent a specimen to Berlin. Homer says that near Troy were two springs of the Scamander—one cold, the other "hot" and steaming. The latter, it has been suggested, is a fanciful embodiment of the fact that in winter these deep-seated springs emit vapour, being then warmer than the atmosphere. The number "two" would arise from these springs being conceived in two groups; and a belief—not uncommon in such cases—that the Scamander was connected with them underground would account for their being called its sources.[1] If the Scæan Gates were imagined by the poet as being near Bunárbashi, the position of these springs would be Homerically right. Half an hour's ride from the springs takes one to the top of the hill above Bunárbashi, called the Bali Dagh ("honey-mount," from the wild bees)—which so many travellers and scholars have regarded as the Pergamus of Troy. The Trojan plain is imperfectly seen from it, as a projecting lower spur on the north-west comes in the way. The striking aspect is in the other direction, looking south-east, south, and south-west. On those three sides limestone cliffs go down steeply into the bed of the Mendere, which sweeps round the base of the hill from north to south, like the lower half of a large S. From one buttress of rock on the south-west you look down sheer into the valley, widened there into a little plain which, if Troy had been on the hill, might be the "Ileian plain" of the *Iliad*. This view of the Mendere is very fine, as it winds round the wooded spurs of the hills which shut in its course. There can be no doubt that both in strength and in beauty the Bali Dagh is quite unrivalled among the sites in or near the Trojan plain. Leake, who placed Troy here, remarks that it combines these advantages: (1) a distance from the sea—about nine miles—sufficient to remove the fear of pirates; (2) good water-supply; (3) a citadel defended by precipices, and beyond reach of bowshot from neighbouring heights; (4) adjacent hills to furnish timber and fuel.[2] Further, it is certain that some of the Homeric data for Troy suit Bunárbashi alone. On the other hand, no relics have yet been found on the site for which very high antiquity can be claimed. Von Hahn's excavations in 1864 uncovered acropolis walls which might be of 700—550 B.C. Pottery of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., coins of the third and second, have

(1) Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, i. 31, ff.
(2) *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), p. 280.

been discovered. The pottery occurred in a cemetery laid open by Mr. Calvert, where the bodies had been placed in huge earthenware jars,—the jars being laid on their sides in crevices of the rocks, and covered with earth.

No one site in the Troad satisfies *all* the conditions of Homeric Troy. A careful survey of the ground gradually confirmed me in a belief which study had long before suggested, that the Homeric data are essentially irreconcilable with each other, being, in fact, derived partly from Bunárbashi and partly from Hissarlik. Bunárbashi, in my belief, was the place where the oldest legends or lays, local to the Troad, placed Troy: hence, for example, the constant epithets, "lofty," "beetling," so impossible for Hissarlik. Hissarlik, however, may have been the centre around which poets of the Ionian epic school grouped incidents or traits which they added to the original nucleus. The Greek Ilion may have arisen there before the epic growth of the *Iliad*, as we possess it, was finally completed.

From the top of the Bali Dagh we descended into the valley of the Mendere. Our goal was now to be Assos, on the south coast. The river winds in large curves through the hills which part the plain of Troy from the central plain of the Troad, a plain in which is situated the chief Turkish town, Bairamitch. The stream was still thin—this was September—with broad margins of sand. But it was easy to fancy with what a rush the winter waters would come down these gorges,—as the splendid Homeric imagery describes Scamander rising in his wrath against Achilles. Plane-trees brighten the valley, relieving the darker green of the oaks. At one part, however, a sad scar had lately been made. A fire had left everything brown or black on the once well-wooded slopes, now doomed to bareness for long years—the same disaster that the hills of Greece have suffered far and wide. Coming out of the valley into the plain of Bairamitch, we presently saw the minarets of Eneh, and passed the superb grove of cypresses which shades the cemetery just outside the little town. The khan in the long, narrow street—kept by a Greek, as usual, for Turks scorn the occupation—afforded a glimpse of average quarters in the Troad. The rooms opened on a crazy wooden gallery, with uneven and rickety floor, running round a narrow oblong courtyard. A pump in the courtyard below represented the arrangements for washing. Our supper was taken in a small room with a divan running along two sides of it; a four-legged stool on the matting in the middle supported one candle, another was on a cupboard by the wall; a large pewter basin on the hob served as tea-pot; brown bread, goats'-milk cheese, and water-melons were the fare, eked out by some preserved meat from our own commissariat. The scene in the little court-yard next morning was quaint, when the dozen or so of horses were mustered ready to start, with their gay-coloured

Turkish rugs and saddle-bags; while an old man with white turban, long white beard, and blue robe looked on amid a motley group, and two camels under a shed watched the proceedings with that air of placid cynicism which distinguishes them. From Eneh we struck south-west out of the plain towards the west coast, passing over Mount Chigri. This hill was the acropolis of a Greek city, and some find Cenchreae in the name. Mr. Calvert believes it to have been Neandria. On the summit there are well-preserved remains of massive Greek city-walls, as old, perhaps, as the sixth century B.C. In the view from Chigri the whole map of the *Iliad* is spread out before one. To the south, the heights of Lesbos rise blue in the distance over the rocky wall of the south coast. The whole range of Ida is seen eastward, with the wide plain of Bairamitch below it. To the west we look out on the broad, open Ægean, with its islands, from Tenedos, close at hand, to Lemnos, a faint line on the horizon; in the north, there is a clear bird's-eye view of the Thracian Chersonese, the Hellespont, and the whole plain of Troy.

A beautiful sunset was lighting up the sea when we reached Tavaklee, on the west coast, near the site of Alexandria Troas. Hitherto we had never caught a glimpse of Mount Athos, though we knew exactly where to look for it on the north-west horizon. It is about 108 miles from this point of the Troad, and its height is about 6,300 feet. To-day, as the sun sank in a blaze of gold, to our astonishment the majestic form of the Holy Mountain came out on the purple sea in the far north-west—not dim or faint, but sharp in outline, solid in mass and colouring, as if but a few miles away. The conical peak towered up nearly above the middle point of Lemnos, of which the low, wavy line, more darkly tinted, threw the strange apparition into stronger relief, recalling the old-world fable that the shadow of Athos was cast at noon on the Lemnian market-place. Tenedos, Imbros, and Samothrace, lit up by the sunset, made the foreground. I do not think that any of us who saw that wonderful sight will easily forget the peculiar impression which it left behind it.

Passing down the west coast, we crossed the classic river, Satnioeis, now called the Touzla ("salt"), at the place where small basins have been constructed for evaporating the salt. A number of camel-drivers were waiting for their loads, to be carried to Alexandria Troas, Babà-calessi (Lecton), or Assos. The ancient salt-works of Tragasae were near here. A little higher up the river there are some remarkable springs from which the salt water issues at more than boiling heat, throwing up a cascade four feet high. Feathers strewn on the ground mark a spot where the natives avail themselves of these means to boil (and salt) their chickens. At Kulaklee, near this, some Corinthian capitals and other fragments mark the site on

which stood the temple of Apollo Smintheus. Striking across the south-west angle of the Troad, we came out on the south coast, and turned eastward along it, parallel with Lesbos. The last stage of the last day's journey was made by night. There was a brilliant full moon, and the highlands of Lesbos, across the narrow strait, were robed in soft azure tints. It was after midnight when the great crag of Assos loomed up in front; the tired horses picked their way down a rough and steep path to the seashore; and we were hospitably received at the quarters of Mr. Clarke and his fellow-explorers, close to the sea.

The site of Assos is one of the most magnificent in all the Greek lands. From the very edge of the waves, where the strait between Lesbos and the Troad is narrowest, an isolated rock springs to a height of more than 750 feet. It looks like what it is, the crater of an extinct volcano. Late in the tertiary period, the limestone of this south coast of the Troad was covered by two successive flows of trachyte. That volcanic upheaval formed the high and narrow plateau which runs parallel with the gulf from east to west, walling off the valley of the Touzla from a thin strip of seaboard. The rock of Assos, washed by the sea, is like a tower standing detached from that line of mountain-wall. Its seaward faces, to south and south-west, are carved into terraces. This is not simply human handiwork. Trachyte has a natural cleavage into joint planes, vertical or horizontal; and, ages before man quarried or built, a natural process of scarping had begun on the cliff. Shelves were thus prepared which a little skill could easily shape; and so, high up on the brow of this trachyte cone, the Greek town of Assos arose, with its colonnades, baths, theatre, its broad public walks and its monuments of the dead, mounting tier above tier, till the very summit of the crag was crowned with a Doric temple of Athenè. Never, perhaps, had temple a grander site. On the first day of our visit we ascended from the seashore by a very steep winding path. From the summit, where the temple stood, Lesbos is seen in front—its great peak, Lepethymnus, was then lit up with the sunset colours. The whole south-coast line of the Troad appears, sweeping round the inmost recess of the gulf, as it bends sharply southward along the old realm of Pergamon, whose king gave Assos to Rome. The great heights of Ida rise in the east. Northward, the Satniocis is seen winding through the yellow fields and verdure of its rich valley, from a rugged gorge in the east to the oak-forests in the folds of the western hills. St. Paul, on leaving Alexandria Troas, came overland to Assos, while his fellow-travellers went thither by sea.[1] The road by which he would have come traverses this valley of the Satnioeis. The north-west gateway of the town, to which the road led, is still flanked by two massive towers. They are Hellenic, of an age which leaves no

(1) Acts xx. 13, 14.

doubt that they are the very portals through which St. Paul passed into Assos. On the shore below, large blocks under the clear water still mark the ancient mole at which he re-embarked with his companions for Mitylene.

This harbour of Assos was, and is, the only one on the fifty miles of coast between Cape Lecton and the east end of the gulf. Assos was too much off the highways to become a focus of import trade, but it was the chief outlet for such exports as the South Troad could boast. It is so still. The Turkish manufacture of cutlery flourishes at Babà-calessi (Lecton), but Beihràm (Assos) is the place to which trains of camels from all parts of the country bring their loads of valonia—the acorn-cups of the *quercus aegilops*, used in tanning. Dread of piracy caused many of the oldest Greek towns to be built at some distance from the sea. The crag of Assos, though on the water's edge, had nothing to fear. It was thus predestined to the life of a commercial town, orderly, conservative, content with a modest provincial prosperity, and not much troubled by external politics. Æolic colonists from Methymna—once the chief town of Lesbos, on a headland to the west across the narrow strait—are said to have planted the first Hellenic settlement here, perhaps as early as 1000 B.C. Usually safe against minor assailants, Assos passed from one to another of the greater powers. Lydians, Persians, Romans, Ottoman Turks have in turn been its masters. During the most vigorous age of Greece, from the Persian wars to the rise of Macedon, Assos enjoyed at least partial independence. An interesting fact in its history belongs to the close of that period. Persian impotence had allowed one Eubulus to make himself despot of Assos and of Atarneus, the chief town of the Mysian corn-lands. At his death he was succeeded by the eunuch Hermeias, an ex-slave, who had latterly been his minister. On the invitation of Hermeias, who had been a pupil of Plato, Aristotle spent three years at Assos, about 348—345 B.C. Hermeias was seized by Persian treachery, carried to the court, and crucified. In some noble verses of an invocation to Aretè (Virtue), Aristotle numbers this "son of Atarneus" with men who have suffered for her sake, predicting that his memory will live by grace of the gods who honour generous hospitality and loyal friendship.[1] In glancing at the story of Assos, we should not forget that it can probably be traced back beyond Hellenic times. "Steep Pêdasos," "on the Satnioeis," figures in the *Iliad* as the capital of the Leleges who inhabited the south coast of the Troad. Altes, father-in-law of Priam, reigned here, and the town was sacked by Achilles in a raid from Ida.[2] The ending of Pêd-*asos* may be recognised in Assos. It means "dwelling," "town," being connected

(1) Bergk, *Lyric Poets*, p. 520. I have not called the ode a "pæan" to Hermeias, as its class can hardly be determined; but evidently, I think, it was composed expressly to honour his memory.

(2) *Il.* vi. 34, *Πήδασον αἰπεινήν*, cp. xxi. 87; the Leleges, x. 429; Achilles, xx. 92.

with the Sanskrit *vas*, "to dwell" (whence, through *vâstu*, the Greeks got their *astu*, "town"), and occurs, as Fligier has shown, in old town-names from India to Dacia. In Greek the *s* is alternatively single or double, as Myla*s*a or Myla*ss*a, Ere*s*os or Ere*ss*os, Lari*s*a or Lari*ss*a. Another recent identification by Mr. Clarke in this neighbourhood may be fitly noticed here. Several old writers mention a shrine of the hero Palamedes at a town called Polymêdion, doubtless originally Palamêdeion. Mr. Clarke has just discovered the site, hitherto unvisited by any modern traveller, on the coast between Assos and Cape Lecton. The shrine of Palamedes proves to have been a sacred *grove* (temenos) on the acropolis, and Mr. Clarke has been able accurately to measure the enclosure. The statue of the hero stood on a rock exactly at the middle of the southern edge, rising upwards of a hundred feet above the channel between the Troad and Lesbos.[1]

Few visitors to the Louvre—if they care for sculpture—will forget the bas-reliefs from the temple of Assos, which Sultan Mahmoud II. gave to France in 1838. Those in the second line from the floor exhibit Centaurs. The fore-legs have been injured, but were plainly horse's legs. This was the later type. The Centaur of archaic sculpture had equine hind-legs only, the fore-legs being human. The American explorers at Assos have found fragments forming eight complete reliefs from the same building and series. In one of them Heracles is fighting with Centaurs who have human forelegs. Here, then, we have a very curious example of provincial indifference to unity of detail even in the most conspicuous features of decorative sculpture. The newly-found reliefs present a pair of splendidly executed sphinxes, crouching face to face. They once adorned the lintel above the two central columns of the temple-front. As the sphinx occurs also on the Assos coins, the local meaning of these creatures was obviously heraldic, like that of the two lions rampant over the gate of Mycenae. Other examples of dualism in civic armorial bearings were the two crows of the Thessalian Crannon, the two axes of the Carian Mylasa, and the two heads of Tenedos. In the Assos sphinxes the Egyptian origin is marked by the head-dress; also they have wings—thus disproving the theory that the sphinx of Greek art had been wingless until the Attic poets popularised the Egyptian form. The Assos sculptures —one of the most important links yet found between Oriental and Greek art—have two general traits. First, the animals are often good and vigorous, while the human forms are comparatively rude and stiff; this recalls Assyria. Next, distinctly archaic work

(1) Mr. Clarke also writes to me of another very interesting discovery which he has lately made—that of extremely ancient town-walls on the very top of Gargarus, the highest peak of Ida. Details regarding both this and Polymêdion will be published by him shortly in a paper of the Archæological Institute of America.

appears as coeval on the same building with work not only of higher skill but of riper conception. As regards the temple itself—built, perhaps, not earlier than about 470 B.C.—its plan has now for the first time been completely and scientifically determined. It is the only known Doric building of its class in Asia Minor, except a much later temple at Pergamon. For the history of some details in the Doric style its interest is unique.

These, however, are but a small part of the results attained in 1881 and 1882. Ascending the crag from the seashore, we first reach the site of the ancient theatre; on a terrace above that, the baths; and on a terrace higher yet, the market-place, once flanked by a splendid colonnade, with a Doric temple (the second of the town) near it, and the public treasury. West of this, the later Hellenic town-walls climb the steep side of the citadel. Notwithstanding some recent damage from the Turks, they are well preserved for nearly two miles. With their ramparts, towers, and posterns they form the finest and most instructive example extant of Greek military engineering. Outside the walls to the west, the "street of tombs" rose in three terraces above the road already mentioned as that by which St. Paul must have approached Assos. Handsome public seats (exedrae) were placed here and there on the broad spaces left between the sarcophagi. Here, when the day's work was over, the people of Assos could watch the sunset change the hues on Lesbos, on the high iron-bound coast in front, and on the channel spreading out far below them to the open Ægean. All these remains have now for the first time been thoroughly explored.

Mr. Clarke gives us reason to hope that the labours of the expedition which he has directed will be recorded in a complete volume on Assos and the Southern Troad. It will be looked for with keen interest by those who have read his admirable report, and most of all by those who have also seen the works in progress on the spot. They alone can fully appreciate the energy, resource, and self-denial which, under circumstances of much difficulty and discouragement, have enabled manifold ability to reap its reward. The Archæological Institute of America may well feel gratified by the result of an enterprise commenced under its auspices. It is Mr. Clarke's intention to continue excavating this year for as long as his firman permits. Though Assos is only two degrees north of Olympia, the digging season has to be reversed. In the climate of the Troad, it begins with April and ends with October.

Bound homewards, we parted from our friends at Assos, and crossed in an open sail-boat to its mother-city in Lesbos, Methymna —now Molivo—with a castle on a headland: the passage was made in about three hours and a half. Thence the steamer took us, by Mitylene, to Smyrna.

R. C JEBB.

LORD LAWRENCE AND THE MUTINY.

Mr. Bosworth Smith has rendered a useful service in presenting the public with the *Life of Lord Lawrence*.[1] The book is full of interest, and there is no one to whom it will not convey some fresh information. In a general way the public may know that John Lawrence was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, who bore a conspicuous part in stemming and subduing the revolt of 1857, and who was subsequently made Viceroy of India; but the large majority of his countrymen know little more than this, while many do not know so much. Few even of those who served under him or were his intimate friends can be aware of all that Mr. Bosworth Smith reveals as the result of his patient investigations during the last three and a half years.

A very brief sketch of Lord Lawrence's career is all that can be given here. His father was an old military officer who had done much honourable service in the field, for which he had received little recognition. The father's means were slender, and his family was large. It was, therefore, with great satisfaction that, having received military appointments in the Company's service for three of his elder sons, the second of whom became afterwards the famous Sir Henry Lawrence, he obtained a nomination to the Bengal Civil Service for his fifth son, John. The latter, who had been born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, where his father was then quartered, in the year 1811, after being nominated to the Indian Civil Service, underwent the usual course of two years' instruction at Haileybury College. He passed out of the college in a creditable but not in a particularly distinguished manner, in the month of May, 1829, when he had just completed his eighteenth year; and in the September following he sailed for India, in company with his brother Henry, who was returning at the conclusion of a sick furlough necessitated by ill-health contracted during the Burmese war.

Our Indian frontiers have been greatly advanced since 1830; but whatever has been the line of our north-western border, that has always been the quarter where hard work was to be found and honour gained. Delhi and the adjacent districts were at that period the nearest points to our then frontiers to which a young civilian could be sent, and John Lawrence was in the first instance, at his own request, appointed assistant to the Resident at Delhi, and acted as assistant magistrate in that city. Here he gained

(1) *Life of Lord Lawrence.* By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

experiences which were invaluable in later days, and between Delhi and the neighbouring districts of Paniput and Gurgaon he spent a period of eight years. Paniput was a wild unsettled district, with a population of 400,000 people, among whom were many cattle-lifters and robbers, and here John Lawrence found himself in charge, as acting magistrate and collector, when he was barely twenty-four years of age. While at Paniput he had abundant scope for the display of activity and resource, and he encountered many adventures unsupported by a single European. Subsequently he had charge of Gurgaon, a district little less wild than Paniput, but with a much larger population. From Gurgaon, in the latter part of 1838, he was sent to Etawah, situated east of the Agra district.

At Paniput his health had suffered severely on more than one occasion, and at Etawah, notwithstanding his strong frame and excellent constitution, he so thoroughly broke down, that he had to return to England on sick leave in the year 1840. During his furlough he made the marriage which resulted in much happiness, and which tended to make his house a happy resort to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance.

He returned to India with his wife in November, 1842, and was sent for a brief period to Delhi, and after that to Kurnal, a considerable town between Delhi and Umballa. In November, 1843, he was again moved to his old station of Delhi, and a year later he was confirmed in the post of magistrate and collector of that important city and district. Here he formed the acquaintance of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, who passed through Delhi, in the month of November, 1845, on his way to the frontier, and was very favourably impressed by Lawrence. Before the Governor-General had reached the frontier the Sikh army had invaded our territory, and after the first sanguinary battles fought with them in December, John Lawrence, at the urgent call of Sir Henry Hardinge, exerted himself with extraordinary vigour and success in forwarding supplies to the army, in making up equipment, and in collecting transport for the troops and stores that were being poured in one incessant stream to the frontier, until the decisive victory of Sobraon, on the 10th February, 1846, brought the war to a conclusion, and enabled the Governor-General to dictate terms to the Sikhs.

Sir Henry Hardinge determined to annex to our territory the country between the rivers Beas and Sutlej, called the Jullundur Doab, and summoned John Lawrence to administer it. No resistance was offered to our occupation except at the celebrated hill fortress of Kangra, the garrison of which refused to surrender when summoned. A force moved into the hills, accompanied by Henry and John Lawrence, and with the present Lord Napier of Magdala as chief

engineer. By great exertions heavy guns were brought into the mountains and placed in position opposite the fort, upon which it gave in. The whole tract placed under the civil jurisdiction of Lawrence embraced a space of about 13,000 square miles, a large portion of which was in the hills. In a few weeks it was under thorough control, and a regular system of administration established. Among other reforms he succeeded in a short time in abolishing female infanticide, a cherished practice of the Rajpoots of the country; and he substituted money payments for land revenue instead of the native system of payments in kind, a practice open to much abuse.

Although John Lawrence had been twice called on to officiate as Resident at Lahore during the absence of his brother Henry in 1846 and 1847, Sir Frederick Currie was appointed to act in that post after Sir Henry Lawrence had proceeded to England in company with Lord Hardinge, the latter having now been replaced as Governor-General by the Earl of Dalhousie. He was, therefore, not at Lahore when the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan, in the month of April, 1848, heralded the outbreak of the second great Sikh war. He, however, had his hands full in maintaining order and in suppressing attempts at insurrection in his own territory, and later on he was engaged in this manner beyond his own limits in the country between the Beas and the Ravee. The only European regiment in the Jullundur Doab was taken for the Commander-in-Chief's army, but all that was needed for the restoration or maintenance of order was effected by native troops and some European artillery.

As soon as the war was at an end the whole of the Punjab was annexed to the British dominions, and Lord Dalhousie having determined to conduct the government of the province by means of a Board consisting of a president and two members, Sir Henry Lawrence was nominated president, and his brother John was made senior member. The latter, therefore, became engaged in the arduous task of introducing good administration into this large country, which had for a long period been in a disturbed state, and which now contained many thousand disbanded soldiers. The efforts of the Board, aided as it was by a most admirable body of district officers, were most successful. Law and order were everywhere introduced, equitable revenue assessments were made, roads and canals were constructed, and much was done towards establishing security on the frontier, where a very excellent local military force was organized. This force, which was under the orders of the Board, guarded the whole frontier with the exception of Peshawur, and it still exists, on much the same footing as when it was raised, under the title of the Punjab Frontier Force. It has produced many officers of distinction, and has done gallant service in many a fight from Cabul to Oude.

In February, 1853, partly in consequence of differences of opinion on a question of policy between Sir Henry and John Lawrence, and partly because the time seemed to have arrived when one head would be better for the Punjab than a Board, the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, appointed Sir Henry to be his agent in Rajpootana, and made John Lawrence Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, giving him the aid of a judicial and a financial commissioner. The difference of opinion above referred to was connected with the change consequent upon our introduction of the system by which the country was to be administered by our officials instead of by Jagheerdars, or men who in return for services real or imaginary, past, present, or to come, had a lien on the land revenue of particular districts. In bringing this system to an end, which involved the settlement of many disputes, Sir Henry always leaned to the view most favourable to the Jagheerdar, while John Lawrence was most favourable to the interests of the masses. Strong arguments were forthcoming on either side, but the policy of John Lawrence, which carried the day, was eminently successful; and the country prospered and proved a tower of strength to us when the day of trial came in 1857.

Mr. Lawrence was in 1856 made a K.C.B., a distinction which might not inappropriately have been conferred on him some time previously. In 1858, after his splendid exertions during the Mutiny, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, instead of Chief Commissioner, a change which had been recommended by Lord Dalhousie two and a half years previously without success. He had been raised to the dignity of a Civil Grand Cross of the Bath at the end of 1857, and when he proceeded home early in 1859, very much worn out by hard and anxious work, after an absence from England of seventeen years, he was made a baronet, a privy councillor, and a member of the newly formed Council of India. He had previously, in the month of August, 1858, been granted an annuity of £2,000 a year from the East Indian Company in testimony of the high sense they entertained of his public character and conduct throughout a long and distinguished career. He also on returning home received the freedom of the City of London and many gratifying marks of esteem from various bodies of his fellow-countrymen, and in the year 1861 he was made one of the first knights of the newly constituted Order of the Star of India.

He laboured in the Council of India, with brief intervals of recreation, until the sudden death of Lord Elgin, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in November, 1863, at a time when somewhat important military operations were in progress on the north-western frontier, led to his being sent to India as Governor-General. He landed in Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1869, and remained viceroy for the full term of five years, when he made over

his high office to the Earl of Mayo, and embarked for England a few days later.

After the return of Sir John Lawrence to England he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Lawrence of the Punjab and of Grateley in the county of Hampshire, and the Council of India converted his annuity of £2,000 a year into a pension of the same amount for him and for his next successor. He held no paid office after his return, but being elected the first Chairman of the London School Board, on the formation of that body in 1870, he performed the duties of that situation for the full term of three years. This was his last public appointment; but he attended the House of Lords until a few days prior to his death, and occasionally spoke; he took a warm interest in many charitable and religious institutions, and he always was pleased to receive and converse with Anglo-Indian officers who were in England retired or on leave. During this period, as had been the case ever since his marriage, he enjoyed much family happiness; but, unfortunately, in 1876 his eyes began to fail, and he suffered greatly from operations intended to relieve him. His sight for a time was practically gone, but eventually he partially recovered it. After 1876 he came little before the public until he was roused by reports of the proceedings of the Government of India towards Shere Ali, the Ameer of Cabul; and foreseeing the evil consequences that would arise if these proceedings were not checked, he took an active part in the House of Lords, and out of it, in endeavouring to stop a course of action which he considered alike impolitic and unjust. He was unsuccessful; our troops advanced into Afghanistan, and the Ameer fled and soon afterwards died. On the 26th of May, 1879, a treaty, embodying the terms desired by Lord Lytton, was concluded at Gundamuck with Yakoob Khan, Shere Ali's son and successor, and those who had advocated the forward policy raised a cry of success. This treaty and the cry of success in no degree changed Lord Lawrence's views, though he did not live to see their confirmation, for his death took place one month after the treaty had been signed. Not many weeks after his death our Resident, sent to Cabul in the wild idea that his presence there would conduce to our interests, together with the noble band of men who accompanied him, were, in exact accordance with Lord Lawrence's prediction, suddenly attacked and destroyed; and we became involved in further and most extensive and protracted operations, which cost the country many valuable lives and an outlay of twenty millions of money. Politically, the only result has been to show us for the second time that we can enter Afghanistan when we please, and that to occupy it, or part of it, in anticipation of collision with Russia, is the surest means we can devise for alienating the Afghans and for weakening ourselves.

Lord Lawrence, early in June, 1879, caught a chill from having been out in heavy rain, but on the 19th of that month he was able to attend the House of Lords, and, though feeble, made some remarks on the Indian Budget. On the following day he managed to attend the festival of the institution for soldiers' daughters at Hampstead; he rapidly grew weaker, and quietly expired on Friday, the 27th. A week later he was laid to rest with all honour in Westminster Abbey.

What has now been sketched of the life of Lord Lawrence in bare outline is given by Mr. Bosworth Smith in vivid detail, accompanied by many anecdotes and by copies of letters of great interest. Some marvellous instances of his perseverance and skill as a detective when he was at Delhi and Paniput are given in the book, and will well repay perusal, especially one case in which, owing in a great degree to his efforts, the murder of Mr. William Fraser, Commissioner of Delhi, in 1833, was traced to the instigation of the Nawab of Ferozepore, who was tried, convicted, and hanged. Later on, in the higher positions of Commissioner of Jullundur, as member of the Board of Administration, and as Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence had achieved much reputation, and had won the confidence and esteem of three successive Governors-General, Lords Hardinge, Dalhousie, and Canning; but the most important episode in his life, not excepting even his tenure of the Viceroyalty of India, was that of the Mutiny. Then, separated from any communication with the Government of India except by a long and uncertain route, and thrown entirely on his own resources, he acted with a vigour and a boldness that commands admiration. Mr. Bosworth Smith's book shows in detail how he urged action on our commanders; how he pressed for the disarmament of suspected native troops; how he enlisted on our side the old Sikh warriors who had fought against us; how, with the aid of his invaluable military secretary, Colonel J. D. Macpherson, he caused levies to be organized which in a short space of time were able to take the field; how he perceived that it was essential to take Delhi, and that if our troops failed before this town all India might be lost.

The opinion expressed by Sir John Lawrence in 1857, that we might have to retire from Peshawar, has been much criticised; but surely it was quite possible that circumstances might have arisen which would have forced us to endeavour to concentrate our European strength in the Punjab, and to have abandoned Peshawar for a time. I do not think that any one can reasonably cavil at such an opinion; but Sir John is understood to have gone further, and to have advocated permanent retirement from Peshawar after the immediate danger of the crisis of 1857 had passed away. In this last opinion he has found few supporters, and, personally, I think that to

retire from Peshawar after we had ruled there for a series of years would have been unfair to the people, who have enjoyed the benefits of British rule, and who we have to a great extent educated in our ways, while it would have had a very injurious effect politically throughout India and beyond our north-western frontier. I think also that Sir John Lawrence erred in pressing an immediate movement on Delhi upon General Anson when the Mutiny broke out in May, 1857. To urge that Delhi should be attacked was no doubt right; but to urge a hurried advance, situated as General Anson was, was a mistake, as I shall endeavour to show later on. These errors, however, if errors they were, were trifling compared with the magnificent service he rendered and the wisdom he displayed. Sir John Lawrence's exertions did not end with the capture of Delhi, for immediately after that event he had to suppress a serious revolt among the tribes who inhabit the country between Lahore and Mooltan; he had to reorganize districts which now came under control; he had to check, as he had done during the height of the crisis, a cruel tendency to severity which animated some of the officers; and he had to aid Sir Colin Campbell in his operations for the re-conquest of Oude and Rohilcund by sending down levy after levy of fresh native troops. These reinforcements were essential if we were to have a settlement of the country, for our regular native army had disappeared, and our European troops were not in sufficient numbers to occupy all places of importance, while without occupation order could not be restored or maintained. Although Sir John Lawrence afforded this necessary aid to the Commander-in-Chief, he was never blind to the fact that too large an army of Sikhs and Punjabis might become as dangerous as the Hindustani troops had proved themselves to be. He therefore resisted the desire which prevailed in some quarters to raise an excessive number of Punjab troops, and as soon as he saw the opportunity he urged a reduction of all those whom it was not necessary to maintain. It would indeed be difficult to use words that would exaggerate the service rendered to his country by Sir John Lawrence in the years 1857 and 1858. It would, however, be unjust not to admit that he was greatly indebted to his officers in various parts of the Punjab for their firmness and vigour, and foremost among them to Sir Robert Montgomery, who was principal civil officer at the capital of the Punjab for some weeks after the first outbreak, and to Sir Herbert Edwardes, who, as Commissioner of Peshawar, occupied perhaps the most difficult position in the Punjab at that time next to that of the Chief Commissioner.

The account of Lord Lawrence as Viceroy will be to many the least interesting portion of the book. A Viceroy has hard unceasing work, and a large portion of that work is of the most important

nature; but he has ordinarily few adventures, and there are not many episodes in the career of a Viceroy the relation of which would interest the general reader. With the exception of the war with Bhotan, and the preparation for the war in Abyssinia, no military operations of importance took place during his viceroyalty. In matters of foreign policy he maintained generally the same line as his predecessors; and as regards Afghanistan, Shere Ali having become *de facto* ruler, he at once commenced those efforts to support him in his position which were followed up by Lord Mayo immediately after his arrival. In all matters of domestic policy he exerted himself as strenuously as when he was in the Punjab, but it is impossible to mention all the subjects which engaged his attention. It may, however, be stated that he was active in urging on public works, and in causing barracks to be constructed for the troops of an improved description. He introduced and carried out important measures affecting tenant right in Oude and in the Punjab; and he had difficulties to contend with in the scarcity in Orissa and in the financial troubles in Bombay. Briefly, it may be said that he left India in a state of tranquillity and rest, with no war present or in prospect, and with no legacy of trouble to his successor, except the legacy of unforeseen difficulties which are sure to come in the reign of every individual Viceroy of India.

Let me now briefly record a general impression of Lord Lawrence. He always seemed remarkable for broad, vigorous common sense, and he had a keen and rapid insight into the characters of men. His powers of work and devotion to it were extraordinary, even among Anglo-Indian officials of the best and most conscientious type. He had a disregard of mere personal considerations for himself and for others whenever they in the smallest degree clashed with duty. He was chary of praise, especially to a man's face, but he showed his appreciation of good service in other ways, sometimes long years after the service had been performed; he never forgot good service. He always continued to take a warm interest in the welfare of those who he thought had done their duty well, and often went out of his way to advise or to aid them. Prudent in money matters, public and private, he always inculcated prudence in others; but he could be very generous on occasion, and habitually assisted in many benevolent or religious objects. He was very frank in telling men of their faults and shortcomings, and he used the plainest language in doing so. He disliked public-speaking, and was rarely fluent when he addressed a large audience, but when presiding at the council table no one could more lucidly explain his own views or more readily expose the weak points in a case. He was very attentive to details, but at the same time could take broad views of large questions, and act in momentous matters with decision and nerve.

Active in his habits, as well as industrious, he could either work at the desk or ride for many consecutive hours, and at the end of a fifty mile ride or after a laborious day at the desk he was quite ready, without rest, to deal with any question that arose. Sincere in his Christianity, he was large-minded, and would not consent to intolerance, but he was always glad to be able to promote an officer who was known to be influenced by sincere religious convictions. Anything like open immorality at once called forth strong marks of his displeasure. He was made to govern rather than to serve, but he had been a good subordinate before he came to govern. From the first he possessed a robust character, and his subsequent training was well calculated to produce a man able to rule a province and an empire. He was then content quietly to retire from high office, to be happy in domestic life, to bear a great calamity without murmuring, and, finally, to meet death in that "sure and certain hope" which was expressed by Dean Stanley over the grave in which he was laid in Westminster Abbey, at a funeral attended by a great multitude, many of whom could bear personal witness to his wisdom and to his services.

Having dealt, however imperfectly, with the career of Lord Lawrence, I feel bound to remark upon Mr. Bosworth Smith's treatment of the subject of the campaign of the Mutiny. It was probably inevitable that a full history of the life of Lord Lawrence should contain passages or extracts which praise or blame many individuals with whom he had been associated or who had been in communication with him. My complaint is that in the very interesting account of the incidents of the Mutiny, Mr. Bosworth Smith in some instances either fails to give a fair share of credit to those who were unconnected with the Punjab administration, or unduly depreciates them. His tendency also is to give credit to Punjab officers where part at least of the credit is due to others.

This defect has doubtless arisen from the circumstance that the bulk of the papers at Mr. Bosworth Smith's disposal were written by Lord Lawrence himself, or by officers of his government. Lord Lawrence, of course, heard more of what his own officers did than he could know of the proceedings of officers unconnected with his administration, and he was naturally inclined to place a high value on the services of men with whose merits he was well acquainted. Then, again, the Punjab officers, among other excellent characteristics, possessed a strong clannish feeling, and were much disposed to praise and to value each other; while owing to the great success which had attended the administration of the Punjab and the isolation of many of the officers, they were somewhat disposed to look down upon those who did not belong to the favoured province. Some of the Punjab officers who had joined the army in the field

had held very independent positions, and did not readily brook the strict military subordination required in a force of the regular army. Hence the general tenor of the correspondence from which Mr. Bosworth Smith gained his information is favourable to the Punjab officers and less favourable to others. There can be no doubt also that others who, since 1857, have written accounts of the Mutiny, have obtained their material from documents tinged by what I may call, in no hostile sense, a Punjab spirit. It is not, therefore, fair to blame Mr. Bosworth Smith for taking in perfect good faith the tone to which I object; but it is to be regretted, as it is unjust to many, and is quite uncalled for on behalf of those who gained abundant honour for the Punjab service by the splendid way in which the country was held and by the devoted conduct in the field of those who came to Delhi. I might say much in support of my criticism, but I have only space to deal with one statement which I think exaggerates a fact, and to mention three instances in which justice has not been done to individual officers. The statement which I think it necessary to pronounce exaggerated is, that after the assault, "a large number of our troops had fallen victims to the temptation which, more formidable than themselves, our foes had left behind them, and were wallowing in a state of bestial intoxication." It is true that after entering the city large stores of brandy and beer were found by our troops, and that before they could be destroyed, under the orders of the General, some men had drunk largely; but, compared even to our diminished strength, the number who thus incapacitated themselves were a mere fraction. I visited every position held by our troops in the city in the course of that evening, in company with other officers who even now can bear out what I say, and I saw no drunken soldiers. Some of them were engaged in a fight that very evening under our own eyes, and they certainly were all sober. In behalf of the many good soldiers who served throughout the siege and who were never unfit for duty from drink, I ask that this story be accepted with a large—a very large—discount; and it is to be regretted that so sweeping a charge should have been made against the soldiers who had done so well.

I will now mention three instances in which Mr. Bosworth Smith has failed, as I conceive, in complete justice to officers unconnected with the Punjab administration.

The first instance is that of the disarmament of the native troops at Meean Meer, the military cantonment of Lahore, on the 13th May, 1857. In consequence of the telegraphic information received on the 12th May of the arrival of mutineers at Delhi, and also in consequence of knowledge obtained by the police of the state of feeling among the native troops at Meean Meer, Mr. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, proposed to the Brigadier

commanding to deprive his native soldiers of their percussion caps and ammunition. Corbett, the Brigadier, was an old Sepoy officer, and his staff and the commanding officers of native regiments had seen no reason to doubt their men. He therefore at first hesitated; but in the course of the afternoon he made up his mind to do even more than was proposed, and to disarm the four native regiments—one of cavalry and three of infantry—under his command. This was a resolve of great boldness, when it is considered that up to that time no troops had been disarmed elsewhere. Failure in execution would have been fatal, and even if the measure was successful in itself, it might have been disapproved of by the Commander-in-Chief or the Government, or it might have led to outbreaks and murder of Europeans, and loss of stores and treasure at the various Punjab stations. The measure also would have been dangerous and incomplete without the seizure of the forts of Lahore, six miles distant, and of Govindgurh, thirty miles distant, both of which places were held by native troops. The whole responsibility for the measure rested with the Brigadier, who was in no respect under the orders of Montgomery, and no one can deny that the responsibility was very great.

Having made up his mind, the action of the Brigadier was prompt and judicious. A ball was to be given that night, and it came off as intended; but in the morning, at a parade of the whole force, Corbett, by a skilful movement, which at the moment excited no suspicion on the part of the large native force, suddenly brought them under the entire domination of his European troops—six companies of the 81st foot and twelve horse artillery guns. A judicious order was then read to the men, and they were instantly ordered to pile arms and to march off the ground. Their European officers were with them as usual, and they had no option but to obey. Three companies of the European infantry had at a very early hour been sent to the fort of Lahore, six miles off, and, their arrival being entirely unexpected by the native detachment, they took possession without resistance. Another company was detached in the pony carts of the country, furnished by the civil authorities, some of whom accompanied the detachment, to Govindgurh, and that fort was also secured. Thus, without a shot being fired, was a most difficult measure carried out. The credit was surely due to the Brigadier, but Mr. Bosworth Smith scarcely mentions him, and the praise is given almost entirely to Montgomery. That most distinguished man deserved infinite credit for his ready suggestion to Corbett, as well as for many other services rendered in 1857, and for his splendid bearing throughout the Mutiny; but the praise for this particular disarming, and for the happy way in which it was carried out, is properly and emphatically due to Corbett, and I am aware

that no one is more ready to give the credit to Corbett than Sir Robert Montgomery himself.

The second instance I shall give is that of General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief in India. General Anson was, in the month of May, 1857, suddenly placed in a more difficult position than has probably ever fallen to the lot of a British commander. His European force was scanty, all equipment was on a peace footing, it was the hottest time of the year, and his native troops were either in open mutiny or suspected; the greatest stronghold and arsenal in Upper India was held by mutineers; no one could say where the revolt might not reach, and there were hundreds of European women and children at scattered places to be thought of, and, if possible, to be saved. He was cut off from direct communication with the Government, and he had personally little local experience or knowledge of the natives. Those who were with him knew that he met the crisis with fortitude, and with a calm endeavour to do the best in his power to restore our rule where it had disappeared and to maintain it where it still existed. He is not given credit for this, but on the whole he is rather disparaged. Certain letters are put forward which show that General Anson felt acutely the great difficulties to be overcome, and that he had some doubts at one time as to the right course to pursue. Those letters show that Sir John Lawrence gave him, in rather strong terms, advice, which was in the main wise advice, but which if adopted in the hasty way contemplated by Sir John, who was unaware of many absolutely necessary considerations, would have led to disaster. Had General Anson hurried on to Delhi without spare ammunition, without any heavy guns and mortars, and without to some extent equipping his force with transport and stores, and without waiting to make some other necessary arrangements, it is quite certain that he would have reached there without an efficient force, and that, hurry as he might, in the fearful heat of May, exactly the same force would have been found at Delhi to resist him as that which opposed General Barnard, and gave our troops so much trouble on the 8th of June. General Anson, to my mind, deserves credit alike for what he did and for what he did not do under the most critical and anxious circumstances. The impression, however, produced on the reader of Mr. Bosworth Smith's book is probably that General Anson was weak, and that he delayed and hesitated, until, under the strong pressure exerted by Sir John Lawrence, he somewhat unwillingly and very tardily started his troops for Delhi.

I have not space in which to enter into all the considerations which were rightly weighed by General Anson, but I think I may say that if General Anson or his friends had desired to claim credit for vigour and rapidity of action between the evening of the 12th of May, when

the first indistinct intelligence of open outbreak reached him, and the 27th of that month, when he died, a claim might have been made out for services rendered which would have been esteemed equal to such as in other cases have received generous recognition and reward. Whatever letters General Anson may have written in confidence about his difficulties and his doubts, it is the fact that, from the first moment he received the intelligence from Delhi, he exerted himself unweariedly to push forward preparations for retaking that city, and to provide for the security of the various places and people under his charge.

General Anson was at Simla in May, 1857, and, though he knew that discontent prevailed in portions of the native army relative to the new cartridges, he had no reason to anticipate a dangerous outbreak. It is clear from Mr. Bosworth Smith's book that Sir John Lawrence, who was an experienced judge of natives, had also no idea of an outbreak, although he had detective police at his disposal, and had himself, in April, visited one of the musketry instruction depôts, which were the centres of discontent, and conversed with the men. It is not wonderful, therefore, that no special arrangements had been made for troops to take the field. Let us see what General Anson did when the storm burst suddenly upon him.

The army was, as respects equipment, on a purely peace footing; the second line of ammunition waggons of the artillery and the reserve ammunition of the infantry at Umballa were, under the orders of the Government, in the fort of Phillour, eighty miles from Umballa, and separated by the river Sutlej. This fort was guarded by native soldiers. At Simla General Anson was eighty miles from the nearest telegraph station when, late on the 12th May, the oft-quoted message from Delhi arrived, and on the 13th more distinct intelligence showed that the fortified city of Delhi—the residence of the Great Mogul, who, though shorn of power, still retained some prestige—and all the warlike stores collected there were in the hands of an army of trained soldiers, who had now committed themselves to fight us to the death. Instant orders were sent to troops to concentrate at Umballa, to provide a small siege train at Phillour, and for many measures essential to secure our resources and to provide for active operations. Although little transport was available, the three European regiments in the Simla hills were moved with rapidity, and on the 16th, three days after the first regiment had been enabled to move, they were concentrated at Umballa, distant from forty-five to fifty-six miles from their respective stations, while on the 20th part of one of these regiments was at Kurnal, more than a hundred miles from the station it was occupying when it received unexpected orders to march just a week previously. It would take too long to tell of all the measures taken or ordered by General Anson, and the difficulties that beset him while at Umballa, at which

place he had arrived on the 15th of May; but in the midst of distressing accounts from many quarters, and total silence, owing to interruption of communications, from other places, he steadily persevered in preparations for an attack on Delhi, and made the best arrangements he could for the safety of different posts, and of women and children and non-combatants left behind.

The outlook was gloomy, but the Commander-in-Chief showed no sign of being wanting in steadfastness or nerve; and, having seen everything in progress, and most of his troops being well on their way to Delhi, he started for Kurnal, forty-seven miles distant, on the 25th May. He was attacked with cholera, which was prevalent among the troops, on the following day, and died very early on the morning of the 27th. He had been in poor health when the news of the outbreak reached him, and it is not to be wondered at that he fell a victim, worn out as he was by the hard work and anxiety of the preceding fortnight. He died saying with his last breath that he had been anxious to do his duty, and asking God's blessing on General Barnard, who now took the immediate command.

It was owing to the measures taken under General Anson's orders that, on the 8th of June, troops collected from Ferozepore, the hill stations, Umballa, and Meerut, with a siege train which had to be fitted out and then brought across the Sutlej for a distance of more than two hundred miles, were able to attack the enemy before Delhi, capture the guns outside, and to establish themselves on the ridge overlooking the city. It was no small feat to have accomplished so much, without previous preparation, at the hottest season, and in so short a time, but the credit due for it has never been fully given to General Anson. Of course those officers in Calcutta who led Lord Canning to write that Delhi would succumb to the fire of a field battery were all eager to blame the General who, with truer knowledge, felt that to attempt to silence heavy guns mounted on bastions by the fire of a few field pieces, with a scanty supply of ammunition, would have been madness. Whatever the views might have been in Calcutta, Sir John Lawrence must have quickly seen that all that could reasonably be expected had been accomplished. Indeed his pressure for a rapid movement seems to have been greatly due to the too sanguine impression he expressed in a letter written on the 23rd May, that "no real resistance will be attempted at Delhi," and that "on the approach of our troops the mutineers will either disperse or the people of the city rise and open their gates." Further, on the 31st May, Sir John Lawrence admitted in a letter to Sir Henry Barnard that he had no idea that the troops were "so badly supplied with ammunition and the necessaries for a march."

It is illustrative of the readiness to blame those who were not Punjab officers, that a telegram from Mr. Barnes, the Commissioner

of Umballa, to Sir John Lawrence is given, in which the Commissioner says that General Anson was talking of "entrenching himself at Umballa instead of marching on Delhi." There never was any foundation for this beyond the fact that General Anson ordered a small earthwork to be constructed at Umballa to be held by a detachment, and to serve as a place of refuge for Europeans, a depôt for stores, and a link in his long line of communication with the Punjab. Out of this wise measure apparently arose the misunderstanding of the Commissioner, which twenty-six years later appears in Mr. Bosworth Smith's book in depreciation of General Anson.

I now come to passages relating to General Wilson, the captor of Delhi. The estimate of him given by Mr. Bosworth Smith seems to me unjust. He was decried by Nicholson, and Mr. Bosworth Smith, on the evidence before him, echoes the cry. He admits that he was an improvement on those who preceded him in command, but he asserts that his health had failed under the long strain, and that he was irascible, inaccessible, moody, and capricious; that he was one day in favour of instant action, and the next he was for postponing it indefinitely or even for abandoning it altogether. Nicholson, with many grand qualities, was a man of strong prejudices and temper, and disliked Wilson from the first. His opinions, therefore, about Wilson must be accepted with caution. That Wilson was very ill, and that nothing but a strong sense of duty kept him up, is true, and that he was anxious is true; but the statement as to his being irascible and inaccessible is, to my mind, an exaggeration. He may, as asserted, have said that the assault would be "a gamester's throw," and he may have written letters in which he expressed doubts as to success; but that he intended to take Delhi, if it was possible to do so, I am well assured. Little or no credit is given to Wilson, and much to others. This does not seem fair; and much might be said to show that General Wilson, under most trying circumstances and in the worst health, exercised his command with judgment. This may be done at some future day. Here I will confine myself to one statement which contains a specific charge against General Wilson, first brought forward in Kaye and now repeated. General Wilson having ordered the assault of Delhi, and the three columns which attacked the city having effected an entrance, the General went in with the reserve. It is alleged that he then became so nervous "as to propose to withdraw the guns, fall back on the camp, and wait for reinforcements there." I do not believe in this story. Certainly, though I was with him throughout the day with the exception of short periods of absence on various duties, I never heard him propose to retire, and I have never found any one of his staff who heard him make such a proposal or hint that he contemplated retirement. That he had grave reason to be anxious, and that he was anxious, is true; and it is impossible to prove that he never uttered a word of doubt as to our future to some one. If he

did so, the utterance must have been in the strictest sense confidential, and it is certain that at no time was any attempt made to carry out retirement. Indeed, in the position our troops were, to attempt to withdraw would have entailed destruction. I may add, that in a note which I wrote from inside the city in the early part of the afternoon, I distinctly say, that though we had not taken more than one part of the city, "I have no fear for the rest." This does not look as if we were disquieted by thoughts of retiring.

If, however, the General did really in confidence utter some desponding expression, it is only fair to mention the position in which he was placed. He was worn with a sickness which had lasted for several weeks, but he had exerted himself continuously, and had taken much personal part in all the arrangements and orders preparatory to the attack. He had launched his troops at the walls, and had left his camp with three thousand sick and wounded, and with all his stores, provisions, and ammunition, very slenderly guarded, while the enemy had a large force outside the city capable of attacking the camp in rear. There was no reserve to his force anywhere, and failure meant not only destruction of the Delhi force, but, as had been strongly impressed upon him, insurrection in the Punjab and in other parts of India. After a sharp struggle the three assaulting columns, which were being watched by the General, entered the city, but as he was himself about to enter with the reserve he received alarming accounts from his right. The cavalry, who had been brought forward to cover the right of the siege batteries and of the assaulting columns, were losing men every minute; they could not get at the enemy, who were firing at them from the suburbs, and for the cavalry to retire was to allow the enemy to capture our siege batteries and sweep down on our rear. Intelligence was also brought, accompanied by calls for aid, that Reid's column, which, on the extreme right, had attacked the enemy's batteries outside the city, had been driven back and their gallant commander badly wounded, while the Cashmere contingent, which was co-operating with Reid, had lost its guns and been entirely defeated. To meet these difficulties as far as was practicable, the wing of the Belooch battalion, forming part of the reserve of the assault, was sent to assist Reid's troops, and one of the two field batteries was despatched to support the cavalry and horse artillery with Grant.

Wilson then entered the city, passing scores of corpses of gallant men, and seeing doolies in rapid succession carrying off wounded men to the rear. Once in, two of the weak regiments of the reserve had to be sent to occupy the college and buildings in that direction, and the remaining regiment, not two hundred strong, was thrown into the houses in advance of the open space inside the Cashmere Gate, by which the reserve had entered. This arrangement had scarcely been completed, and shells were constantly dropping and

exploding from the enemy's mortars, when worse tidings came from Reid's force than those first received, and presently an officer, pale and agitated, hurried up to say that Nicholson was dead and his column beaten back from the Lahore gates and in confusion. This report was not accurate as to Nicholson, who at the time was only dangerously, and as it turned out mortally, wounded, but it had to be accepted as it was told. Then another officer came from the left to say that the two regiments of the reserve holding the college and other positions, were under such a heavy fire from the palace and fort of Selimgurh that they could not much longer sustain it. Next an unaccountable stampede of dooly-bearers and others passed the General, flying out of the city, a movement preceding the retreat from the neighbourhood of the Jumma Musjid of the third assaulting column, which had penetrated so far into the city and then was compelled to fall back. It was followed up by the enemy, who were checked by the fire of two guns from the field battery that had entered the city. Colonel Campbell, of the 52nd, the commander of this column, and an excellent officer, reported his failure to the General, and gave over his command, as a wound forced him to seek rest. Thus every portion of the force had failed, and, as if this was not enough, it was discovered that large quantities of spirits and beer were stored in houses close to the Cashmere gate, and before the officers could interpose to break the bottles, as ordered by the General, some of the men had drunk themselves senseless. Let us consider General Wilson's position at this moment. He had a force exhausted and for the most part baffled; he had lost eleven hundred and seventy of his small force, dead or wounded, in the assault; his regiments were mere skeletons with few unwounded officers; three out of the four commanders of assaulting columns were disabled; the Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General, owing to wounds previously received, had been unable to attend him; three of his best infantry officers, Showers, Seaton, and Coke, had been for some time *hors de combat* from wounds, as was Daly, the distinguished commander of the Corps of Guides; his chief engineer was nearly as ill as he was himself; and the great city, with the strong palace, the fort of Selimgurh, and the defensible magazine, had still to be taken, while the camp and all it contained was practically at the mercy of the enemy. If under these circumstances General Wilson in confidence said something of a desponding character it was hardly to be wondered at.[1] But according to what Mr. Bosworth Smith says, some one must have told Nicholson that the General had proposed to retire. Nicholson, who was in terrible pain, mortally stricken, and a man of irritable temper, well known

(1) Kaye says that Wilson asked the chief engineer if "he thought we could hold our own." Out of this not unnatural question appear to have arisen various fictions which have been accepted in depreciation of Wilson and in glorification of others."

to dislike Wilson, is reported to have said, "Thank God, I have strength enough left to shoot that man!" It would have been well if this episode had been buried in oblivion. It reflects little credit on the person who carried such a report to Nicholson on his death-bed. Nicholson had performed his duty in a magnificent manner, and he might well have been spared such doubtful information, which was sure to produce excitement and anger.

I might say much more of Wilson, who for various reasons has been depreciated, but I will confine myself to the foregoing. Mr. Bosworth Smith has done me the honour to quote a passage from my narrative of the siege of Delhi, written in 1857, in which I endeavoured to express the gratitude due to Sir John Lawrence by the army which captured Delhi for his vigorous and generous aid. What I said then about Sir John Lawrence I would repeat now; but preceding this I wrote a short description of the strong defences of Delhi and of the superior numbers and ordnance of the defenders, and I added, "It will be allowed that the general whose task it was to take Delhi had no ordinary enterprise in hand. Honour to him for his resolution which persevered to the end, and which led to the success that probably more than anything else will be found to have contributed to the restoration of British authority wherever it has been shaken in India." To this opinion I adhere, and I also adhere to the opinion I then formed, and which is confirmed by much that I have learned since, that it is doubtful if there was any officer before Delhi in 1857, though there were many officers there who possessed high qualities, who would have captured the place except General Wilson.

There are several less important statements regarding the siege of Delhi in Mr. Bosworth Smith's book to which I would take exception if there was space to do so; but I admit that he has on the whole done justice to the troops, and it is not to be wondered at if, with the material before him, he in some cases has somewhat depreciated those who did excellent service. Whatever accounts Sir John Lawrence may have received, he was too just and generous not to admit the merits of all. To the last days of his life the fact of any one having served at Delhi was a sure claim to his good offices, and it is within my knowledge how earnestly and eloquently he pleaded for the grant of the boon of a year's service to the Delhi force, a boon which had been granted to others who hardly suffered as much as that force. He pleaded in vain, and always expressed regret at his failure. He did all in his power to aid the force in its enterprise, and afterwards he constantly exerted himself to procure recognition of their services. All who served at Delhi, I am sure, have ever felt how much they were indebted, first and last, to Sir John Lawrence.

H. W. NORMAN.

THE EUROPEAN TERROR.

The repression of the conspiracy of the *Mano Nera* in Andalusia, the explosion of bombs charged with dynamite in our peaceful little Belgium, the riots of Monçeau-les-Mines in France, the Nihilistic character which the Irish agrarian movement is taking, and the terrible explosion at Westminster, show that it is clearly time that this movement, which has attained already so wide a development and which is certainly destined to play a most important *rôle* in the history of Christian and civilized nations, should be studied attentively.

The Socialists of the present day may be divided into two parties or sects; on the one hand there are the Collectivists, on the other the Nihilists or Anarchists. Sometimes these two parties are opposed to each other, as, at the present moment, in France; at others they unite together, as in Spain for the *Mano Nera* conspiracy. This conspiracy is of a pronounced agrarian character, and has been principally recruited from agricultural labourers and small farmers, who were reduced to despair by the *latefundia* and bad harvests. The principles of the Spanish *Mano Nera* are a sort of Communism, as may be judged from the following passage of their programme:—

> "Land," they say, "exists for the common good of mankind, and all have an equal right to its possession; it was made what it is by the active labour of the working classes. The existing social organization is both criminal and absurd. The workers produce, and the rich do nothing but benefit; and not only so, but have a hold on the workers; therefore it is impossible to feel too deep a hatred for political parties, for all are equally despicable. All property acquired by the labour of others, be it revenue or interest, is illegitimate; the only legitimate possessions are those which result directly from personal exertions. Consequently our Society declares that the rich be held to participate no longer in the rights of man to his fellow, and that to combat them, as they deserve, all means are good and necessary, not excepting steel, fire, and even slander."

Their mode of action is exactly that of the Nihilists in Russia, and that employed also for the agrarian crimes in Ireland. The tenets of the popular or secret tribunal resemble also those of Nihilism. They are headed by the following declaration:—

> "Whereas the Government, by its refusal to accept the international law, has prevented a peaceful solution of the social question, it has become necessary to establish a secret revolutionary organization. Victory is still far distant. Sins are daily committed which must be punished, and as all the members of this society are bent on a chastisement being carried out, a popular tribunal is charged with the condemnation and punishment of the crimes of the middle classes. Members of this revolutionary tribunal must belong to the International League and be capable of executing the task they undertake. The middle classes may be chastised in every possible way—by steel, fire, poison or otherwise."

In the fourteenth century Socialism in England had very similar notions, save the reference to the employment of force. The follow-

ing words are put into the mouth of a priest, John Ball, speaking in the name of the peasantry, by Froissart:—"Good people, things cannot and will not go well in England till all shall be in common; that there be neither lord nor vassal, but we shall be all united. To what good are those we call lords masters over us? Why do they hold us in bondage? And if we be all descended from the same father and mother, Adam and Eve, how can they show themselves better than we, save only in that they spend what we earn? They are clothed in silks and camocas, in velvets and furs, while we wear the poorest cloth. They have their wines, their savoury dishes, good bread and cakes, while we sleep on straw and live on rye-bread and water. They have their manors and palaces, which they enjoy in idle luxury, while we labour in the wind and rain, to earn a scanty nourishment, and yet it is our labour that gives them their plenty."

As early as the close of the thirteenth century the communistic ideas of the orders of the Begging Brothers found an echo in the verses of the Flemish poet, Jakob van Marlant. The following is an extract:—

> "Twee worde in die werelt syn:
> Dats allone *myn* ende *dyn*,
> Mocht men die verdriven
> Pays ende vrede bleve fyn.
> Het ware al vri, niemen eygyn,
> Manne metten wiven.
> Het waer gemene tarwe ende wyn."

"Two words exist in the world, *mine* and *thine*. If they could be suppressed peace would reign and all would be free—no serfs, neither men nor women; corn and wine would be in common."

I think it may be safely affirmed that in France the majority of workmen in the large towns and great centres of industry, in addition to a certain number of agricultural labourers, are already Socialists. According to information, for which I am indebted to the kindness of M. B. Malon, the author of a good history of Socialism, and one of the leaders of the movement in Paris at the present time, the party may be approximatively divided as follows: At the extreme left are the Anarchists or Nihilists, such as Prince Krapotkine and Élisée Reclus. They, to a certain extent, hold Proudhon's ideas of *Anarchy*, but follow more directly Bakounine, who, by the formation of secret societies from the remnants of the International League, has spread notions of Russian Nihilism in almost every Socialist circle. The Anarchists are few in number, but they are exceedingly enthusiastic and fanatic, and the extreme adepts of the party hesitate at nothing—petroleum, fire, bombs, dynamite, and even assassination, as in Spain. Metayer, who died recently in Brussels from the results of the explosion of dynamite concealed on his person, and his companion, Cyvoct, belonged to this dangerous class.

Nihilistic Anarchism does not make much progress in France, because Frenchmen have a preference for fixed ideas for their programmes of reform. The articles of a new social code, to please them, must be clearly drawn up, and all the plans easy to grasp. Collectivism offers all this to a certain extent, and we will now try to analyse its principles. Collectivists are themselves divided into two groups, and more distinctly so since the Socialists' Congress of Saint Etienne, in September, 1882. There are the Collectivists, the followers of Marx, who live in expectancy of a revolutionary movement, like the ancient Jacobins; and the evolutionist-Collectivists, who are beginning to admit the truth announced by science that, in the social order, as in nature, all must change slowly and by evolution. These latter are called "Possibilists," because they recommend the urging of legal claims, and take part in electoral conflicts, not merely as a protest, but that their ideas may gain access to Parliament.[1] In this respect they follow the example of the German Socialists, who have not only succeeded in sending eleven or twelve members to Parliament, but have also induced the German Government to take up the question of social reforms, as doubtless the number of votes obtained by the Socialists in the electioneering total did much to influence this decision.

Among Socialist workmen the evolutionist-Collectivist creed is the most popular, and gains rapid ground against the "Irreconcilables,"—the Anarchists and the Jacobins—who dub their opponents traitors and cowards. In order more clearly to show the notions they hold, I will now quote some of the most important passages of a programme of their's recently published:—

"Whereas the emancipation of the producing classes is that of all human beings, indistinctive of either sex or race; that the producers cannot be truly free until they themselves possess the means of production, and that there exist but two ways of their so possessing them: first, individually, and this has never existed as an established state of things, and industrial progress has rendered it wholly out of the question; and secondly, collectively, and as the very development of capitalist society prepared the elements requisite for collective possession, the French Socialist workmen considering a return to this collective possession of the means of production the great object to be obtained, have decided to take part in elections adopting the following programme. . . . Economic programme.—1st. One day of rest weekly, and the labour of adults reduced to eight hours per day. Prohibition to employ children under fourteen years of age in factories. 2nd. A legal *minimum* of wages, to be fixed every year, according to the local price of provisions. 3rd. Equal wages for the two sexes (their labour being equal). 4th. Complete and scientific and professional instruction for all children at the cost of the State and the Commune. 5th.

(1) In the election which has taken place at Belleville to replace Gambetta, each of these parties had its candidate. The Marxists had selected Jules Guesde, and the Possibilists J. B. Dumay, a mechanist and former mayor of Creusot. Among the chief men of this party may be mentioned Jules Joffrin, town councillor, an enlightened and active workman; John Labusquière, an orator well listened to at meetings; Deynaud, said to be an economist; Paul Brousse, a converted Anarchist; and B. Malon, the theorist and learned man of the party.

Society to provide for old people and invalids. 6th. The master to be held responsible for all accidents. 7th. The workmen to have a voice in the drawing up of any special regulations for their special works or factory. 8th. Revision of all contracts that have alienated public property, banks, railways, mines; and the working of the factories belonging to the State to be entrusted to workmen themselves. 9th. Abolition of indirect taxation, to be replaced by a progressive tax on all incomes which exceed 3,000frs. (£120), suppression of all indirect succession and of all direct succession exceeding 20,000frs. (£800). 10th. Reconstitution of communal property. 11th. The Commune to appropriate all unemployed funds at their disposal to building on the land belonging to them, workmen's cottages and warehouses, and these to be let to workmen without profit to the Commune."

The word Collectivism is a new one, but the idea forms part of every system of present Radical Socialism. Radical Socialism either wholly suppresses or restricts the right of hereditary succession within very narrow limits, even in the direct line, because the effect of this is to increase inequality, as the heirs are in the enjoyment of possessions which they themselves have not laboured for, and this is in direct violation of the doctrine which says that property should be the reward of personal exertions, and, consequently, contrary to distributive justice. Hereditary succession suppressed or limited, what would become of the lands and other means of production left ownerless? Evidently, as at the present day, when there is no heir, they would go to the State, who would, in some cases, depute the Commune to hold them.

Collectivism may be conceived more or less completely applied, according as the State hold only the soil, and this is the system which is being now so much discussed in England, under the name of *nationalisation of land*, or as the State hold all fixed capital, and in this latter case, all that is reserved to individuals is the enjoyment of what they can purchase with the immediate produce of their labour. The "Saint-Simonians" have gone deeper than any in this problem; for, without stopping to trace any plan of ideal organisation, like Fourier or Cabet, and without referring to or quoting economic principles, as Marx and Lassalle did, and most ably too, they at once, and very directly, attack hereditary succession, on which, in point of fact, all depends. But, to obtain a more precisely defined notion of Collectivism, it is necessary to study the writings of the Belgian Socialist, Colins, and of his disciples. Collectivism, which has become the gospel of contemporary Socialism, sprang, it is true, from the general effect of the equalising movement of which it is, indeed, the enforced conclusion, and not at all from the works of Colins. But it is Colins' theory of Collectivism—especially as condensed by his disciples, Hugentobler, Borda, and Agathon de Potter—which is the most clearly defined and the easiest to grasp.

Colins and his disciples are very proud of their philosophical views, on which they maintain the whole of their system, which they call Rational Socialism, is based; but here the lack of any special study becomes too clearly visible. They admit the immortality of our

spiritual being, which they call by a strange misapplication of the word, "sensibility," and they deny the existence of God. They are most earnest in demonstrating that notions of morality, justice, and equality, as regards rights and privileges, are founded solely on the permanency of human personality, but they do not recognise that the pursuit of a rational order supposes an ideal, an aim and object beyond and above ourselves. They are therefore at the same time Spiritualists and Atheists.

All men are equal, as all are formed by the union of a sensibility to an organism. All men are brothers, as all have the same origin. Man alone, among all created beings, is responsible for his actions, for he alone is conscious, intelligent, and a free agent. As opposed to the order of physics, where all is fatal there exists a moral order of justice and liberty.

Man being a responsible agent, his every action must be infallibly and fatally rewarded or punished, according as it is or is not in accordance with the conscience of the perpetrator. And for this punishment to be inevitable it must take place in an existence posterior to the present one. All irrefutable arguments constitute *impersonal reason*. When this is regarded as prescribing rules and authorizing or forbidding actions, it may be called *sovereignty*.

Originally there only existed man and the planet on which he developed. On the one hand there was labour, on the other, the soil as raw material, without which all labour would have been of course impossible. But the union of the two elements of production created matter of a special kind—the accumulation, so to speak, of labour, changing in its nature, and this matter detached from the planet is called *capital*.

Capital, while fostering production, is an instrument of labour, but in order to become productive it must have something to act upon, and this something is the soil, which is therefore indispensable. According to Colins the following important result arises from the absolute necessity man feels for an object on which to expend his strength. Labour is free when the raw material or the soil belongs to the labourer. Otherwise it is fettered; the workman's labour is then for the benefit of the holder of the soil or the owner of the raw material; he works with his permission, and when a man needs another's authorisation to act, he is not a free agent.

A collective appropriation of the soil would secure to every member of society a permanent proprietorship of the national soil, and for land to become collective property it would be necessary, in the first place, that it should be at the disposal of those who wished to turn it to account; and secondly, that the rent paid by the tenant to society should be employed for the joint benefit of all. According to the Belgian Socialist there exist two forms of property quite distinct the one from the other: the one in vogue at the present day, in which

land belongs to individuals or certain classes of individuals, and labour is fettered; the other, the system of the future, when land will become collective property, and labour will be free.

What we have stated above refers to the production of wealth. We will now examine how Rational Socialism arranges for its distribution. When labour is free—and this is the case only when land is accessible to all—every man can live without receiving wages from his fellow. Men then work for others only when offered, as salary, more than they could gain if they worked for their own profit.

When such a state of things exist we say in economic terms that wages are at a *maximum*, the greater share in the profits of labour going to the labourer, and the lesser to capital. When labour is fettered, workmen, to avoid starvation, offer to work for the owners of land and the possessors of capital, and as there is competition, wages fall to what is strictly necessary for the most ordinary requirements of life. If the holders of wealth do not need labourers, the superfluous hands must disappear. Wages then fall to a *minimum*, and the largest share in the profits of labour goes to proprietors and capitalists, the smallest to the labourer. When labour is free, every man's wealth increases in proportion to his own labour. In the opposite case, a man's riches increase as his capital accumulates. Colins deducts the two following consequences from these two dissimilar systems of property in land. When land is owned individually, the riches of the upper classes and the poverty of the lower increase in parallel lines, and in proportion as intellectual power developes in society; while when land is collectively appropriated, the riches of every one increase in proportion to the activity displayed by each, and in accordance with the economic progress made by civilisation. Colins seeks a confirmation of his views in history.

The earliest sovereign is physical strength. The father of the family rules; the strongest of the tribe commands; but if the number of human beings increase, this sort of sovereignty can be but of short duration, for he who is at one time the strongest cannot always remain so. What happens then? In order to continue chief, he changes, says Jean Jacques Rousseau, his strength into a right, and obedience into a duty. To this end he affirms that there exists a being conceived as a very powerful man called God. That God has revealed rules of action, and has appointed king and priest as infallible legislators and interpreters of His revelation. That God has given to every man an immortal soul, and according as man has or has not been obedient to revealed law in this world, so in the world to come will he be either rewarded or punished. But as these doctrines must not be examined or looked into, ignorance is maintained and thought compressed as much as possible. Theocratic sovereignty, or sovereignty by divine right, is thus established, and

society becomes aristocratic and feudal. This is the historical period which rational Socialism names the *period of social ignorance and of compressibility of examination.*

After a term of years, longer or shorter according as the development of intelligence and the discoveries which follow are rapid or the reverse, and as communications with other lands are facilitated, the examination into facts can no longer be wholly suppressed. Then the sovereignty by divine right is contested, and its authority falls to the ground. The government is transformed, and despoiled of its theocratic mask. It becomes merely a sovereignty of strength—that is to say, of the majority of the people. Aristocratic society becomes "bourgeoise," and the historical *period of ignorance, combined with the incompressibility of examination,* is attained.

Society is then profoundly agitated, and disorganization spreads rapidly. The theories and principles which previously insured the obedience of the great masses of the population lose their power. Everything is doubted and discussed. Denial of the ultra-vital sanction and of an anthropomorphic God ends in the affirmation of materialism. After this, with an ever-growing number of people, personal interest wields a greater sway than notions of order and justice, and a state of society is reached of which Colins speaks as follows: *a period of social ignorance, in which immorality spreads in proportion as intelligence developes.* This is the stage we have now reached.

As pauperism increases in similar proportions, producing revolutions, this "bourgeois" society is but of short duration, and sovereignty by divine right is restored for a time, when new revolutions brings back the "bourgeoisie." Society cannot tear itself from the dismal circle in which it turns since the earliest origins of humanity. When, as a result of new inventions, of the development of the press, and the impossibility to suppress the universal enlightenment which ensues, all return to a theocratic form of government has become out of the question, humanity has but two alternatives—either to definitely perish in final anarchy, or methodically to reorganize itself according to recognised dictates which reason demonstrates. It is at this point that humanity attains the last period of its historical development—the period of *knowledge,* which will last as long as the life of the human species is possible on the globe. A theocratic administration, says Colins, is order based on despotism; a democratic administration is liberty engendering anarchy; a rational or *logocratic* administration would be productive, at the same time, of both order and freedom.

According to the Belgian Socialist the society of the future will be organized as follows:—All men being by right equal, will occupy equal conditions with regard to labour. Man is a free agent; his labour must then be free also, and to this end matter must be made subordinate to intelligence, and labour must own both land and capital.

Wages would be then always at the highest possible maximum. All men are brothers, for they have a common origin. If, then, any are unable to support themselves, society must care for them and supply their wants. In the intellectual world there must be an equal distribution of knowledge to all, and, in the material world, social appropriation to all of the soil and of the wealth acquired by past generations and transformed into capital.

Society must give theoretical and practical instruction to all minors gratuitously, and children be taught, by physical science, in what manner to act on matter to be able to turn it to the best advantage, and, by moral science, how they must behave to their fellow men. On leaving the establishments for public education on coming of age, young men will be called upon to serve a sort of apprenticeship for active life in the service of the State, thus paying in a measure the debt incurred during childhood. When of age, each member of society will be given a fixed sum as a dowry to establish himself in life, and this sum will be taken from the surplus of the State receipts. Three different careers are now open to the young man—he can either work alone, or associate himself with others to produce in common, or, if he prefer avoiding all personal risks, he can hire himself to another, who will direct and take the responsibility of all operations.

Society offers either land or capital to the first two categories. To this end land is divided into farms larger or smaller according to the locality in which they may be situated, the requirements of the population, and the fertility of the soil. These farms are let to the highest bidder, who is forbidden to sub-let. Society also lends capital, in order to prevent individual capitalists demanding a higher rate of interest than that fixed by law.

Colins suggests also several other measures for assuring the subjection of capital to labour, or, in other words, maintaining wages at as high a rate as possible, and also for stimulating every member of society to labour to the best of his ability.

The first of these measures is the abolishment of perpetual interest, which shall be replaced by the payment of debts as annuities during the life of the creditor; the abolishment of capitalist associations, those for labour being alone sanctioned, and the competition of society itself against individual trading. The second consists in limiting hereditary succession to the direct line, all other successions *ab intestat* returning to society, and in laying a heavy tax upon all wills.

By the enforcement of these several measures the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity would be established; at the same time the turning to account of labour by individual capital would be effectually prevented.

The disciples of Colins maintain that in this system there is perfect harmony between intelligence and property. All have a share in the possession of the soil; all have their leisure, and all

possess the intellectual and material necessaries for their earthly happiness. Society based on principles rationally incontrovertible may be freely discussed; being founded on justice there need be no fear for its stability. Being in conformity with reason, and guaranteeing to each of its members a maximum of well-being, according to his personal aptitudes, he who is miserable has but himself to reproach for his misery. Who, then, would dream of overthrowing an administration which injures no one, but gives satisfaction to all?

Colins's Collectivism is applicable to land only. The same ideas have been recently and more forcibly set forth by Henry George in his book entitled *Progress and Liberty*, and by M. A. Russell Wallace in his *Nationalisation of Land.* The idea of Collectivism applied to every branch of production was foreseen as early as 1854 by a French philosopher, François Huet, who published a most able work on social reform, entitled *Le Règne Social du Christianisme.* The aim of this book is to prove that equalising Socialism has its root in the Old Testament and in the gospel.

The first article of all the recently published Socialist programme is general Collectivism, or, as they call it very strangely, *Communisme libertaire.* But the only publication in which the system is clearly defined and scientifically discussed is a short pamphlet entitled, *Quintessenz des Socialismus* (translated into French by M. B. Malon). It consists of extracts from a large work on Sociology,—*Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers* (Constitution and Life of the Social Body), by Dr. Albert Schäffle, formerly financial minister of Austria, and one of the most eminent of Germany's economists.

Let us follow Dr. Schäffle's analysis, and endeavour to obtain a correct idea of Collectivism applied to both capital and land. We must beware of mixing up this system with Communistic Utopias. The ideal of these latter was a Trappist monastery, common labour, a common life, common enjoyment of produce, without any regard to the work accomplished, just as in family life. Collectivism admits of families living apart, and, by making all remuneration proportionate to the labour effected, it keeps up private interest. With a collective organization, there should be as many co-operative societies as there are principal branches of industry—agricultural societies, transport societies, manufacturing societies of all kinds. Farms, mines, railways, factories, workshops, which are in principle the collective property of the State, would be handed over to workmen's corporations, who would be charged with their administration, thus replacing the present joint-stock companies. Workmen would be paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of their labour; there would be, therefore, the same stimulant for activity and care as at the present day—at least for the workmen. The only difference would be that, on the one hand, they would be paid the total of what

their work produced, nothing having to be deducted for rent, interest, or profit; and, on the other hand, all, even those now idle, would be forced to work, for the means of production being no longer private property, the income they now bring in to individuals, and which allows of their living in idleness, would have ceased to exist.

In primitive societies, where every man possesses his instrument of labour, land, tools, or implements, the wherewithal to carry on his trade, whatever it may be, the ideal of justice, which consists in each enjoying what he produces, is realised; but, since the introduction of large industries and extensive landed property, the remuneration of labour is reduced to a minimum by the number of applications for land and for labour—that is to say, by the anticipatory claims of land and capital. Collectivism, admitting the co-operative productive system which the employment of machinery enforces, aims at realising the end which would be attained by generalised private property, viz., the securing of the full enjoyment of the produce to the producer. Everything concerning means of transport and circulating medium, money, credit, &c., would become a public service. Dr. Schäffle even supposes the realisation of a general system of exchange and remuneration spoken of by Proudhon and Marx, and which would be as follows. By virtue of the economic theory which holds that all value is derived exclusively from labour, the workman would be paid for each object the *average* number of hours necessary for the manufacture of the said object, and he would be paid in cheques or tickets to be refunded in goods. The wares to be sold would be brought to public or co-operative stores, where cheques would be exchanged for merchandise, and *vice versâ*. This mechanism of exchange is ingenious. The great London co-operative stores give some idea of it; but they cannot be said to form an integral part of Collectivism.

The best way to form any accurate notion of the Collectivist system is to imagine that the *Equitable Pioneers* of Rochdale have obtained a complete success, and that all has passed into their hands—lands, houses, shops, warehouses and factories—and that every other locality has imitated Rochdale's example. Collectivism does not wholly abolish hereditary succession, but as all real property would belong to the State, to the Commune, or to corporations, and as again every man would be forced to live on what he gained by his trade or by the function he occupied, it would follow, as a natural consequence, that the accumulation of wealth would be very much restricted, and that, in a general way, all that people could inherit would be furniture, money, and movables.

Dr. Schäffle seems inclined to think that a state of things such as this may exist in the future. Some people go even so far as to imagine that the spirit of renunciation will again have sway, that

there will be life in common, and that many of the wonders that arose in ancient times from this system will be repeated. M. Renan, in his volume on the Apostles, writes the following charming lines on this subject (p. 132):—

"We have forgotten that mankind tasted the most perfect joy when life was lived in common. The Psalm, 'Behold! how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' can no longer be applied to us; but when modern individualism has borne its latest fruit, when depressed and sorrowing humanity shall have become powerless, and shall return to grand old institutions and to severe discipline, when our wretched 'bourgeois' society shall have been chased away by the ideal and heroic portion of humanity, then life in common will be valued at its true worth. Selfishness, an essential law of civil society, will not be sufficient for great minds. The words of Jesus and the ideas held as to poverty in the Middle Ages will be looked upon as containing deep sense. The beautiful ideal traced by the author of the Acts of the Apostles will be inscribed as a prophetic revelation at the entrance of this paradise of humanity. 'And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common. And all that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need. And they continuing daily with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.'" (Acts, iv. 32.; ii. 44, 45, 46.)

Stuart Mill also occasionally indulged in these poetic visions; but Dr. Schäffle keeps on practical ground, and poses well the crucial question, which is this: No social reform can possibly succeed if it fail to recognise the psychological fact on which the present individual system is based, viz. that it is private interest which urges to production. Neither penalties nor appeals to sentiments of duty and honour would guarantee a sufficient amount of zeal and care being displayed by all concerned, to ensure the largest amount possible being produced at the lowest cost, without any waste of either time or raw material. The great difficulty is the efficient directorship of any large industrial enterprise. It is the lack of such directorship that has occasioned the failure of many co-operative societies. Collectivism supposes that workmen's corporations are capable of working alone, of taking the management of everything into their own hands. When working men's societies have given proof of this, the triumph of the new organization will be a mere question of time; but so long as the working classes do not show themselves capable of managing without their masters, all attempts at hastening the coming of a new order of things will terminate in signal defeats.

Anarchism and Nihilism may be very briefly analyzed, as they are mere negations. Proudhon says in his book, *La Révolution Sociale* (p. 255), "No authority, no government. What society needs is anarchy. The object to be attained is the abolition of authority,

the clearing away of all government organism." The Nihilistic formula traced by Bakounine in the programme of that truly revolutionary association, *l'Alliance Universelle*, which has spread the germs of violent Socialism, ready systematically to employ bombs, daggers, dynamite, and petroleum, all over Europe, is as follows :—

"Our association, the International Brotherhood, wishes for a universal, social, philosophic, economic, and political revolution, in order that of the present social order of things—which is founded on the right of property, on making capital by oppression, on the principle of authority, either religious or metaphysical, 'bourgeoisement,' doctrinal, or even Jacobinly revolutionary—not one stone may be left upon another, in all Europe first, and afterwards in the entire world. To the cry of 'Peace for the workers,' 'Liberty for the oppressed,' we desire the destruction of everything, States and Churches, with all their institutions and their laws—religious, political, judicial, financial, educational, economic, or social—to the end that all those millions of poor human beings, deceived, oppressed, and held in thraldom, delivered at last from their directors and benefactors, official and non-official, may breathe the pure air of liberty."

Do not question a Nihilist as to what the new social organization shall be. He will reply: "We wish for complete Amorphism. It is a crime to foresee a society of the future, for researches of this sort prevent utter destruction and impede the advance of the revolution. Every Utopist is a tyrant, for he urges his plans of reform on all. The watchword of our party is exceedingly simple—Universal destruction; *nihil*, nothing. As in the early ages of humanity, a new organization will spontaneously spring up, and will be just what is best suited to the wants of the delivered people."

It is certain that the devotion and religious fanaticism of the Nihilists, and their diffusion all over our Continent, where they become manifest by acts of fierce violence, as in Russia, at Monçeau-les-Mines in France, in Andalusia, and constantly in different parts of Italy, is one of the most curious phenomena of our time. It may be compared to an incandescent lava which from time to time bursts through the stratum which hides it from view. How explain that distinguished and enlightened men, men of noble and human sentiments—Prince Krapotkine, for instance, and the eminent geographist, Elisée Reclus—can allow themselves to be led away by doctrines so monstrous? History gives us the explanation. At certain periods of social transformation, those persons who thirst after the ideal suffer and feel indignant at sight of the evils with which the human race is afflicted. The contrast between the order of equity and justice they aspire to see established and the iniquities of the world is quite intolerable to them. They do not believe that successive progress will suffice to banish these iniquities, and they long for the total destruction of the existing order of things—for a new one to be founded on its ruins. These were exactly the views held by the early Christians. This world was to perish utterly by fire before

the kingdom of God could come. Even the Evangelists describe the signs of the advent of this great calamity. The religious songs of the Middle Ages contain echoes of these eschatological notions.

> "Dies iræ, Dies illa,
> Solvet sæclum in favilla." [1]

As the destruction of the universe failed to take place, those who were the most impatient for a reign of justice withdrew, in the first instance to the desert, and later on to monasteries. It was this same sentiment which inspired Rousseau in the eighteenth century: Civil institutions consecrate propriety and inequality, whence arises the servitude and misery of the multitude; reformation is impossible; there must be a return to primitive existence, or, as Voltaire puts it, in mockery of poor J. J. Rousseau, we must go off into the forests and there walk on four legs. The brigand, Karl Moor, in Schiller's famous piece, who rises in insurrection against all social laws, is a type of the Nihilists of the present day. It may be recollected he says—

> "Happy the man who is the fiercest to burn everything, and the most relentless to kill." (Act I., scene 2.)

The same reasoning which led to a belief in the end of the world, and to a desire to return to a primitive state of society, leads also to Nihilism; only, as Nihilists look for nothing from divine justice, the existence of which they deny, it is not fire sent from heaven, but the avenging flame of petroleum that is destined to destroy the present social order. The Utopian schemes of Owen, Fourrier, Cabet, and Louis Blanc all failed; the difficulty of carrying out economic reform has been proved by science and by facts; must we then wait till the gradual spread of education and of equality improve, by slow degrees, the present situation? In that case there are still centuries to be passed with things as they are. No, it is too much! A curse on

(1) The idea of the destruction of the world springs from the great problem of evil and from the aspirations of man for a better order of things. God cannot allow iniquity to continue for ever. He will come and re-establish justice. Job discusses the terrible problem. All Eastern religions believed in the existence of a better world, and Virgil admirably sums up this belief in his fourth Eclogue, *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo, &c.* In one of the songs of the Edda, Voluspâ, the end of the world is described in a similar manner as in the New Testament. "The sun is darkened, and the brilliant stars disappear from the sky, and smoke surrounds the destructive fire which is to destroy the world. Gigantic flames rise to heaven. Vala sees springing up from the midst of the ocean a new earth, covered with admirable verdure. The fields produce without being planted. All sin and suffering disappear. Baldur will return with Hadur to inhabit the sacred abode of the gods. The people will be in the enjoyment of eternal peace; and then will come from above, to preside at the great judgment the All-powerful One, the ruler of the universe. All dissensions and discords will be calmed, and He will give an inviolable table of laws to be established for ever." Is not this exactly the kingdom of Heaven as foretold by the Prophets and in the New Testament?

society! Away with its institutions and its laws! We will overthrow all and re-establish things in their natural and primitive condition, as Rousseau proposed.

If we examine closely the present social situation we cannot feel any surprise at these sentiments: civilised States at war, either open or secret, one with the other, draining their populations by unlimited armaments and retaining for military service the flower of the nation's youth; crushing debts everywhere, national, provincial, and communal, in all about £6,000,000,000, bringing in a revenue of about £300,000,000 to £350,000,000, taken from the necessitous, and serving to allow an ever-increasing number of people to live on their income and do nothing; everywhere enormous budgets, quite out of proportion with the advantages which accrue thence to the people; the cultivators of the soil reduced to live on bread and water, on potatoes, as in Ireland, and on *pellagra*-engendering maize, as in Italy; the working man's condition a trifle ameliorated, it is true, but not at all in proportion to the increase in production; in the upper classes luxury overflowing and becoming daily more refined and more wanton; parliamentary administration, which was to have brought with it salvation, incapable of carrying out any great social reforms, either under a constitutional monarch or a republic; and if at times a minister is met with who, like Prince Bismarck, desires to take steps in this direction, the satisfied middle classes raising objections to such a policy, with the watchword of *laissez faire*.

Anarchism and Nihilism, in spite of the growing number and the despairing energy of their adherents, are, at present, wholly powerless to jeopardize the safety of the present social order if all goes as usual; but suppose one of those crises when there is a collapse of power were to take place—a great defeat, a middle-class revolution, or, for instance, an attempt at a restoration in France—then it is much to be feared that the terrible scenes of the Commune of 1871 would be repeated with even more terrific features. In the last volume of *Paris et ses Organes*, M. Maxime du Camp casts a melancholy glance at the beautiful city, reflecting that it will be one day the prey of fire. Let us hope that this sad fate will not befall our capitals, and that a transformation of the social order will take place, without the aid of petroleum and dynamite.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

PHANTASMS OF THE LIVING.

In our last month's paper we considered two large families of cases, where an impression is transmitted from one person to another without the intervention of the recognised sense-organs. The distinctive feature of these classes was that one or other of the parties concerned (whom we called the Percipient and the Agent) was in some state other than that of normal waking consciousness—that is to say, was either asleep, or entranced, or in circumstances of excitement or peril. A third great class remained to be considered—that, namely, where *both* the parties concerned are in a state to some extent abnormal.

Cases where two persons, between whom the supposed *rapport* exists, are dying at a distance from each other at the same time, must of course be extremely rare; but the effect of severe illness in producing or heightening the sensibility to an impression of a distant catastrophe is illustrated in the following account, lately contributed to *Knowledge* of December 2, 1882, by Mr. J. Sinclair:—

"A friend of mine (Dr. Goodall Jones, of Liverpool), related to me the following account of a case of premonition.[1] The names and dates Dr. Jones will give, if required. He called on a female patient on Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock; her husband met him at the door, and said he was about to come for him, as the patient was worse and delirious. On going up-stairs, the doctor found the poor woman in a very excited state, asserting that her brother (a Liverpool pilot) was drowning in the river; 'which,' said her husband, 'is impossible, as he is out at sea, to the best of our knowledge.' The doctor did what he could to soothe his patient, and left, convinced that it was a case of ordinary delirium. But in the next morning's paper he read with surprise the account of the pilot's death by drowning in the river on the previous afternoon at 3 o'clock."

Cases again where it is asserted that two persons, both entranced at the same time, have been together in the spirit, as in Swedenborg's accounts of spiritual converse with persons apparently asleep, have lacked the corroboration necessary for sound evidence. But transferences of impression of the nature of simultaneous dreams are by no means rare, and are easily established. An intimate friend has sent us a singular case (unfortunately too long for insertion here) where a strong nocturnal impression was reproduced even in a quadruple form, the four persons concerned being at the time in four different countries of Europe. And a paper on "Thought-reading" in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October, 1882, contained

(1) The word "premonition" is inaccurate, the event recounted being simply one of simultaneous impression. We have received confirmation of this narrative from Dr. Goodall Jones; and as soon as the husband, who is a sailor, returns from sea, we hope to receive from him and his wife that direct testimony which we make a rule of obtaining in every case where any living person is concerned.

another excellent instance. The writer, Miss Mason, of whose punctilious care in observation we have had personal experience, was suffering from the excitement of painful sympathy with certain events actually in course of occurrence; and the vivid natural imagery in which her trouble was represented during a night of disturbed sleep, imagery drawn from a unique spot known to her and totally unknown to her maid, who was sleeping on another floor, was reflected in that maid's dreams with startling accuracy.

Commoner still are the cases of double abnormality, where the transference of impression is to a sleeping Percipient from an Agent who is in some state of waking excitement. Such excited states, when below a certain stage of momentousness, seem to find in sleep a specially favourable condition for communication; and indeed, putting aside cases where mesmeric influence plays some part, the very slightest sort of events seem rarely or never to impress a distant mind except in dream. Owing to their very triviality, many of these experiences are doubtless lost; and this circumstance so far helps to perpetuate the unscientific view, which looks on transferred impressions as necessarily bound up with some solemn message or strange catastrophe. As an example of the trivial type, we may give the following narrative, which we received from Mr. A. B. McDougall, scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford:—

"On the night of January 10, 1882, I was sleeping in one of the suburbs of Manchester in the house of a friend, into which house several rats had been driven by the excessive cold. I knew nothing about these rats, but during the night I was waked by feeling an unpleasantly cold something slithering down my right leg. I immediately struck a light and flung off the bed-clothes, and saw a rat run out of my bed under the fire-place. I told my friend the next morning, but he tried to persuade me I had been dreaming. However, a few days afterwards a rat was caught in my room. On the morning of January 11th, a cousin of mine, who happened to be staying in my own home on the south coast, and to be occupying my room, came down to breakfast, and recounted a marvellous dream, in which a rat appeared to be eating off the extremities of my unfortunate self. My family laughed the matter off. However, on the 13th, a letter was received from me giving an account of my unpleasant meeting with the rat and its subsequent capture. Then every one present remembered the dream my cousin had told certainly fifty-eight hours before, as having occurred on the night of January 10. My mother wrote me an account of the dream, ending up with the remark, 'We always said ——— was a witch; she always knew about everything almost before it took place.'"

The heightening effect of sleep on the Percipient's impressibility, suggested by the triviality of such an incident as this, is more strikingly indicated by the fact that a transferred impression of graver matters seems sometimes to have to wait for the sleeping state, in order to cross the threshold of consciousness. Many cases are on record where an accident to an absent friend is dreamed of on the following night; as though the image, flashed, perhaps, at the moment from brain to brain, had needed sleep and darkness for its development.

Sleep, again, seems the only condition in which impressions of excitement of a happy kind are transferred, which may perhaps be taken as indicating the superior vividness of pains over pleasures. We are at any rate acquainted with no instance of a waking impression to parallel the account of a dream (for which we have the testimony both of the dreamer, Mr. A. Sparrow, of Derwent Square, Liverpool, and of the person to whom he related the dream on the morning after its occurrence), announcing, many hours before their arrival by post, the details of a friend's most unexpected marriage-engagement. Of the far commoner transference to a sleeping Percipient of the impression of a distressing accident, we have many instances; and many more still of the apparition of a dying person perceived by a distant mind in dream or vision. Cases of transference where the Agent is in this most momentous of all conditions, seem however to differ, as a class, from the less momentous cases, in the fact that the number of them where the Percipient is asleep, large as it is, is disproportionately exceeded by the number where the Percipient is in a state of normal waking consciousness. We give a few specimens of these last classes.

The Rev. R. B. F. Elrington, Vicar of Lower Brixham, a friend of one of us, vouches for the fact that the following occurrence in his parish was described hours before the arrival of the news confirming the fears which it occasioned; and he certifies to the good character of the witnesses.

In the early spring of 1881, Mrs. Barnes, of Brixham, Devonshire, whose husband was at sea, dreamt that his fishing-vessel was run into by a steamer. Their boy was with him, and she called out in her dream, "Save the boy!" At this moment another son sleeping in the next room rushed into hers, crying out, "Where's father?" She asked what he meant, when he said he had distinctly heard his father come up-stairs and kick with his heavy boots against the door, as he was in the habit of doing when he returned from sea. The boy's statement and her own dream so alarmed the woman that early next morning she told Mrs. Strong and other neighbours of her fears. News afterwards came that her husband's vessel had been run into by a steamer, and that he and the boy were drowned.

Mrs. Powles, of Wadhurst, West Dulwich, S.E., who is personally known to one of us, sends us the following narrative:—

"I am in a position to vouch for a very curious dream which my late husband, Mr. William Holden, dreamt about a brother of his, Dr. Ralph Holden, who was at that time travelling in the interior of Africa. One morning in June or July, 1861, my husband woke me with the announcement, 'Ralph is dead.' I said, 'You must be dreaming.' 'No, I am not dreaming now, but I dreamt twice over that I saw Ralph lying on the ground, supported by a man. He was lying under a large tree, and he was either dead or dying.' In December came the news that Dr. Holden was dead; and from a Mr. Green, who had been exploring in the same region, they learnt 'that he must have died about the time when his brother dreamt about him, and that he died in the arms of his faithful native servant, lying under a large tree, where he was afterwards buried.' The Holden family have a sketch which Mr. Green took on the spot of the tree and its surroundings, and on seeing it my husband

said, 'Yes, that is exactly the place where I saw Ralph in my dream, dying or dead.'"

The next account is from a gentleman residing in Ireland, of long-standing repute both as a doctor and as an antiquary, and whom we will call A. His wish that his name should not be published is due to the fact that one of the actors whom his narrative discredits is still living.

One Monday night in December, 1836, he had the following dream, or, as he would prefer to call it, revelation. He found himself suddenly at the gate of Major N. M.'s avenue, many miles from his home. Close to him were a group of persons, one of them a woman with a basket on her arm, the rest men, four of whom were tenants of his own, while the others were unknown to him. Some of the strangers seemed to be murderously assaulting H. W., one of his tenants, and he interfered. "I struck violently at the man on my left, and then with greater violence at the man's face to my right. Finding to my surprise that I did not knock down either, I struck again and again, with all the violence of a man frenzied at the sight of my poor friend's murder. To my great amazement I saw that my arms, although visible to my eye, were without substance; and the bodies of the men I struck at and my own came close together after each blow through the shadowy arms I struck with. My blows were delivered with more extreme violence than I think I ever exerted; but I became painfully convinced of my incompetency. I have no consciousness of what happened, after this feeling of unsubstantiality came upon me." Next morning A. experienced the stiffness and soreness of violent bodily exercise, and was informed by his wife that in the course of the night he had much alarmed her by striking out again and again with his arms in a terrific manner, "as if fighting for his life." He in turn informed her of his dream, and begged her to remember the names of those actors in it who were known to him. On the morning of the following day, Wednesday, A. received a letter from his agent who resided in the town close to the scene of the dream, informing him that his tenant, H. W., had been found on Tuesday morning at Major N. M.'s gate, speechless and apparently dying from a fracture of the skull, and that there was no trace of the murderers. That night A. started for the town, and arrived there on Thursday morning. On his way to a meeting of magistrates he met the senior magistrate of that part of the country, and requested him to give orders for the arrest of the three men whom, besides H. W., he had recognised in his dream, and to have them examined separately. This was at once done. The three men gave identical accounts of the occurrence, and all named the woman who was with them; she was then arrested, and gave precisely similar testimony. They said that between eleven and twelve on the Monday night they had been walking homewards all together along the road, when they were overtaken by three strangers, two of whom savagely assaulted H. W., while the other prevented his friends from interfering. H. W. did not die, but was never the same man afterwards; he subsequently emigrated. Of the other parties concerned, the only survivor (except A. himself) gave an account of the occurrence to the archdeacon of the district in November, 1881, but varied from the true facts in stating that he had taken the wounded man home in his cart. Had this been the case he would, of course, have been called on for his testimony at once.

The following narrative we have from three independent sources, viz. (1) Letter from Mr. John C. Strefford, 39, Mount Street, Welshpool, son of the superintendent of police, whose dream is recorded, and who is now dead; (2) Verbal account taken down from Miss Phillips by Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood; (3) Letter from the Reverend

J. E. Hill, Vicar of Welshpool. All the accounts are practically identical, the only discrepancy being as to the length of time for which the girl was imprisoned. We abridge as follows:—

About 1871, Miss Phillips, of Church Street, Welshpool, had a deaf-and-dumb maid. This girl fell ill and needed change of air, and Miss Phillips proposed to send her to her brother for three weeks. The girl was very unwilling to go, and on the appointed morning, a Tuesday, she handed over a tray which she was carrying up-stairs to another servant, and was not seen afterwards. Miss Phillips and her friends in great alarm searched the house all over, including the cellar in which the girl was afterwards found. On the following Friday (or possibly the Wednesday) morning, the superintendent of police, Strefford, called and said that he had an impression on his mind that she was concealed in the house, and begged to be allowed to make search. Miss Phillips consented, and Strefford, who had never been in the house before, walked straight to the door of the cellar stairs and went down. In the cellar they found the girl jammed fast in an open flue directly beneath the fire-place in the room above, the ashes of which it was meant to receive. The opening from the flue to the cellar was not above eighteen inches high, and the girl had drawn some carpeting after her so as to conceal her legs. They had to get bricklayer's tools and dig down the bricks before they could get her out.

Now as to the cause of Strefford's assurance that he would find her there. "My father," says Mr. John C. Strefford, "awoke my mother in the middle of the night and said, 'I know where that poor girl is. She is up a chimney in the cellar belonging to the house which she lives in.'" He could not rest after this; got up at five o'clock, went to the house, and found the girl, as above narrated.

Since our arrangement of topics has thus brought us round at the end to what we started from, sleep or vision on the part of the Percipient, and since no department of our subject has been the field of more folly and superstition than this realm of dreamland, we may take the present opportunity of stating what kinds of dream we think deserving of notice. Dreams form, no doubt, the most assailable part of our evidence. They are placed almost in a separate category by their intimate connection with the lowest physical, as well as the highest psychical, operations. The grotesque medley which constantly throng through the gate of ivory thrust into discredit our rarer visitants through the gate of horn. For our purposes, then, the dreams must have been noted down, or communicated to others, directly after their occurrence. If concerned with grave events, those events must be not of a chronic but of a critical kind, such as sudden danger or actual death. If concerned with trivial events, those events must be in some way bizarre or unexpected, not such every-day occurrences as a visit from a friend or the arrival of a present. To all dreams, however, one objection may be taken which has plausibility enough to be worth a minute's consideration. It is said that millions of people are dreaming every night, and that it might be expected, according to the doctrine of chances, that some few out of so vast a multitude of dreams would "turn out true." But, in the first place, an extremely small percentage of this multitude of dreams contain as their single or onl-

minating point the definite sight of some one else in unusual or exciting circumstances. There are few exceptions to the rule that we are the heroes of our own dreams, and where a single strong impression survives the moment of waking, an occurrence which in itself is comparatively infrequent, the impression is far more often than not of circumstances in which we ourselves are central. And, in the second place, a dream which leaves on the mind a sense of interest or of disturbance, extending far into waking hours, is with most of us a decidedly rare event, and is a *comparatively* rare event even with those to whom it occurs oftenest, if the number of their dreams be completely realised. The very fact of a dream being specially remembered and noted may be taken as a proof of its having been exceptional. Far rarer, of course, are the cases where these two rare characteristics are combined, and where a vivid impression of another person in unusual or exciting circumstances, having been first produced in a dream, survives as a haunting and disturbing influence. If the dreams of a single night in England could be counted, it may be doubted whether so large a proportion as one in a million would be of this character. And when this immensely reduced number of dreams is considered, the number of occurrences, coincidently with the dream, of the identical event dreamed of, so far from exemplifying the law of chances, would be found to set it completely at defiance. If it be still objected that this argument at any rate does not apply to cases of coincidence where the event or scene is not of an unusual or exciting kind, and is remembered sufficiently to be noted without the production of any haunting impression, the reply is obvious. Of ordinary and unexciting events and scenes the number possible to imagination is practically infinite; the trivial details of circumstances which any single person can in imagination connect with the various persons of his acquaintance so clearly outnumber the remembered dreams of his whole lifetime, as to put the coincidence of dream and reality again completely outside the law of chances.

To return now from this brief digression, our scheme of classification, as above sketched, is tolerably obvious; but in looking back on the topics which have been passed in review, it will be seen that the logical limits originally proposed, and which would confine the phenomena to those presenting a distinct analogy to Thought-transference, have been overstepped at many points. Attention has already been drawn to the difference between the cases where the actual impression in A's mind is simultaneously reproduced in B's, and those where the impression produced in B's mind is that of A's personality rather than of his ideas. We described this more general impact of mind on mind (if such it be) as a vivification of some previously existing *rapport*, and it is to this head that we must refer many cases of apparition at death and of

so-called *clairvoyance*. Even this category, however, is not wide enough to cover all cases of the impression, at a distance, of one personality on another. We have several instances of the following type. The two Percipients are personally known to one of us, and are above suspicion; the reason for suppressing their names is that they are in the employ of persons whose prejudices or susceptibilities they are obliged to consider. Mr. M.'s account, which was written down soon after the occurrence, has been slightly condensed.

"On Thursday the 5th of September, 1867, about the hour of 10.45 A.M., on entering my office, I found my clerk in conversation with the porter, and the Rev. Mr. H. standing at the clerk's back. I was just on the point of asking Mr. H. what had brought him in so early, (he worked in the same room as myself, but was not in the habit of coming till about mid-day,) when my clerk began questioning me about a telegram which had missed me. The conversation lasted some minutes, and in the midst of it the porter gave me a letter which explained by whom the telegram had been sent. During this scene Mr. R., from an office upstairs, came in and listened to what was going on. On opening the letter, I immediately made known its purport, and looked Mr. H. full in the face as I spoke. I was much struck by the melancholy look he had, and observed that he was without his neck-tie. At this juncture Mr. R. and the porter left the room. I spoke to Mr. H., saying, 'Well, what's the matter with you? You look so sour.' He made no answer, but continued looking fixedly at me. I took up an enclosure which had accompanied the letter, and read it through, still seeing Mr. H. standing opposite to me at the corner of the table. As I laid the papers down, my clerk said, 'Here, sir, is a letter come from Mr. H.' No sooner had he pronounced the name than Mr. H. disappeared in a second. I was for a time quite dumbfounded, which astonished my clerk, who (it now turned out) had not seen Mr. H., and absolutely denied that he had been in the office that morning. The purport of the letter from Mr. H., which my clerk gave me, and which had been written on the previous day, was that, feeling unwell, he should not come to the office that Thursday, but requested me to forward his letters to him at his house. The next day (Friday), about noon, Mr. H. entered the office; and when I asked him where he was on the Thursday about 10.45, he replied that he had just finished breakfast, was in the company of his wife, and had never left his house during the day. I felt shy of mentioning the subject to Mr. R., but on the Monday following I could not refrain from asking him if he remembered looking in on Thursday morning. 'Perfectly,' he replied; 'you were having a long confab with your clerk about a telegram, which you subsequently discovered came from Mr. C.' On my asking him if he remembered who were present, he answered, 'The clerk, the porter, you and H.' On my asking him further, he said, 'He was standing at the corner of the table, opposite you. I addressed him, but he made no reply, only took up a book and began reading. I could not help looking at him, as the first thing that struck me was his being at the office so early, and the next his melancholy look, so different from his usual manner; but that I attributed to his being annoyed about the discussion going on. I left him standing in the same position when I went out, followed by the porter.' On my making known to Mr. R. that Mr. H. was fourteen miles off the whole of that day, he grew quite indignant at my doubting the evidence of his eyesight, and insisted on the porter being called up and interrogated. The porter, like the clerk, had not seen the figure."

Mr. R. (whose testimony is of course all-important, as precluding the hypothesis of subjective hallucination, which Mr. M.'s experience might otherwise have fairly suggested), has supplied us with independent and precise corrobora-

tion of these facts, so far as he was a party to them—the one in significant difference being that he says he did not *speak* to Mr. H., but "gesticulated in fun to him, pointing to Mr. M. and the clerk, who were having an altercation about a telegram; but my fun did not seem at all catching, Mr. H. apparently not being inclined, as he often was, to make fun out of surrounding circumstances."

A case like this clearly cannot well be brought under the head either of Thought-transference or of exaltation of *rapport*. The latter seems excluded by the trivial and meaningless nature of the occurrence; while the prolonged duration of the apparition negatives any basis for it that we might seek to find in some casual and unheeded image of the office in London, which may have flitted through Mr. H.'s mind as he sat at home. So, again, there is strong testimony that *clairvoyants* have witnessed and described trivial incidents in which they had no special interest, and even scenes in which the actors, though actual persons, were complete strangers to them; and such cases seem properly assimilated to those where they describe mere places and objects, the idea of which can hardly be supposed to be impressed on them by any personality at all. Once more, apparitions at death, though the fact of death sufficiently implies excitement or disturbance in one mind, have often been witnessed, not only by relatives or friends, in a normal state but interested in the event—a case before considered—but by other observers who had no personal interest in the matter. In some of these cases the disinterested observer has been in the company of the person for whom the appearance may be supposed to have been specially intended, as in the now classical case of the apparition of Lieutenant Wynyard's brother. In other cases there is not even this apparent link, as where a vision or apparition announces the death of a perfect stranger to some one who is wholly at a loss to account for the visitation. Clearly then the analogy of Thought-transference, which seemed to offer such a convenient logical start, cannot be pressed too far. Our phenomena break through any attempt to group them under heads of transferred impression; and we venture to introduce the words *telæsthesia* and *telepathy* to cover all cases of impression received at a distance without the normal operation of the recognised sense organs. These general terms may, we think, be found of permanent service; but as regards what is for the present included under them, we must limit and arrange our material rather with an eye to convenience, than with any belief that our classification will ultimately prove a fundamental one. No true demarcation, in fact, can as yet be made between one class of these experiences and another; we need the record of as many and as diverse phenomena as we can get, if we are to be in a position to deal satisfactorily with any one of them.

And this brings us back to the practical moral which we desire,

in the present papers, to enforce on as wide a circle as possible—namely, that what is really needed is a far larger supply of first-hand and well-attested facts. We have spoken with some assurance of the supply already amassed. But in a matter so anomalous, a number of direct and independent attestations, which would be utterly superfluous elsewhere, is indispensable for getting the scientific reality of the evidence into men's minds at all—for teaching them that that evidence is no shifting shadow, which it may be left to individual taste or temperament to interpret, but more resembles a solid mass seen in twilight, which men may indeed avoid stumbling over, but only by resolutely walking away from it. And when the *savant* thus deserts the field, the ordinary man needs to have the nature and true amount of the testimony far more directly brought home to him, than is necessary in realms already mastered by specialists to whose *data* he may defer. Failing this direct contact with the facts, the vaguely fascinated regard of the ordinary public is, for all scientific purposes, as futile as the *savant's* determined avoidance. Knowledge can never grow until it is realised that the question, "Do you believe in these things?" is puerile, unless it has been preceded by the inquiry, "What do you know about them?"

We are glad to be able to say that, in the case of many of the best accounts that we have received, the writers have allowed us to publish their names. This permission greatly increases our gratitude to our correspondents—many of whom have, moreover, taken a great deal of trouble to present their narratives in a complete and accurate form. There are, no doubt, occasional cases where a feeling of delicacy, or consideration for others, renders the stipulation that no names shall be published natural and right; but as a rule such a stipulation only makes us long to persuade our informants that, if they would but unite in disregarding a slight risk of ridicule, the risk itself would altogether disappear. For few persons who have not actively engaged in such inquiries as we are pursuing, can form any idea how enormous must be the sum of the phenomena which have been actually within the cognisance of persons now living. The number of those whom our appeal has actually reached forms but a very small proportion of the inhabitants even of a single country; and moreover much of our best evidence has been derived from the limited circle of our own acquaintance. We are justified, therefore, in regarding the area which our inquiries have hitherto swept as but a corner of a very much larger field. There may probably be scores of persons in this country who could amass a first-hand collection of narratives quite as good as our own, and quite distinct from it. The commoner difficulties which the collector encounters may be expected to disappear, as it becomes better understood that there is a scheme

into which each narrative falls, and that any well-attested fragment of evidence may prove of unexpected value. At present a tone of mind very commonly met with (and it is one with which we are far from altogether quarrelling), is that of the man who prefaces his remarks with an expression of contemptuous disbelief in any evidence that you can possibly bring before him, and then goes on to say "that there is *one* actual *fact* which I can tell you, for it occurred to *myself*." Harder still to deal with, are those who, while firmly convinced, not only of their own particular experience of the phenomena, but of the extreme importance of establishing the reality of such experience in general, refuse the direct attestation which they would readily give to any other sort of fact in heaven or earth that they truly believed in, and which alone can insure the result they profess to desire. Taking all these people into consideration, they often seem to us like a multitude of persons standing side by side in the dark, who would be astonished, if the sun rose, to see their own overwhelming numbers. Meanwhile we are greatly at their mercy; with them, not with us, rests the possibility of giving to our subject the status of an organized science.

For, in fact, this subject is at present very much in the position which zoology and botany occupied in the time of Aristotle, or nosology in the time of Hippocrates. Aristotle had no zoological gardens or methodical treatises to refer to: he was obliged to go down to the fish-market, to hear whatever the sailors could tell, and look at whatever they could bring him. This spirit of omnivorous inquiry no doubt exposed him to hearing much that was exaggerated or untrue; but plainly the science of zoology could not have been upbuilt without it. Diseases afford a still more striking parallel to the phenomena of which we are in quest. Men of science are wont to make it an objection to this quest that the phenomena cannot be reproduced under our own conditions or at our own time. The looseness of thought here exhibited by men ordinarily clear-headed is surely a striking example of the prepotence of prejudice over education. Will the objectors assert that all aberrations of function and degenerations of tissue are reproducible by direct experiment? Can physicians secure a case of cancer or Addison's disease by any previous arrangement of conditions? Our science is by no means the only one concerned with phenomena which are at present to a large extent irreproducible: all the sciences of life are still within that category, and all sciences whatever were in it once.

And as we here find ourselves fairly embarked on the wide sea of difficulties and objections, we cannot better conclude our paper than by a brief discussion of some of those which, in the pursuance of our task thus far, we have most frequently encountered. We begin, then, by protesting against the distinction, as ordinarily drawn,

between legitimate and illegitimate lines of inquiry. If we analyze the common idea of a legitimate inquiry, it seems to be conceived as one whose line of departure is in demonstrable continuity with previous facts and theories, the establishment and coherence of which has been the result of specialised skill and attention. An inquiry, on the other hand, is conceived as illegitimate, when its provisional hypotheses are not in obvious continuity with established conceptions; especially if it depends on facts which do not wait for the expert, or admit of being bottled for his inspection, but are unexpectedly witnessed by untrained persons, and liable to be distorted and exaggerated by the preconceptions or emotions of the observers. And these assumptions lead easily on to Faraday's famous *dictum* that the scientific approach of any subject presupposes "clear ideas of the naturally possible and impossible." So naïve a demand for prophetic knowledge of the unknown would alone suggest the fallacy of the above distinction of subjects. The true distinction is, in fact, one only of stage and degree. No science—scarcely even pure mathematics itself—has attained to the more advanced stage without experiencing the characteristic drawbacks of the earlier. And, since the mode of collecting evidence depends on the stage, a letter to the newspapers may be no unfair modern parallel to the old naturalists' visits to the slaughter-house and the fish-market.

But this erroneous distinction is in reality based upon an error of much greater magnitude. Many persons adopt the words "natural" and "supernatural" to express a distinction between objects of inquiry belonging to the physical sciences and those with which we are concerned. This distinction we altogether repudiate. If any one considers the occurrences for which we bring evidence to be supernatural, it is certainly not ourselves. We have no idea what the word can mean in such a connection. We carry our whole instinct of scientific solidarity into every detail of our inquiry. The age of transition is assuredly near its close, which has permitted even eminent *savants* to picture the "natural" governance of the universe as a bond to be occasionally snapped by some power which itself, presumably, has no "nature." "That a beloved friend in the moment of his dissolution," Humboldt could still say sixty years ago, "may gain power over the elements, and, in defiance of the laws of Nature, be able to appear to us, would be perfectly incomprehensible, if it was not for the half-defined feeling in our hearts that it may be so. It is quite probable that a very earnest desire might give strength sufficient to break through the laws of Nature." To such language we find a double objection. On the one hand, we are unable to base objective conclusions on any "half-defined feeling in our own hearts" that the universe must needs be such as we would fain have it. But, on the other hand, if we find ourselves face to face with the

sorts of events to which Humboldt refers, we can accept no arbitrary "scientific frontier" between them and the Nature that we all know. We entertain no doubt that orderly laws lie at the basis of all these facts, however remote those laws may be from our present ken. The presumption as to our intellectual habits and attitudes, which the term "supernaturalism" is meant to imply, is therefore wholly without foundation. The phenomena examined by us stand on the same ground as any other phenomena which are widely attested, but are not matters of common experience; and inquiry into such phenomena must not be obstructed by any question-begging term. Either they are facts, or they are not. If they are not facts, that must be proved in accordance with the laws of evidence, not by assertions of any prescriptive monopoly in the natural. If they are facts, all the mystery that lies behind them lies behind every other fact in the universe. Strip off this wrongly-fathered theory of the "supernatural," and to the marvel and mystery that remain we can apply no stronger expressions than have been constantly applied to the commonest phenomena in Nature by those who have known Nature best.

We do not, however, expect or desire altogether to dispel the instinctive feeling that the objects of our research present an aspect of the marvellous which seems in some sort *sui generis;* let us consider what natural basis this instinct possesses. We believe that the special feeling of incredulous surprise which much of our evidence excites is due to a combination of three characteristics. In the first place, the phenomena have very little obvious connection with those of sciences already established. In the second place, they are often of an emotional and startling character, so as to suggest a peculiar possibility of mistake; or if, on the other hand, their subject-matter is trivial, then their intrusion into the common routine of life produces a sense of the ridiculous which is equally hostile to just consideration. In the third place, although not exactly rare, they are diverse, sporadic, and seemingly so arbitrary in their occurrence that past observation suggests no clue to the time, place, or manner of their probable repetition. No other phenomena in Nature have united these three characteristics in so high a degree. The attraction exercised by amber on straw was an isolated, but not a startling fact. The thunderclap was both an isolated and a startling phenomenon; but it was perceived often, and by numbers at once; and therefore, though it could give rise to superstition, it could not be met by incredulity. Nor could eruptions of Etna be questioned, though they might be attributed to the turnings of Typhœus in his bed. Again, many optical effects, as the mirage in the desert, have seemed, when first observed, at once disconnected from science as then known, and arbitrary in their times of occurrence. The reality of such phenomena may have been

questioned; but they have not been sufficiently intermixed familiar things to arouse party feeling, or sufficiently exciting suggest error of testimony through sensory illusion connected with a highly emotional state. Such instances may perhaps suggest how rare in other directions is the union of all those provocations incredulity which our evidence has to overmaster. It would be easy, however, to imagine that such a union might have appeared in the case of some phenomenon in natural history; and that phenomenon would then have been as strenuously disbelieved in as any ghost. Had nature given us an electric whale instead of an electric eel, and had a whole boat's-crew of mediæval harpooners been now and again struck dead by the shock, what would have been thought of the story that their companions told of the encounter?

These inherent embarrassments of our inquiry are of course specially emphasised by its appearance in the world, as a scientific study, in a generation whose ideal of such study is formed from the most developed branches of science. But its position is yet further complicated by the fact that it happens to combine in itself difficulties of conception and treatment peculiar to the early stages of two great separate branches—physics and natural history. In the first place, like physics, it is presumably concerned with some specialised form of energy; but this form of energy is at present too indistinctly realised, and too little under our control, to admit of being correlated with the acknowledged forms, quantitatively estimated, or even instructively defined. In discussing our phenomena we cannot avoid the terms *force* and *matter;* but we recognise all the time that the connection between them and the manifestations of force and matter with which science is already familiar, remains as yet almost wholly concealed. Such speculations as can now be framed with regard to these obscure phenomena, can hardly be said to differ from the earliest physical conceptions of Thales and Heraclitus, except in the higher standard of scientific proof which we can now propose to ourselves as our ultimate goal. And the very existence of that standard constitutes a difficulty; the twilight which has, in every department of the endless domain of physics, preceded the illuminating dawn of law, is here made doubly dark and dubious by the advanced daylight of scientific conceptions from which we peer into it. In the second place, like natural history in its early stage, our inquiry is concerned with a variety of sensible phenomena as such—with forms or sounds simply as they strike the senses of those who come across them; and the isolation of the phenomena, and the absence of any genuine classification even of the most provisional kind, have a most distinct influence on their *primâ-facie* credibility, as compared with new phenomena of the older sciences, which have the advantage of falling at once under familiar classes. When the poisonous lizard is discovered he is a surprise to every one. Never-

theless he is both an animal and a lizard; and even in ages before his order or his *genus* was known, he would at least have found the category of quadruped open to receive him. But in our inquiry, the phenomena do not, as a rule, find in men's minds a niche ready for their acceptance even as the most general class. In their scattered independence they have to fight their way, each on its own merits, into minds which not only are indisposed to welcome them, but are even unable, without a distinct and disagreeable effort, to assign them any *habitat* at all.

We think it well, and we think it enough, that the foregoing difficulties in the way of belief should be stated and realised; being convinced that, if the evidence as it stands be also realised, the difficulties will be rather incentives than obstacles to progress. But there is another sort of objection, not properly affecting grounds of belief, which requires different treatment; and which we shall here only notice so far as to make it explicit, and to show in whose mouths, at any rate, it will not lie. It is a common idea that the recognised paths of labour, along which steady progress is being made and may still be made to an unpredictable extent, are so various and abundant, that it is trifling to desert them for a dubious track, where progress, even could it be supposed possible, would present no apparent relation to other progress, and would in no way react on the general advancement. But this vague language, answering to what is commonly but a vague prejudice, turns out to be susceptible of two very different meanings. Is the progress meant that of human happiness, or that of human knowledge? Are we listening to the gospel of Positivism, or of Science? The Positivist, from his own point of view, is justified in considering the practical amelioration of human conditions as so vast an aim, and the sciences which have an influence in that direction as so well recognised, that it is culpable to aim at extending mere knowledge, as such, and without a definite prospect of bringing the new acquisitions into relation with human welfare. In this view, we say, there is, *primâ facie*, a fair ground of objection; and we specially refrain for the present from vindicating our inquiries from the charge of irrelevance to human welfare. That vindication, when the time for it comes, we are confidently prepared to undertake: we are confident of being able to show that there is no line of scientific enquiry from which results of so much importance to the well-being of mankind are to be expected. But what we would here point out is that the Positivist's view is one which in other connections our scientific opponents are the first to disclaim; and we cannot therefore allow them to take advantage of its prestige and popularity in the objections which they urge against us, as pursuers of a new and dubious path. Knowledge as such, knowledge wherever it may lead

us, knowledge however little it may seem to do for us—this is the very essence of the scientific creed. Men of science never tire of pointing out in what unlikely ways knowledge which once seemed objectless and useless has been brought, perhaps after centuries, into vital connection with human affairs; and a naturalist who refused to describe the peculiarities of objects observed by him during some voyage of discovery, on the ground that he did not see how men would be better off for the knowing of them, would be scouted as a renegade. In the present instance, it is assuredly not the scientific unimportance, but the vastness and obscurity of the vistas opened to scientific inquiry, which may naturally lead men to pause before committing themselves to a search so infinite, through realms so long obscure—

> Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
> Est iter in silvis, ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ
> Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

"What good does it do?" or "What good would it do, if it were true?" this, always the unscientific question *par excellence*, is surely the merest paltering here.

The reason of this alien note, the reason that it is possible, at this time of day, to treat one department of facts in a manner so opposed to recognised principles, lies really in the unnoticed entrance of assumptions—in a gravitation to an *à priori* stand-point, natural to all of us when not buoyed up by a pressure of facts of the most obvious and palpable sort. Objectors to the reality of the events, unable from the nature of the case to produce evidence that they *did* not, and driven therefore to argue that they *could* not happen, are fain to find a fulcrum for that argument in some quite gratuitous hypothesis. We have found this spirit of assumption taking most Protean forms. For example, the gentlemen who commented in the *Nineteenth Century* on our evidences of Thought-reading, argued that they struck at the root of the understanding on which all human intercourse is carried on. The argument is, of course, one large assumption, being nothing less than this:—If it were the case that exceptional individuals could obtain an impression of some perfectly simple object, on which the visualising power of all present is powerfully concentrated, (a condition probably never once realised in the world's history till people lately began purposely and deliberately to make "Thought-reading" experiments,) it would have to be equally the case that any one, anywhere, must be able, against his neighbour's will, to read his most casual or abstract thought. Because a marine animal, alleged to have been dredged up in some remote part of the Atlantic Ocean, does not swarm in all seas, it could not have been dredged up at all! As to the sort of phenomena considered in the present paper, the favourite hypothesis is that they only appear

to people of nervous temperament, or emotionally predisposed to believe in them—an idea which the slightest study of the evidence would at once dispel. This same idea of predisposition suggested lately to a writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* a remarkable psycho-physiological argument, in which the leading part was played by a still more singular assumption. From the fact that proneness to certain emotions, of which fright or awe might be a specimen, may safely be connected with points of nervous organization which descend from father to son, it was tacitly inferred that the unemotional judgments, expressed in logical propositions, of men sitting down "in a cool hour" to weigh evidence, are largely determined by peculiarities of nervous tracks transmitted to them from their ancestors; which is something like assuming that, being all the near descendants of men whose brain-motions were associated with a belief in caloric or in an electric fluid, we are born with a predisposition to deny that heat is a mode of motion, or electricity a form of energy. But strangest of all are the assumptions which pervade the ordinary objections to the phenomena as senseless, profitless, and irrelevant to the general scheme of a dignified universe. Certain alleged facts, it seems, are not worth inquiring into, because their character does not correspond to what, on some hypothesis usually involving the "supernatural," might have been expected. That this should be a frequent line of thought with men professing enlightened ideas, curiously reminds us how thin at present our varnish of science is, how few generations separate us from the Middle Ages, and how temptingly near us still is the *à priori* standpoint. Few of us can get for a moment off familiar ground, without unconsciously betraying our descent from the men who muzzled Roger Bacon and sent Bruno to the stake.

But after all it is not so much controversy or exposition that is the business of the hour, but the collection, the record, and the assimilation, of actual facts. And the invitation to aid in this business should not, we think, be an unwelcome one. We certainly hope to see our inquiry in a more *advanced* state, as time goes on; but it can never well be in a more *interesting* state than at the present moment. There is the *maximum* of stimulus which the sense of a rising cause, of an onflowing tide, can give; there are the alluring gleams of dawning order; there is the excitement of a time when individual efforts, however humble, may contribute in a sensible measure towards the establishment of important truth. The qualities which the research needs, for the present at any rate, are not those of a specially-endowed minority; they are not so much originality and profundity as candour, patience, and care.

EDMUND GURNEY.
FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF ON RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY.

DURING the last few years of his long and active life, the late Prince Gortchakoff is said to have been fond of fighting his diplomatic battles over again; and of pointing out to his friends, or still better, to those who more than a quarter of a century ago were his country's enemies, how, taking the direction of foreign affairs immediately after the signing of the Paris Treaty, he had made it his constant object throughout his long tenure of office to get that hated document annulled: a result which was finally attained when, by the Treaty of Berlin, Moldavian Bessarabia was separated from Roumania and re-annexed to Russia. To record the success of his endeavour, and first of all, to show how it became necessary for Russia to accept the treaty which Prince Gortchakoff, on his accession to office, resolved to destroy, is the object of a work on the diplomatic history of the Crimean War, issued at St. Petersburg by the Publishers to the Imperial Court, under the superintendence of the Russian Foreign Office.

Causes and Consequences of the Crimean War, the book might fairly have been called; for it aims in its concluding pages at showing how Prince Gortchakoff, when Russia had gone through that period of "self-collection" which might have been mistaken for "sulkiness" (*"La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille"*), profited by every opportunity to undo the hostile stipulations of the Paris Treaty; and, moreover, how every power which took part against Russia in 1854 has since come to grief. England has, somehow, escaped; and Sardinia, transformed into Italy, would seem to have profited by the bold enterprise in which Count Cavour engaged her, side by side with France and England. Russia may well say, however, that but for her passive attitude intentionally maintained in 1859, Austria would not have been driven out of Italy; and again, that but for her neutrality, with a leaning towards Prussia in 1870, France would not in 1871 have been vanquished and despoiled.

The actual situation in the East is by no means unlike that which the Emperor Nicholas pointed to nearly thirty years ago, when, in his celebrated conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour on the subject of the "Sick Man," he suggested that, if "anything happened" to him, England should occupy Egypt, and Russia take up new ground in the Balkan peninsula. Whatever future may be reserved for it, Egypt is for the moment in—or at least on—our hands; and if Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria cannot be looked upon as provinces of a huge Russo-Slavonian empire, the newly-formed Bulgarian army is, all the same, a force of Russian creation

under Russian command; while, whatever they may do in wars to come, it is not to be forgotten that the army of Roumania, and the less important one of Servia, co-operated with Russia in her last campaign against Turkey, even as the Bavarians, the Saxons, the Hessians, the Badeners, and the Wurtembergers co-operated with Prussia in the war of 1870 against France. The programme sketched by the Emperor Nicholas has not yet been realised. But steps, permanent or not, have been taken in that direction, and not on the side of Russia and England alone. For the Emperor Nicholas foresaw that in solving the Turkish question at the expense of Turkey, it would be necessary to consider the interests of Austria; and without apportioning to that power any precise share in the spoil, he indicated his views on the subject when he suggested that, if Austria objected to a Russian occupation of Roumania, or the "Danubian principalities," as Moldavia and Wallachia were at that time collectively called, she might by way of compensation take up a position in Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

Thirty years ago, in fact, the same tendencies on the part of particular powers to break in upon the Turkish Empire at particular points existed, which have manifested themselves quite recently; and the Russian Foreign Office, as represented by its late chief, seems to be of opinion that such changes as were inevitable in the position of Turkey might have been accomplished without bloodshed; while it is quite convinced that the Crimean war might have been avoided if England would only have kept to the arrangement made with her Government at the time of the Emperor Nicholas's visit to Queen Victoria, in 1844; this arrangement being taken as the basis and starting point of the new and much more developed propositions made to England through Sir Hamilton Seymour in 1853. But if England chose to adopt a new attitude in regard to Russia, war might still have been averted had the English Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, given the Russian Government plainly to understand that unless it desisted from the claims it was pressing upon Turkey the result would be an appeal to arms.

France, we are assured, fought Russia in the East because the imperial policy demanded war somewhere, and could not find a safe field for it in Europe. England, on the other hand, is represented as engaging in war against Russia with the view of destroying her prestige in Europe, and with the special object, moreover, of weakening her offensive power as against Turkey. Lord Palmerston, when in 1857 he was no longer in office, is said to have told a Russian diplomatist, who seems duly to have communicated the fact to his government, that throughout the Crimean war the Emperor Napoleon wished constantly to raise the Polish question. Lord Palmerston, however, succeeded in restricting the war to the pur-

poses with which England had undertaken it. These he declared to be (1) the liberation of Turkey from her dependence on Russia, and (2) the destruction of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. Both these objects were, in fact, attained. The notion so widely spread in England that our government "drifted" into the war—in the sense of moving involuntarily in that direction, which is not the sense in which the now historical expression was really used—is never for one moment suggested; nor does Russia ever seem to have cherished the delusion so often attributed to her, that England's power of action was hampered by the influence of the Manchester party. England, indeed, in the person of Lord Palmerston, is represented, from the very first pages of what has justly been called "Prince Gortchakoff's political legacy," as bent on weakening Russia in the general interest of Europe, as understood by the leaders of the Liberal party; and on weakening her above all in the East, where she was believed to entertain designs against Turkey, of which, according to the Russian Foreign Office, she was entirely innocent.

The Crimean war possesses all the importance attached to it by Mr. Kinglake as the first conflict between European states since the great settlement of 1815; and Prince Gortchakoff, who, as before said, sees the consequences of the Crimean war in the war of 1859 for Italian unity, the war of 1866 for the leadership in Germany, and the war of 1870 for German unity, finds the causes of the Crimean war in the successive departures from the treaty of 1815, which France provoked, and which England sanctioned, but which Russia systematically opposed, and which, had she not been deserted by England, she would have rendered impossible. The arrangement of 1815 possessed not only a political but also a military character. It was a strategic combination against France in which Austria formed the advanced guard in Italy, and Prussia on the Rhine; while Russia formed the rear-guard and undertook, moreover, to maintain the *status quo* in the East.

When the Belgian insurrection of 1830 broke out, England, instead of invoking the aid of Russia, who was ready to furnish troops for the maintenance of the Dutch kingdom as established in 1815, joined France in bringing about a new order of things with Belgium and the Low Countries formed into separate States. This was the first blow to the arrangement of 1815, territorially considered; and the Polish insurrection of the same year had the effect of marking once more the line of separation which placed England and France on one side, Russia on the other.

In 1833 Russia excited the jealousy of France and England by interfering to protect Constantinople against the enterprises of the Egyptian Viceroy, and by procuring in return the signature of

Turkey to the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. In 1840, England and France, once more in agreement, demanded the nullification of this treaty; and General Guilleminot, French Ambassador at Constantinople, studied, fourteen years before it was to be carried into effect, the project of a landing in the Crimea, deciding on Eupatoria as one of the points most favourable for disembarkation. The Emperor Nicholas had too much regard for the European *status quo* to fall out with England on the ground of such a mere figment as the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. He accordingly declared it abolished, and at the same time took side with England against the pretensions of France, who, thanks to the policy of M. Thiers, was now supporting the claims of Mehemet Ali. The government, however, of M. Thiers fell, and this warlike minister was succeeded by the pacific M. Guizot, who formed what he himself called an *entente cordiale* with England; an understanding which had the effect of isolating Russia, who, after irritating and humiliating France, found herself with a new enemy, and without an ally.

It had now become indispensably necessary to bring back England to her senses and the *status quo;* and with this view the Emperor Nicholas went in 1844 to London, and visited Queen Victoria. He was convinced that the only stumbling-block between England and Russia was the apprehension caused to the former by the ambitious views attributed to the latter in the East. He resolved then to see the English sovereign and the English ministers on this subject; ready to give, in regard not only to Turkey, but also Central Asia, all needful explanations and all possible guarantees. Perofsky's expedition to Khiva in 1839, executed simultaneously with the English expedition to Afghanistan, and viewed of necessity in connection with the position of Russia and England in the far East, had, in spite of its disastrous result, caused much speculation, some apprehension, and, among a small party, downright alarm. Every Russian sovereign, from Peter the Great to Paul, and, in our own century, from Paul to Alexander I., and from Alexander I. to Nicholas, was known to have entertained designs which may possibly be as impracticable now, when the Russian and Indian frontiers are separated by only some hundreds of miles, as they were a century ago, when thousands of miles divided them, or two centuries ago, when the English dominion in India was scarcely established. However that may be, the notion that Russia at Khiva would be a menace to India was entertained in England by a select party of "alarmists," among whom her Majesty's Ministers were included, as long ago as 1840; immediately, that is to say, after the news of Perofsky's expedition against Khiva reached England. In regard to Central Asia, as in regard to Turkey, the Emperor Nicholas was ready to give assurances of his friendly intentions towards England,

all that he demanded in return being a loyal adherence to the *status quo* in Europe; which of course implied abandonment of the French alliance and a friendly agreement with Russia.

In 1844, then, the Emperor Nicholas went to England, visited Queen Victoria, and had numerous interviews with Lord Aberdeen, who was then Foreign Minister. As to the future, he was prepared to give the most distinct pledges; and on his return to St. Petersburg he directed Count Nesselrode, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to draw up a memorandum based on what had passed between him and Lord Aberdeen during his stay in London. The memorandum is given at length in Prince Gortchakoff's study of the diplomacy which preceded the Crimean war; and it is probably to this document that Mr. Thornton refers in his *Lives of English Foreign Secretaries*, as one which, without being placed in the archives of our Foreign Office, was handed from minister to minister at each change of Government. However that may be, the memorandum must be accepted as reproducing in substance the agreement come to between the Emperor Nicholas and the Government of England in the year 1844; and it throws a new light, to the advantage of the Emperor Nicholas, on the celebrated conversation which he held nine years afterwards with Sir Hamilton Seymour on the subject of the "Sick Man." The objects with which, in case of "anything happening" to the sick man, Russia and England would have to come to an understanding, were set forth as follows:—

"1. The maintenance of the Ottoman Empire for so long a time as this political combination may be possible.

"2. If we see beforehand that it is breaking up, a preliminary understanding to be arrived at as to the establishment of a new order of things destined to replace that which now exists; and precautions to be taken in common, so that no change occurring in the internal situation of that empire may threaten the security of our own states, or the maintenance of the European equilibrium.

"In view of the objects thus formulated, the policy of Russia and that of Austria are clearly bound together by the principle of complete solidarity. If England, as the chief naval power, acts in concert with them, there is reason to believe that France will find herself obliged to follow the course decided upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna. All possibility of conflict between the Great Powers being thus averted, it may be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained, even in the midst of such grave circumstances.

"It is with the view of assuring this result in the interests of all, that Russia and England should first come to a preliminary understanding between themselves, as agreed upon by the Emperor with the Ministers of her Britannic Majesty during his stay in England."

Viewed in connection with this memorandum, addressed in 1844

by the Russian Government to the Government of England, and accepted by the latter, the conversation of the Emperor Nicholas with Sir Hamilton Seymour in 1853 acquires a new character. The "Sick Man," whose introduction to the world through the published despatches of Sir Hamilton Seymour caused so much scandal at the time of the Crimean war, was but a revival. He is at least foreshadowed, with the mortal character of his malady already indicated, in those clauses of the Nesselrode Memorandum which consider the probability of "something happening" to Turkey, and which stipulate that on the occurrence of the unhappy event, England and Russia shall come to an understanding, with a view to action in common.

But England in 1844 mistrusted Russia, in connection not only with Turkey but also with Central Asia. Apart from Perofsky's expedition to Khiva, of which the immediate effect, even in case of success, could only have told indirectly and remotely upon India, Russia had been intriguing against us in Afghanistan; a fact better known to the English Government, who had received particulars on the subject from its agents at Cabul, than to the English public, to whom the despatches from these agents were presented in a mutilated form, with almost everything that compromised Russia cut out. The Emperor Nicholas, however, must have been aware that the offers of arms and money made on his part by the Polish agent, Captain Vitkievitch, to Dost-Mohamed, had become known to us through the reports of Burns and others. It was a matter of European notoriety, moreover, that the Persian force, which had laid siege to Herat, had been commanded by a Russian, General Barofsky —confounded by some of our agents in Cabul with the Perofsky of the Khivan expedition; and to leave nothing unsettled between the two countries, the Emperor Nicholas proposed an agreement on the subject of Central Asia as well as Turkey.

Already the idea of a "neutral zone" was entertained; a geographical and political idea, which, far from remaining fixed, shifts its ground constantly, and always to move in the direction of India. In 1844, for example, Russia agreed "to leave the Khanates of Central Asia as a neutral zone interposed between the two empires, so as to preserve them from dangerous contact." In 1869 the zone which by the agreement of that year was to be regarded as "beyond the interference of Russia," consisted of Afghanistan proper and the little states of Afghan Turkestan, between the Hindu-kush and the Oxus. The possibility of leaving Afghan Turkestan untouched, and the propriety of advancing the Russian frontier to the Hindu-kush is now, both by Russian officers and Russian publicists, being actively discussed. By the secret convention, or interchanged memorandum, however, of 1844 not only did Russia engage to leave independent

the Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Khokand, but she also agreed with England to take general measures for assuring the peace of Persia, and in particular "for forestalling the dangers of a contested succession and for regulating in common the frontier relations on the one side with Turkey, on the other with Afghanistan."

The remarks made by the writer representing the Russian Foreign Office on the subject of Central Asia and Persia are very strange. "Faithfully observed by Russia, this programme," he says, "preserved the tranquillity of Asia for twenty years;" that is to say, until 1864, in which year General Tchernaieff interfered rudely enough both with Khokand and with Bokhara. But Lord Palmerston, we are told, "had broken the agreement on the subject, just as he had broken the one relating to Turkey"—for Prince Gortchakoff persists in his belief that Lord Palmerston was the true author of the Crimean war. Immediately after the Treaty of 1856 he "profited by circumstances to wage war against Persia, in order to make that country feel the power of Great Britain, and to take from it definitively Herat, which was then annexed to Afghanistan." "Thence," it is added, "resulted the progress since accomplished in Central Asia by Russia restored to her full liberty of action, and free from all illusions as to the utility of subordinating her interests to the idea of an impossible solidarity." Whatever, then, English writers and English politicians may say on the subject, the Russians themselves regard their movement towards Afghanistan as injurious to the interests of England. It is not astonishing that they should do so now, considering that the Emperor Nicholas took the same view in 1844, when not one successful step in that direction had as yet been made.

In 1849 the insurrections of the previous year had almost everywhere been quelled. In Hungary alone the revolution was successful; and Russia saw with alarm that prominent among the leaders of the Hungarians were Dembinski and Bem, at the head of a Polish legion forty thousand strong. It seemed certain that if the Hungarian movement succeeded—and it was triumphant when, at the last moment, Russia's proffered aid was accepted by the Austrian government—a number of little republics would be established on the frontiers of the great conservative empire; and, most direct danger of all, that Russia herself would be attacked in Poland.

Russia's prestige had never been greater in Europe than immediately after the suppression of the Hungarian insurrection. Lord Palmerston, we are told, saw this with sorrow and pain; and, as first protest against it, he urged the Porte to refuse the extradition of the Polish and Hungarian chiefs who, from Hungary, had taken refuge in Turkey. No opportunity of striking a blow at Russia's preponderance as yet presented itself. But the Russian Foreign

Office is of opinion that Lord Palmerston had already conceived the idea of an Anglo-French alliance against Russia. Among the questions which "history has not yet decided" is that of the understanding which may or may not have been come to between Lord Palmerston and Prince Louis Napoleon during the latter's residence in England. But it is hinted that the Prince and the Minister were bound together by mysterious ties, even before the revolution of 1848; and it is asserted as the next thing to a positive fact, that from the moment of Prince Louis Napoleon's becoming President of the French Republic, Lord Palmerston entered into secret negotiations with him to the detriment of Russia. In any case, even if these two suppositions be both dismissed, Lord Palmerston saw from the first to what effective purpose he could turn the necessities and the ambition of the new ruler of France, by engaging him in an enterprise of some kind against Russia. In this manner is explained the precipitancy with which, regardless of the views entertained by the Cabinet and by the Queen, Lord Palmerston acknowledged the Prince-President after the *coup d'état* of 1851. Lord Palmerston's haste, however, was punished by a fall; and first with Lord Granville, and afterwards with Lord Malmesbury as Foreign Ministers, Russia had no occasion to fear hostile or even unkindly action on the part of England.

Shaken to pieces as the "edifice of 1815" now was, there were still important fragments which might be saved; and, faithful to the last, the Emperor Nicholas declared himself ready to defend Belgium should France menace that State. The re-establishment of the French Empire was looked upon throughout Europe as presaging war in one direction or another; and the Russian Government, in answer to an inquiry from the Government of England, declared itself ready to send sixty thousand men to Belgium, and if necessary to support the independence of that country with the whole of its forces.

There was at this time anything but good will between France and England, and all that Russia had observed in the mutual relations of the two countries was, profound mistrust on the part of the latter; a feeling which expressed itself in anticipations of invasion and the formation of volunteer corps at the express invitation of the Government.

When, therefore, in 1853 the Emperor Nicholas found the English Cabinet presided over by Lord Aberdeen, the moment seemed propitious for referring to that arrangement of the year 1844, of which the principal points had been recorded in the memorandum addressed by Count Nesselrode to the English Government. It was with Lord Aberdeen that the arrangement had been made, and Lord Aberdeen was once more in power. France had already shown herself irritated by Russia's delay in recognising the French empire, and by the

ungracious manner in which, at the last moment, recognition was given; and the Russian Government could not but be struck by the coincidence of this irritation with the increased importance attached by France to her pretensions in connection with the Holy Places. The English Cabinet, on the other hand, under Lord Derby, had signed with Russia an "eventual protocol" (to which both Prussia and Austria adhered), with the view of guaranteeing the territorial *status quo* in Europe in case its violation should be threatened by the French Emperor. When the Conservatives retired, Lord John Russell, on the part of the new Cabinet, informed Russia, in January, 1853, that while accepting the views of its predecessors as to the necessity of maintaining in Europe the existing territorial limits, the Government did not think it could consent to the "eventual protocol's" being brought to the knowledge of the Emperor Napoleon. Such a step, said Lord John Russell, could only be regarded by the Emperor as a gratuitous provocation, manifesting a distrust for which he had not yet given cause.

The Emperor Nicholas accepted Lord John Russell's view. He was ready to "place confidence in any English Cabinet so long as it was not directed by Lord Palmerston." In one member, moreover, of the new Government, Lord Aberdeen, he had particular faith; and convinced that, in face of the new Napoleonic empire, it was the interest of England to bind herself to her ancient allies on the Continent, he "did not hesitate to open himself once more, without the least reticence, to the representative of England on the subject of the serious crisis which was agitating the East, the imminence of the dangers which it presented, and his own immediate and eventual views in the matter."

Now took place the famous conversation between the Emperor Nicholas and Sir Hamilton Seymour, which was published a year afterwards, when hostilities were on the point of commencing. To be fairly judged, it should be read in connection with Count Nesselrode's memorandum, previously cited, on the points already agreed to between England and Russia during the visit of the Emperor Nicholas to Queen Victoria in 1844. England had certainly not agreed that in consideration of being allowed to take Egypt she would consent to Russia's annexing territory in the Balkan peninsula. But she had come to an understanding with Russia by which, "if anything happened" to Turkey the two countries were to concert measures with a view to their own particular interests in the dying man's estate. If this had been generally known at the time, the English public would scarcely have been so much shocked, as it naturally was, when it suddenly learned that the Emperor Nicholas had proposed to our ambassador nothing less than a partition of Turkey. The Russian Foreign Office, however, is wrong in asserting that the

printed issue of the confidential conversation was due simply to a desire to "hound on the public opinion of Europe against Russia." Lord John Russell, when all hope of preserving peace was at an end, had delivered against Russia a speech so violent as to be, in the opinion of the official historian, "worthy of the columns of the *Times*." To this the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* replied by contrasting the new attitude of England with the one she had presented ten years before on the occasion of the Emperor Nicholas's visit to Queen Victoria. Reference, also, was explicitly made to the conversation which had taken place only a year before between the Emperor Nicholas and Sir Hamilton Seymour; a conversation in which it seems to have struck the Russians that if the Emperor had taken the initiative and played the part of principal speaker, the English ambassador had filled well enough (as etiquette no doubt obliged him to do) that of attentive listener. The conversation having been mentioned in a Russian official paper, it became very desirable for our Government, in view of the English public as well as of its French ally, to show what had really been said. It was, however, to the article in the journal of the Russian Foreign Office that its publication was due. Nor was this conversation made known until all purely diplomatic reasons for keeping it secret had passed away. The Russian Foreign Office declares its publication all the same to have been "an abuse." It regards the act as a betrayal of confidence, and describes the incident generally as "one of the most painful that can be recorded in the annals of diplomacy."

The volumes issued under the superintendence of Prince Gortchakoff present for the first time extracts from a correspondence which took place between the Emperor Nicholas and Queen Victoria when war was imminent. The Emperor Nicholas, in this last endeavour to avert hostilities, expressed his conviction that "in public affairs, and in relations between country and country, there are no surer pledges than the word and the personal character of the Sovereign, with whom, in the last resort, lies the decision of peace or war." Her Majesty, in reply, assured the Emperor of her confidence in his sincerity. "But however pure," she added, "may be the motives which direct the actions of sovereigns, even those of the most elevated character, personal qualities are not sufficient in international transactions by which one State binds itself to another in solemn engagements."

During the long negociations which preceded the war, Russia had found in Lord Aberdeen a friend and almost an ally. The retrospective view now taken of Lord Aberdeen's conduct is flattering neither to him nor to the Russian diplomatists, who perceived what advantages might be derived from his distrust of the Emperor Napoleon, his confidence in the Emperor Nicholas, and his evident

willingness to abide, as far as possible, by the understanding between the two Governments arrived at with his own direct approval in 1844. When Prince Menschikoff went on his celebrated mission to Constantinople, his overbearing attitude towards the Sultan's Ministers excited much comment; and the journals of the day accused him, with or without reason, of presenting himself in negligent attire, and even in dirty boots.

Prince Menschikoff had been selected by the Emperor Nicholas in preference to Count Orloff and Count Kisseleff, suggested by the Foreign Minister, on the ground of his being a man of firm character, of high rank, and free from the trammels of public service. He was answerable to no one but the Emperor for the success or failure of his mission; and the written instructions given to him were intended for his general guidance, and might, on points of detail, be departed from. Nevertheless, they bound him to require from the Porte a settlement in regard not only to the question of the Holy Places, but also a new and much more important question; that of the protectorate claimed by Russia over the Greek Christians throughout Turkey. The "ostensible instructions" contained no mention of this last point. Lord Aberdeen found Prince Menschikoff's demands, as communicated to him by Baron Brunnow, "salutary and moderate," and he engaged to support them. "But the information we gave him," says the candid historian, "was incomplete; and such was the mood of the rest of the English Ministers that our Ambassador did not dare to make the same communication to Lord Clarendon."

With every disposition to believe in the sincerity of the Emperor Nicholas, it is more than difficult to reconcile the frankness of his own personal professions with the duplicity of the conduct pursued by his Government. Two sets of Menschikoff instructions, one for political use, the other for diplomatic show; verbal communications professedly complete but now admitted to have been seriously incomplete: how little does all this accord with the constant declaration of the Emperor Nicholas that "in affairs between country and country the word of the sovereign ought above all to be trusted!" How could the English Government have confidence in the Government of Russia when it discovered, as in time it did, the double game that was being played? The audacity of Russian diplomacy is strikingly shown by the fact, now freely avowed, that the Russian minister in London had two different stories for two different members of the same cabinet; one for Lord Aberdeen the credulous, another for Lord Clarendon, who was not to be taken in. With all its cunning, Russian diplomacy ended by overreaching itself; and Lord Aberdeen is now blamed by the Russian Foreign Office for not having seen the situation as it really

existed, and for having continued to hold out hopes of a peaceful solution when there was no possibility of avoiding war except by a diplomatic retreat on the part of Russia, or at best a compromise. Even Lord Aberdeen was obliged at the last moment to desert the Government in which he had trusted, and which had betrayed him. Stung by the taunts of his countrymen, he delivered a speech in which, says the official historian, he declared that "few persons had spoken and written so much and so strongly against Russia as he."

Although, then, Prince Gortchakoff held, in a general way, that the Crimean war was caused by Lord Palmerston, leagued long beforehand with Louis Napoleon, who on his side found it advantageous to open his campaign against the Vienna treaties in company with England, he, nevertheless, when he reaches the critical moment, throws the blame, so far as England is concerned, on Lord Aberdeen. Nor, according to the same authority, was the Emperor of the French really desirous of fighting Russia; what he wished for being simply, with the help of England, to loosen the rigidity of the treaties of 1815 and open for himself some field of action favourable to French interests in Europe. We have seen, however, that England had bound herself to maintain these treaties as against France; and there was true significance in the parting words of the Emperor Napoleon to Count Kisseleff, when he observed that all the difficulties between France and Russia had their origin in the unwillingness of the Emperor Nicholas to recognise the Empire.

If France did not really aim at war, and if the England of Lord Palmerston, while working towards that end, could nevertheless have been kept at peace had Russia clearly understood on what dangerous ground she was treading, Austria is painted throughout as nothing but a jealous, ungrateful, self-seeking neutral. It suited her policy perfectly to let Russia exhaust herself in fighting the allies; but she would have been quite ready to join Russia had Russia won the first battle.

As for Prussia, she is represented all along as divided against herself: the King, for personal reasons, on the side of Russia; his cabinet, under Baron Manteuffel, bent on maintaining a neutral attitude; the great majority of the Prussian people disposed to take part with the allies.

In its endeavour to inveigle the Prussian King into a promise of alliance and eventual co-operation, the Russian Foreign Office gave proof of its habitual diplomatic ingenuity. But here once more it was shown that trickiness is of no avail against a resolute adversary. Russia, in Prince Gortchakoff's political legacy, shines beyond all comparison as the most subtle among the creatures of the

diplomatic field; and it is gratifying to see by the showing of her own diplomatists that the game she loves to play is frequently unsuccessful. In London, while hoodwinking Lord Aberdeen, she had, by the very means adopted for that purpose, raised the indignation of his colleagues and of the whole country. In Prussia, by placing on record some friendly expressions from the King which had been reported by the resident minister to the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, and sent back to Berlin for presentation and acceptance in the form of a memorandum, she excited the just resentment of Baron Manteuffel, who would not for a moment tolerate this abuse of a mere private manifestation of goodwill. The diplomatic writer records these daring feats of skill on the part of his professional brethren with all the zest that a military historian might show in narrating valorous exploits. They rarely, if ever, succeeded, and sometimes, as in the case of the Menschikoff instructions, they were attended with disastrous results. What, however, was the precise effect of some of the diplomatic strokes recorded can unfortunately never be known. When, for instance, the relations between Russia and England had reached the last degree of tension, Baron Brunnow, without saying anything about letters of recall, simply removed from the Bank of England a large sum of money deposited there by the Russian Government. The fact was at once communicated, as the Baron must have known it would be, to the Foreign Office; and thereupon Lord John Russell hastened to inquire as to the precise bearing of the act. It did not mean, Baron Brunnow explained, that the Russian Ambassador was about to leave London; but it signified that the time had come for him to keep himself in readiness to do so at a moment's notice. The withdrawal of the money was, in fact, a diplomatic demonstration.

A question of importance put in a direct manner by Prince Gortchakoff, then Minister at Vienna, to the Austrian Foreign Minister, seems never to have been answered; and one can see the practised diplomatist, who was soon to be promoted to the post of Foreign Minister at St. Petersburg, asking himself, a quarter of a century afterwards, whether, if Count Buol could have been thrown sufficiently off his guard to reply to his bold inquiry, he would have given him an affirmative or a negative response. The Prince, on receiving from the Austrian Foreign Minister the peace propositions, which were ultimately accepted, asked point blank whether Austria had signed anything which, in the event of their being rejected, would cause her to take an active part with the allies. Count Buol was quite equal to the occasion, and gravely replied that he was "not at liberty to say."

Prince Gortchakoff, to do him justice, fought his country's battle bravely to the last. In forwarding the peace propositions from

Vienna he strongly recommended that they should not be accepted in the form actually given to them; and it was said at the time that Count Nesselrode, recognising the impossibility of continuing the struggle, "intercepted" Prince Gortchakoff's dispatch. This, we are now told, on the best authority, was not the case. But what comes to much the same thing, the Foreign Minister, on receiving it in the ordinary course, abstained from laying it before Alexander II.

Russia gained one important point at the signing of the treaty, when England astonished her by accepting the principle of the inviolability of enemies' merchandise on neutral vessels, and neutral merchandise on enemies' vessels; which, says the diplomatic historian, "deprives her of one of the chief elements of her naval superiority." Prince Gortchakoff, after losing no opportunity of calling attention to alleged breaches of the clause which limited the presence of war-ships in the Black Sea to guard-boats and vessels of small calibre, procured towards the end of the Franco-German war, when the helpless position of our Crimean ally was obvious, the abolition of this clause; and finally, at the conferences of Berlin, he obtained the effacement of the clause which had given to Moldavia the strip of Bessarabia on the Black Sea enclosing Ismail and the Kilia mouth of the Danube—the former valued for historical and sentimental, the latter for political and commercial reasons. This last diplomatic triumph was gained in contempt of a very precise declaration in the convention signed between Russia and Roumania at the outset of the war against Turkey, by which Russia guaranteed to Roumania the integrity of her territory, "within its actual limits." As if to ensure its observance, and with the view of proving to the country that in accepting the Russian alliance it had taken all possible precautions against being defrauded and plundered by its ally, the Roumanian Government published the text of the Convention. Prince Gortchakoff, who was in Bucharest at the time, read it probably himself in the *Official Gazette*. Every one, however, must have known that having once regained possession of the territory which she had been compelled to surrender after the Crimean War, Russia would never again of her own accord relinquish it. By the Treaty of Berlin Russia, as generally happens in affairs, did not obtain all she demanded. But she obtained all that she had lost by the Treaty of Paris and much more besides; and, so far as Prince Gortchakoff was concerned, the work of his life was completed when Moldavian Bessarabia was taken back from Roumania and annexed to Russia. During his quarter of a century's service as Foreign Minister, he had really the satisfaction of undoing or helping to undo the treaty which, when the direction of Foreign Affairs was first confided to him, had just been imposed upon his country.

H. SUTHERLAND EDWARDS.

WORKMEN'S TRAINS AND THE PASSENGER DUTY.

The evidence taken during the sessions of 1881-2, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Artizans' Dwellings, has proved many things and has disproved others. It has proved that alterations and "improvements" in the Metropolis, together with the natural and steady growth of the population, attracted hither by the chance or the hope of work, is tending rapidly to swell the suburbs of London to enormous proportions, and to the farthest possible limits of distance, so long as those limits are still within reach of work. The chief centres of work and employment are naturally in the most busy and crowded neighbourhoods, and the shifts and struggles to which the artizan will subject himself, in order to live "somewhere close to his work," are as melancholy to hear of as is the certainty that the crowded and unsanitary conditions of those densely populated parts must very speedily affect the physical capacity of the resident workers and the actual death-rate of their families. Most of them will be forced out into the suburbs, though some will again and again remove into the immediate neighbourhood, notwithstanding the constantly increasing misery and wretchedness of the quarters to which they are driven. The natural conclusion that the lot of the former is infinitely preferable was distinctly disproved before the Artizans' Dwellings Committee, and nothing was made more clear than the extreme objection of the working classes to reside in the suburbs if it could in any way be avoided. Their objections were reasonable enough. The men—the breadwinners—complained that they had to leave home so early and returned so late, that they hardly ever saw their children for months, except in bed and on Sundays. The wives, in the absence of the husbands, "often grew careless, and neglected to provide the children with proper food," &c. But the chief complaint of all was the money and time spent in going to and from their work. The Great Eastern Railway is the only large railway running out of London which has given real facilities in the way of "workmen's trains" and very cheap tickets to working men.

It seems that the only solution of this terrible and difficult question of overcrowding in large towns, and especially in the Metropolis, is the extension and the encouragement of every possible form of cheap and rapid transit for the working classes from the suburbs into the heart of London. In the report of the Select Committee on "Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement" (1882), they say, "Your Committee would call attention to the importance of favour-

ing in every way facilities of transit between the great centres of industry and the outlying districts, and especially between the Metropolis and its suburbs. Owing to economic causes, land in the central parts of London is, generally speaking, becoming too valuable to be easily made use of as sites for dwellings for the working classes. . . . There is a large migration of the working classes to the suburbs;" and they go on to recommend "that similar conditions as to workmen's trains within a certain distance from London to those now imposed upon the Great Eastern Railway Company should be enforced in the case of other railways as opportunities may offer."

The Great Eastern Railway Company, under the obligations imposed by the Great Eastern Railway Company Act of 1864, has established a system of workmen's trains, which has now been working for more than seven years. They run four such trains daily from Enfield (eleven miles out) to London, leaving Enfield before 7 A.M., and consisting of third class carriages only; and they issue, to passengers by such trains, return tickets from Enfield to London at the price of twopence, whether from Enfield or any other station between that place and London. With such return tickets, the workman is at liberty to return by any train after 4 P.M., and on Saturdays by any train after 12 o'clock midday.

Many other trains between different points are run by the same company on equally advantageous conditions. It should be further said that the company run, without any Parliamentary obligation, a service of steam-boats from North to South Woolwich, for which they issue workmen's tickets. The accommodation which they thus give is found to be so valuable, that the traffic by such trains is constantly increasing, and has grown lately much more rapidly than in the earlier years. The Great Eastern Railway Company deserve much credit for their efforts in this direction, for they complain that such traffic does not pay at the lowest fares charged under the Parliamentary obligation, although they admit that it pays when the fares are raised to a very small extent. They "do not intend to extend such facilities" until they get some relief from the Railway Passenger Duty. As they say, "All general legislation as to workmen's cheap trains is at present perfectly nugatory."

The State at least ought surely not to impose any extra burdens on railway companies in granting this most necessary accommodation to the working classes, for travelling is now as necessary to many for the earning of their daily bread as are their tools, or even their health. When railways were first invented, travelling was a luxury, and was taxed accordingly; and although it has now become a necessity of life to very many, we still continue to tax every passenger (subject to one exception with which I will deal hereafter) carried by a railway. By the 5 and 6 Vict., cap. 79 (1842), an Act which is still in force, a duty of five per cent. upon the gross receipts

from all passengers is levied upon all railways. The total sum received from this tax is not large. In 1873 it was £506,000, in 1880 it was £749,000, and in 1881 it was £798,000. The amount collected has increased annually since the first imposition of the tax, but the annual increase has been far larger since 1874 than before that date. On examining the figures, we find that the chief cause of this increase has been the enormous increase in the numbers of third class passengers. In the period between 1873 and 1880, the number of first and second class passengers decreased, while the number of third class passengers enormously increased.

	1873.	1880.
Total number of first and second class passengers	103,033,078	98,483,636
Total number of third class passengers	336,239,981	488,622,960

Or, in other words, while the number of first and second class passengers decreased in that period by four and a half millions, the number of third class passengers increased by one hundred and fifty-two millions; and the duty paid by railways in the same years was:—

	1873.	1880.
Amount of duty on first and second class passengers	£432,358	£410,694
Amount of duty on third class passengers	74,097	339,025

These figures show conclusively that it is the working classes who pay a very large part of the tax, and who in a short time we may expect to pay by far the larger part of the whole amount collected. If, as Sir Robert Peel said in his budget speech of March 11th, 1842, "It is a great object to facilitate the transfer of labour, and to enable those to whom labour is capital to bring it to the best market," surely we cannot maintain a tax which is in direct opposition to any such objects. Almost as soon as the Act of 1842 was passed, it was felt that so short-sighted and unwise a policy could not be maintained, and in 1844 the "Cheap Trains Act" was passed, exempting from the payment of the tax passengers carried by certain "cheap trains." This is the principle which we want to see applied, but, alas, the Act is now almost a dead letter.

According to this Act (7 and 8 Vict., cap. 85, 1844) it was "deemed expedient to secure to the poorer class of travellers the means of travelling by railway at moderate fares, and in carriages in which they may be protected from the weather." To this end the Act proceeded to lay down that railways should run certain "cheap trains," and that passengers carried by such cheap trains should be exempted from any passenger tax. Now let us inquire what constituted a "cheap train"? A "cheap train" was one which complied with the following (among other) conditions. It should—

1. Start at such hours as the Board of Trade approved.

2. Run, on every week day except Christmas and Good Friday, *from one end to the other* of each trunk, branch, or junction line, belonging to the company.
3. Travel at a speed of not less than twelve miles an hour, including stoppages.
4. Stop at every passenger station which it should pass.
5. The fare was not to exceed 1d. per mile.

It will be seen from the most casual consideration of these conditions that it must be difficult, if not impossible, for any company to run trains which should at once comply with the above conditions and yet be of real use to the poorer classes. For twenty-two years, from 1844—67, the Board of Trade assumed that they had power to dispense with any or all of the above conditions, except that relating to the fare to be charged. As a matter of fact, they dispensed, during the whole of that period, with the condition as to cheap trains stopping at every station. Under this system the accommodation given to third class passengers rapidly increased on all the large railways in the country; they were carried with regularity and speed between all considerable stations by many more trains than the one train per diem required by the Act, and on most of the short traffic railways in the metropolis and its suburbs they had the advantage of travelling by every train. In fact, so widely was the Act interpreted in favour of the exemptions of "cheap trains," that in 1865 only 12½ per cent. of the third class fares were subject to passenger duty. Now over 50 per cent. are taxed.

The change has been effected in the following manner. In 1866 the Board of Trade were advised that they had no power to dispense with the condition laid down by the Act of 1844 as to the stopping of such cheap trains at every station. This opinion was confirmed in 1876 by the House of Lords in their judgment in the case of "The Attorney-General *v.* the North London Railway Company." It is unnecessary here to consider the questions raised and the arguments used on that occasion. Suffice it to say, that since that time the Board of Trade have been compelled to allow no exemptions of railway passenger duty unless all the conditions of the "Cheap Trains Act" were exactly complied with. The effect of this decision, according to the report of the Railway Passenger Duty Committee in 1876, has been such that "if the exemption is earned the passenger must be delayed by stoppages; if the exemption is forfeited, he has to pay the increased fare to meet the duty." By reference to the Report of the Select Committee of the House in 1844, on which report the Cheap Trains Act was founded, it will be seen that their intention was to give facilities and encouragement to the cheap conveyance of the working classes by railways, and to let the Board of Trade use large discretionary powers as to dispensing with any of the proposed conditions, and of allowing alternative arrangements.

which shall appear to it to be better calculated to promote public convenience." Unfortunately, this good intention has been completely frustrated by the legal decision of 1876, and all legislation in favour of the working classes, by giving them cheap trains, is now "practically nugatory."

The Select Committee on Railway Passenger Duty in 1876 arrived at the following conclusions.

1. "That the tax is an undesirable one to maintain longer than is necessary from a fiscal point of view.

2. "That until the finances of the State warrant the abolition of the tax, the following modification should be substituted: That the present tax of 5 per cent. be restricted to fares over one penny per mile, and that the fares of all classes of passengers for the single journey carried in any train, paying one penny or less per mile, be exempted. . . . .

3. "That, in urban and suburban districts, all fares of all classes up to and including ninepence, and all return fares based upon the fare for the single journey, be exempted."

Since that time nothing has been done towards carrying out any one of these recommendations. We have now a good prospect of peace and of reviving trade, and we can hope for no better means of confirming the reputation of our new Chancellor of the Exchequer as a far-seeing and able financier than such a rearrangement of the Passenger Tax as may at least minimise the burden and the check which it undoubtedly is at present on the trade and commerce of our country. Happily we have now no travelling tax except on railways. Tramways, omnibuses (with the exception of their small payment for licence), steamboats, are all free, except the one great carrying interest of the country—our railways.

May we not hope at last to see these too relieved from any check to their extension, and the Railway Passenger Duty abolished? It was avowedly imposed originally because other forms of locomotion were also taxed; but now that this is the only remaining tax on locomotion, surely it would be both fair and wise to repeal it altogether. It would but require one halfpenny in the pound on the Income Tax to do this, and, by repealing it, the Government could make such terms and stipulations with the railway companies as would ensure ample accommodation for workmen's trains at cheap fares. But if we must make two bites of our cherry, surely we might make the Cheap Trains Act a reality, and not a sham, by exempting from any duty all fares not exceeding one penny per mile, by whatever train they may be carried. No man's travelling should be hindered by taxation; at least, taxation should be limited to luxurious travelling. It is to be earnestly hoped that the total repeal of the Railway Passenger Duty is only a question of a very short time.

FRANCIS W. BUXTON.

THE BUDGET: WHAT MR. CHILDERS SHOULD DO.

It is curious to observe how fixed the belief is with a large class in the community that fiscal reforms are matters of course when Liberal Governments are in power. Staid Conservatives entertain this belief as fully as Liberals, in many instances, and the consequences of it are sometimes inconvenient to a Chancellor of the Exchequer more in need of fresh ways and means than free to devise new "reliefs to the taxpayer." What, for example, could well have been more embarrassing to an honest, earnest free-trader like Mr. Childers, than the demand lately made upon his skill as a financial conjurer by the Liverpool Financial Reform Association? Hardly had he settled down in his post at the Exchequer, and realised what the task before him was, ere a deputation from this body waited upon him and asked him, in an off-hand way, to remit £5,000,000 of indirect taxes at a stroke. Mr. Muspratt, the spokesman for the Association, told the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in presenting the memorial, that a time of high expenditure was the best time for initiating reforms. "We are quite aware," said he, "that you have difficulties to contend with in the high rate of public expenditure, as well as in the want of elasticity in trade, which has to a certain extent affected the revenue of the country; but I would urge upon you, and I think all our members would do so, upon the authority of Mr. Gladstone, that such a rate of expenditure is not a reason for refraining from reforming the tariff, but rather a reason for doing so." Hence, and agreeably with this mode of reasoning, now, when the Minister of Finance is grappling with a deficit which he does not expect to be much less than a million at best—which may be a million and a half—he ought, say these men, to remove the duties from tea, coffee, cocoa, dried fruits, and silver plate, give up £5,000,000 in fact, and trust to the increment of other branches of revenue to recoup this loss and the deficit and all.

Bold as the Financial Reform Association is, it could hardly have conceived the notion of making a proposal of this kind to a Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the midst of his perplexity, therefore, Mr. Childers may well feel some amount of satisfaction. The people think he can do much because he is a "Liberal," and because the Liberals have performed such wonders in the past.

I have a strong sympathy with many of the objects of this Association, and believe it to be on the right track in the main, though, unfortunately, many things will have to be reformed in the body politic before it can be at all safe for the nation to fall back upon a simple and inexpensive system of direct taxation. It is not, however,

in order to deal with the schemes of this body that I have drawn attention to its recent memorial. I have done so for the purpose of bringing into strong relief this one great fact, viz., that the Liberal finance of the past generation—of Mr. Gladstone, above all—has, when taken in conjunction with the measureless expansiveness of the public expenditure, brought the country to a point where further large remissions of indirect taxation appear to be impossible without either sweeping retrenchments or a wholesale substitution of new direct taxes in place of those removed. It was, in other words, a comparatively easy thing to institute reforms when they merely involved the sweeping away from the customs tariff of "over four hundred articles, which brought in only three-quarters of a million to the revenue of the country." Duties of that order did no conceivable good to any mortal, but they undoubtedly hampered business, and in no small measure prevented the expansiveness of the most profitable sources of income. By the dozen or hundred then these obstructive taxes were swept away, and gradually those that remained consisted for the most part of what may be called the productive taxes alone—tea, tobacco, coffee, and wine. These four yielded, last completed financial year, about £14,470,000 out of a total of £19,275,000 received from customs. Perhaps the small and vexatious duties on coffee, chicory, figs, currants, plums, raisins, and plate might now be removed, and their removal make no great call upon the financial skill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to replace. These altogether only gave us £830,000 last year, and were other branches of the revenue elastic, the mere passing incident of a heavy deficit might not be sufficient to stay an enterprising finance Minister's hand from clearing them off.

But supposing that done, and the reformers' demands so far gratified, where do we stand? There would then remain only four dutiable articles, but these articles are all large contributories to revenue, and how is it possible to contend that their removal or material reduction would enhance income from other directions, or in any way improve the revenue? Tea alone gives us about £4,000,000 per annum. What other tax exists which would compensate us for the loss of that sum, were the tea duty abolished? The answer to that question involves, it will be seen, the entire field of future fiscal reforms. If tobacco and wine would not compensate us for the revenue lost by abolishing the tea duty, what remains but the income-tax, or some equally handy and elastic method of putting on the screw of direct taxation? A low tax upon an article of general consumption may, and often does, yield more to the Exchequer than a high one, and the tea duties afford most striking examples of this, examples which a Finance Minister might perhaps take to heart in dealing with tobacco and beer, as well as tea, at a future day. But

a tax abolished can yield nothing directly, and can only feed, as it were, the springs of other sources of income when these are well and judiciously tapped. Is there then a tax, direct or indirect, which would benefit by the abolition of the tea duty? Possibly the tobacco duty might were it lower, but on the other hand the beer duty might not. The people, if they could obtain strong sound tea at eightpence or ninepence a pound, might make it a more constant beverage, to the hurt of malt liquors. This change, in short, would be a leap in the dark, about which nothing was certain except that £4,000,000 of revenue was lost and had somehow to be made good from new sources. In a word, the bases of our taxation are now so much narrowed that a considerable abolition of burdens in any direction implies the surrender altogether of the tax collector's hold upon far-spreading sources of income.

All this sort of argument must not be taken in deprecation of fiscal reforms in the future. It is used solely for the purpose of enforcing the lesson that great changes in the method of taxation, as well as in the actual taxes by which we contrive to get at the sources of national wealth, must now accompany these reforms. "Lopping and cropping," in short, is a system which has about exhausted itself, and we shall want to enter upon a new way if great improvements are to be initiated. A plain and simple truth of this kind should long ago have forced itself in upon the minds of those who are eager to tinker at the taxes, and perhaps it has done so, although, with a want of courage not commendable, reformers blink the true issues towards which their demands would drive the country. If these £5,000,000 of taxes were removed and the other sources of income failed to make good the loss, what taxation would the Financial Reform authorities and its supporters propose to substitute? And with no indirect taxes left, except those on drink, where are we to go at a pinch such as a war always causes? These are questions that it would be folly to avoid answering, and I therefore advise financial reformers to approach them with greater frankness.

For the present it appears to be extremely improbable that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have, for another year at least, any chance of displaying great skill in readjustment of taxation. There will be no diminution in the ordinary charges of the new year compared with that now expired. On the contrary, the great spending departments all want about as much, and some want more, than they have hitherto done—costs of little wars excluded. Granting that the deficit on the present year's accounts is less than one million, after paying the whole of the Egyptian War demands, the extra gift of £500,000 to be made to India, and other supplementary estimates, it will not be safe for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reckon on much of a surplus in his new Budget, after he takes off

the war income-tax. The arrears of a sixpence-halfpenny income-tax may nearly wipe out the actual deficit for this year, 1882-3; but it is impossible to ignore the probabilities of the future. We have by no means done with Egypt or with Egyptian charges yet. Supplementary estimates are therefore to be looked for in the year 1883-4, not only on that account, but for all the incidental expences of a vigorous and progressive administration, or one that deems itself such. Ireland alone, as the "supply" debates have already indicated, is not at all likely to cost us less this year than last, nor are there any indications that retrenchments of a substantial kind are possible in other directions. This year's deficit included therefore, it would not be prudent to expect a lesser expenditure in 1883-4 than £86,000,000. Before the year closes the figure may prove to have risen nearer £87,000,000. Huge as this sum is it might be all met, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer still see his way to a considerable surplus, were the taxes retained as they now stand. It is improbable that the revenue from excise—spirits and malt liquors—will recede much further in the coming year. If we take it at last year's estimate then, and suppose the income-tax to be kept at its present level, the probability is that the year's income of the nation might reach £88,000,000, and put the Chancellor of the Exchequer at once in a position to gratify in a small way the "free breakfast table" people by removing the petty duties on coffee, &c., mentioned above. We cannot, of course, guess what he will choose to do, but it is at all events safe to assert that the circumstances of next year's Budget will be such as to prevent him from at one and the same time reducing the income-tax to 5d. and knocking off those mere insignificant customs charges.

This, however, is after all to some degree a speculative question. Of more profit is it to point out the way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer may do a good piece of work at no cost of budget legerdemain. He may take up in a new and enlarged form the scheme for dealing with the terminable annuities which Mr. Gladstone was compelled to abandon two years ago. Mr. Gladstone then proposed at once to secure a renewal of two millions of the annuities expiring in 1885 by extending them to 1906. Through this extension, with small help from the sinking fund, he calculated that twenty millions of Post Office savings bank stock and forty millions of Chancery stock might be at once cancelled. In other words, he would have obliterated £60,000,000 of Three per Cents. all told, by the extension of a portion of the expiring annuities, so perpetuating a large appropriation from the revenue for the reduction of the debt. The intention was excellent, but it is not to be regretted that events did not permit him to give effect to his proposal. Unquestionably the creation of this new annuity would have been most inopportune

in some respects, and its operation would to all appearance have landed the nation in a heavy loss if it had been created on the same lines as those now in force. In any event it must have proved an extremely expensive mode of paying off debt. The annuity system has worked well in the past and upon the whole, because Consols have rarely stood at par. Usually they have been much below par, and it was quite a safe thing, therefore, on the part of a trust body like the National Debt Commissioners to calculate that it could replace the stock it surrendered for an annuity without loss on the basis of a three per cent. rate of interest. But latterly a variety of causes —cheap money, dearth of solid investments, and in no small degree the operation of these annuities themselves—have combined to make the probability strong against a public body being able to replace its cancelled stock on these terms without loss. Consols are above par at the present moment, and for some years back the heavy purchases of the National Debt Commissioners, on account of the various annuities they manage, have had the effect of running up the price of the stock against the nation, which is the real buyer. As annuities near their term, this forcing process naturally becomes most marked in its effects, because the amount of the terminable annuity devoted to buying stock increases with each year of its currency. At the same time, the rapid diminution of the public debt which ensues when these purchases reach six or seven millions a year, as they do now, narrows the market so that each successive creation of terminable annuities becomes more difficult to work than its predecessor. A diminishing supply, in short, has the same effect as a growing demand upon the market price, and Government and investors struggle against each other with increasing heat as the stock grows scarce.

For these, amongst other reasons, no prudent financier can regret that Mr. Gladstone was unable to carry through his fresh annuity scheme in 1881. But none the less is the spirit in which that scheme was conceived a good one. It is of the greatest importance to the future well-being of the nation that the annuities terminable in 1885, amounting to about £6,000,000 all told, should then not be left to be the sport of faction or to help a reckless policy. A Government with a buccaneering turn of mind would find £6,000,000 of released revenue a perfect godsend, and so would a Government anxious to adjust taxation in the interests of privileged classes. It might sweep away the income-tax or the land tax, or devote a few millions to the removal of local burdens from the landowners with the greatest ease. Were the money frittered away in any of these fashions it would be a national misfortune of the highest order. The principle which the Chancellor of Exchequer should, therefore, follow in dealing with these expiring annuities is that the money which has been mortgaged

to the purpose of cancelling debt should continue to be so mortgaged as long as the nation is able to bear the strain. If the income of the empire remains where it is, or substantially progressive in spite of occasional dips, then this money should be held sacred; and even should none of these things be, economies ought to begin first in other directions. It must never be forgotten that a huge debt is a standing menace to the constitution. All goes well enough while the empire prospers, but we cannot expect prosperity to last for ever, and when the day comes that England must fight for life, her debt, if unreduced, will be a crushing millstone, pressing her down to destruction. Every effort should, therefore, be made to reduce its dead weight, and any appearance of decline in the revenue ought only to stimulate the Government to more strenuous efforts to remove the dead weight from the nation's back.

But what can a Chancellor of the Exchequer do? Mr. Gladstone's terminable annuities may now be a most costly mode of extinguishing debt, but the nature of that debt left him very little choice. The difficulty lies in this—that the public funded debt of the United Kingdom is an "inscribed stock," not a series of bonds "to bearer" redeemable at fixed dates, or, when those dates have passed, at the pleasure of the administration. As an inscribed stock there is nothing to represent the public liability except the registers kept at the Bank of England and the corresponding certificates of ownership held by individuals, by company, representatives, or trustees. It is, therefore, practically impossible for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to make a "call" of twenty or thirty millions of Three per Cents. for redemption at par, or for conversion into bonds bearing a lower rate of interest, because he cannot make the holders of just that amount of inscribed stock surrender their security. No individual holder, in short, is bound to obey the call, because the Government cannot touch any one for disobedience. It cannot say to John Smith, "Your stock will be redeemed this year," and let John Robinson alone. This insuperable difficulty has been the great justification for the terminable annuity system, a system practicable to the extent of the funds held by public bodies, but little further. To this characteristic of our national debt we likewise owe it that any systematic mode of redemption adopted, no matter what, must be costly, the nation buys back at a high price what it sold at a low.

With £6,000,000 of free revenue, however, a Chancellor of the Exchequer might do wonders, and the Stock Exchange has for sometime been pointing to one method by which the whole debt should in a few years' time be put upon a new footing. An expectation has been raised there that a reduction in the rate of interest payable on the entire debt is not far off, and some clear-sighted, prudent stockbrokers have already begun to make their clients change their

holdings from 3 per cent. to the newer 2½ per cent. So much of this transfer has taken place that 2½ per cent. stock stands above 87, notwithstanding the fact that the amount of it in existence has been considerably augmented since 1881 by new issues to replace Exchequer bonds paid off. Here then is a disposition which might be utilised for a wholesale reduction of the debt interest. But the work must be boldly and firmly done.

The funded Three per Cent. debt is subdivided into three unequal portions or categories: (1) Consolidated Three per Cent. Annuities amounting to about £395,000,000; (2) New Three per Cent. Annuities amounting to about £200,000,000; and (3) Reduced Three per Cent. Annuities, the par capital value of which is about £92,000,000. Theoretically and legally the whole of these three classes of stock are now redeemable at par on the Government giving holders twelve months' notice by advertisement in the *Gazette*. For the reason already given, however, each class must be dealt with *en bloc*, and the question is, whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer is powerful enough to touch even the smallest of them. Backed as he is by the four millions to be released in 1885, I think he should be, and that he ought therefore to take steps this year to call in or redeem the Reduced Threes to begin with. He could do this I believe in at least two ways. It is in the power of the Government, with the sanction of Parliament, to lower the rate of interest upon the debt without asking holders' consent, and from time to time in the past interest has been so reduced. This plan, however, looks arbitrary, and besides it need not involve any proper utilisation of the revenue set free by the expired annuities. At the most too an edict could not in this fashion lessen the interest paid by more than ¼ per cent., if so much, whereas if it were possible in any way to combine redemption with reduction of interest on a more or less voluntary basis, the saving effected should with good management be greater. On the whole debt of say £700,000,000 a saving of a quarter per cent. to the nation amounts to £1,750,000 per annum, a sum not to be despised; but it seems to me probable that, to begin with, the entire unredeemed portion of the Reduced Three per Cents. called in might be exchanged for 2½ per cent. stock on terms that would save the State rather more than a quarter per cent., if six or seven millions were annually devoted to the purchase of new "two and halves" in the open market, and future reductions might be effected on even improving terms for the State.

On such a basis the plan to be followed would be this. First, protect the operation by an enactment that the present fixed charge for the service of the debt shall continue to be the charge till say 1895, or for ten years after the maturing annuities have expired, and then, armed in this way against contingencies, boldly call in for

redemption at par the smallest category of the Three per Cents., the "reduced threes," as a first step. The mere announcement of such a measure would probably at once have the effect of putting the 2½ per cent. stock in the market to 90, as trustees and others would rush to sell out at once, and by utilizing the released revenues in buying up two and a half per cent. stock in the open market for the Sinking Fund, the Government might soon raise the price to 93 or higher. In fact, five years even might easily see fifty millions of the new stock cancelled, and an excellent basis laid upon which to proceed to the reduction of interest on the other categories of the debt. So long in fact as there was a saving to be effected in the net rate of interest paid the forcing up of prices which the Government purchases of 2½ per cent. stock must steadily cause would by no means be an unmixed evil. On the contrary, if the Sinking Fund purchase of fifty or sixty millions of 2½ per cent. at a price equivalent, say to 110, for Three per Cent. stock enabled the Government to place with investors ten times as much of the low interest-bearing stock at from 94 to 95, there would be a very considerable saving in the net interest to be paid.

Possibly greater amounts than exist at present might be issued of the new stock in the form of numbered scrip to bearer, so facilitating future redemption. That, however, is a matter of detail, as is likewise the period during which holders of the new stock should be exempt from compulsory redemption, although this latter ought to be not less than twenty-five years, so as to make it an additional bait to investors. But the important thing is, that the conversion of the debt into lower interest-bearing stock should be entered upon without delay, and that, wrapped up with it, there should be the utilisation of the lapsed annuities for further extinction of public liabilities. As time went on, it might be wise to resume the system of extinguishing debt by means of terminable annuities on the 2½ per cent. basis, but everything points to the conclusion that for the present the administration should concentrate its efforts on a plan for lowering the rate of interst all round. I am convinced that aided by the released annuities the task would be far less hard than it looks. And there is the more urgency for action in this matter at once, that by the end of the present financial year the notice of redemption would have to be issued if the Reduced Three per Cents. are to be called in in time. The expiring annuities begin to fall in early in 1885, and the Government ought to be in a position to seize the money at once in aid of its interest-reduction plans. It will be well, therefore, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer devotes his energies and his great business ability to this branch of his Budget rather than to readjustments of taxation, which, at the best, can be but of small importance in comparison.

A. J. WILSON.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

UNSATISFACTORY as is the retrospect of the first stage of the session, much of the language applied to it and some of the inferences drawn from it are equally unwarrantable. The Government have been accused of mismanaging their time. The truth is, they have had no time to mismanage. One evening, and one only, has been available for ministerial business. Upon that occasion a Government measure of the first magnitude was read a second time. It was not till Monday, March 19th, that the legislative work of the Cabinet was actually commenced. Either the debates on the Address or Supply had occupied, to the exclusion of all other matters, every sitting of the House. It cannot, therefore, be said that thus far the new rules have facilitated the despatch of Parliamentary business. The reform of procedure, indeed, was never intended, and is not calculated, to remove the sort of impediments which have been placed in the path of the Government during the last four or five weeks. Obstruction in the sense of tedious repetition has not been witnessed. Of technical infractions of existing regulations there have been few or none; yet it is certain that, if the experiences of the session up to Easter are reproduced in the sequel of the session, its record will be barren, and the House of Commons will be discredited in the country for its legislative impotence.

But if the new rules have failed to prevent—as unquestionably they have failed—hindrances to legislation which are as mischievous as obstruction itself, does it follow that the case is hopeless, and the future past praying for? We answer this question with an unhesitating negative. The Government, we believe, may still show themselves the masters of the situation, and may be able to defeat the vexatious tactics employed against them, if they will only act with the courage and decision that would gratify and reassure the great majority of their supporters in the House, and that would rally around them public opinion in the country. Already there are rumours that at least one important Ministerial measure will be abandoned, and that in consequence of the desultory and harassing action of the Opposition the session will pass without any attempt to extend the privileges of Municipal Government to the entire metropolis. If this report should prove true, Ministers will have capitulated to a Conservative minority in a manner which cannot fail seriously to injure them in the judgment of the constituencies. The Government will have forfeited their claim to national respect and to self-respect. No confidence will for the future be possible in any

programme they may draw up, and they will be exposed to the just reproach of being liable to be scared at any moment from pursuing the projects they have laid down by a demonstration in force on the part of a numerically inferior foe. It is, then, for Ministers to decide whether they will acquiesce in a weak and ignoble policy of surrender which will mark the commencement of their decadence and the beginning of the end. The alternative that it is to be trusted they will adopt, and that can alone enable them to maintain their national position, is clear and simple. By the time these lines are before the public the House of Commons will again be in session. If Mr. Gladstone will take the earliest opportunity of informing Parliament what are the measures which Ministers have determined to pass, and will couple this information with an announcement that the House will sit till they have been disposed of one way or the other, the Liberal party and the great body of the English people would congratulate Ministers upon the courage and resolution of their course.

It may be said that the Conservatives would regard a statement to this effect as a challenge thrown down; that they would hasten to take it up, and would at once reply that, though they should sit till Christmas, they would still be found equal to the task of preventing Ministers from carrying their Bills, and of thwarting a policy of menace. We believe that such a declaration of war by the Opposition against the Government might be safely disregarded. There comes a period in every session when party resistance to measures, salutary in themselves and desired by the country, gradually or suddenly collapses. Obstruction, even of the most heroic order, exhibits a tendency to faintness when the grouse season is a couple of weeks old. The phenomenon may be not inaptly compared to the swift lifting of a fog which a few moments previously had seemed to offer an impenetrable barrier to the progress of a ship at sea. In an instant all becomes clear sailing, and those who were most despondent are astonished at their dismay. In the present case there is an additional reason why the Conservatives should fail to prolong the tactics which it is conceivable such a declaration as we trust Mr. Gladstone may make immediately the House reassembles, should provoke. The Bills which the Government now propose to carry are popular in the country and, in the opinion of all thinking men who are not Conservative partisans, necessary. They may not have excited enthusiasm, but there is a growing conviction that they are imperative on grounds alike of justice and of convenience. Such being the temper of the national mind, we may confidently predict that the Opposition will find it impossible to prevent, or seriously to delay, the passage of these Bills through the legislature. No Opposition in its

senses would venture to put itself out of accord with popular feeling to the extent involved in the wholesale and indiscriminating resistance of the Ministerial measures.

The actual intentions of the Opposition are, indeed, clear beyond the possibility of doubt. The attitude adopted by them towards the Ballot Bill, on the night of Monday, March 19th, or rather in the small hours of the following morning, shows that they will omit no opportunity of hindering the legislation of the Government; and that if they cannot defeat a bill on its main issue they will attempt to kill it by a side wind. Sir Michael Hicks Beach has now discovered that the consent he has thus far given to the principle of the Ballot is provisional only. There could scarcely be a more crucial instance of the length to which the Opposition is willing to go in proclaiming its lack of sympathy with public sentiment, if only it can cause the Government inconvenience. But, as has been already said, it will not prove practicable to maintain these tactics for any length of time. The Bankruptcy Bill and the Tenants' Compensation Bill may be resisted for a while, but from the very circumstances of the case the resistance will before long break down. The Municipality of London Bill may be held by some persons to occupy a different category, but signs are not wanting that the feeling in favour of this measure is growing stronger from day to day, and that any ideas which there may be as to the omnipotence—assuming for the moment the desire—of the City Corporation to defeat it, is delusive. We therefore come back to the point from which we started. What the Government have to do is not to defy the House of Commons, but to reanimate their majority, by publishing the resolution that they will not turn back from the path they have elected to tread, and that, however tedious or factious may be the arts employed by the Opposition, they can frustrate them.

Such, then, being the relation of the Government to Parliament and the country, what, we may ask, is the state of the Government in itself? The past month has witnessed a certain readjustment of Ministerial responsibility, and it is possible that there may yet be further modifications in the Cabinet. What it is now important to point out is, that the unity of the Cabinet is no more affected by any of the changes to which it has submitted during the three years of its existence than it is by Lord Spencer's resignation of the post of President of the Council, or by the circumstance of Lord Carlingford's uniting with that office the duties of a Minister for Agriculture. It is true that within the last two years Mr. Forster and Mr. Bright have left the Cabinet in consequence of differences with their colleagues; but so long as they remained in the Cabinet they were at one with their colleagues, and therefore their subsequent

retirement did not impair the strength of the Ministerial action by compromising its unanimity. The Cabinet at the present moment is, as it has always been on fundamental questions of policy, agreed, and if differences of opinion have existed on minor matters, they have been obliterated by the force of events. Thus, in the case of Egypt, there is no practical alternative which can be suggested to the scheme recommended by Lord Dufferin. It is no doubt a compromise and an experiment, but it is an experiment and a compromise which circumstances render unavoidable. The principle of Egyptian independence is recognised. So, too, is the peremptory fact that the hour for withdrawing European authority and support from Egypt has not arrived. We are under a moral obligation not to abandon the country to anarchy. No one seriously denies that we should incur the risk of doing this if we were to desist from our attempts to train the Egyptian people into the ways of self-government and self-administration. None of the criticisms upon, or the invectives against, Ministers for their Egyptian policy have produced the slightest impression upon the Cabinet. It is conceivable that at some future time, should this Cabinet then be in office, a new point of departure may manifestly be reached in Egypt, and as a consequence a real division of sentiment may declare itself; but such a crisis is still distant. It does not come within the range of practical politics. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof, and as the Egyptian question is certain not to create the opportunity for any attack upon the Government from without, it will not prove the cause of any disruption within.

If we pass to Irish affairs we shall see that here, too, events themselves have defined the lines upon which the Government should act with a clearness that admits of no confusion or dispute. In the past Ministers may not always have agreed whether at specific junctures remedial or coercive measures should have the precedence. There is now no room for the renewal of such a controversy. Upon two central points the resolution of the Government has been unalterably and harmoniously taken, and in that resolution they are supported by the approval of the whole country. The speech with which Mr. Gladstone met Mr. Parnell's Land Bill on the 14th of this month was as unambiguous as it was satisfactory. Whatever he may have been represented as saying, he did not say that the coping-stone had been placed by the Government upon the fabric of Irish legislation, or that the Irish Acts already passed were incapable of further improvement. On the contrary, he studiously declined to forecast what it might or might not be necessary or possible to do next year. His remarks were confined exclusively to the present year, and they amounted to a declaration that this session should be devoted to Scotch and English legislation, and that no large Irish measure should be undertaken. This course is denounced as unjust

and illogical by Mr. Parnell and his followers. "You admit," they say, "the continued existence of Irish grievances, the incompleteness of the legislation already accomplished, and the necessity of further reforms. Why, then, do you refuse to take in hand, or to allow others to take in hand, the work which, according to your own confession, is wanted?" The answer to such a question is simple and conclusive. The Government do, as Mr. Parnell asserts, allow that there are still Irish grievances which must be remedied, and wrongs which must be redressed. But wrongs and grievances are not the monopoly of Ireland; they exist in England and in Scotland as well, and it is intolerable that the Irish peasant should always be allowed priority in the deliberations of the Government over the labouring classes of England. While therefore the condition of Ireland may not be absolutely satisfactory, and the remedial work of the Government must be incomplete so long as Ireland is without any system of local self-government, Ministers have wisely determined not to take such legislation in hand at the present moment. The Land Act is doing its work, and with this, supplemented as it is by the vigorous administration of the Crimes Act, we must be content.

Of the attempt made to destroy the Local Government Board with dynamite it is unnecessary to speak at any great length. The outrage is unquestionably the work of some desperadoes, and the great feature in the present proceedings of these is not so much their cruelty as their cowardice. No more dastardly ruffians ever addressed themselves to the work of murder and destruction. In the incident of the Westminster crime we see once more proof of the fact which has been repeatedly illustrated in Russia and in other foreign countries —that attempts at wholesale explosion very seldom succeed in effecting the particular purpose with which they were made. Palaces and railway trains are shattered into fragments, but the individual whose life is aimed at escapes scathless. The parallel between Continental and British outrage does not go farther than this. The members of Russian and German assassination gangs have at least shown an indifference to danger and to death. They have held their lives as dust in the balance so long as they have achieved their object, and they have never sought to save themselves from the consequences of their crime by betraying their colleagues. Thus, it will be remembered, the bomb which produced the death of the Czar was fatal also to the man by whose hand it was thrown. Precisely in proportion as we fail to see any signs of this personal intrepidity in the action of the men who placed dynamite against the wall of the office of the Local Government Board, may the conspiracy which we have to put down in this country be considered wanting in one of the gravest and most essential elements of danger.

In the Transvaal, indeed, the Government are confronted by a state

of things, unwelcome and even serious, but nothing can occur in this quarter of the world which can possibly break the Ministerial concensus. Mr. Forster, with the heroic irresponsibility characteristic of an ex-minister of the Crown, has made himself the champion of a heroic policy in the House of Commons. It was said of Mr. Pitt on a memorable occasion that he had unwhigged Mr. Fox. It may be said with equal truth of Mr. Gladstone that he unquakered Mr. Forster. He convicted the man of peace of preaching the doctrine of war. The debate will be resumed immediately the House meets. It is easy to see the character it will assume, and its practical result. What are the main questions to be asked and answered in respect to this matter? They are two. One prospective, the other retrospective. First, what are we to do now? Secondly, what ought to have been done in the past? That the condition of the native tribes on the Transvaal border is painful in the extreme, and thoroughly discreditable to the Boers, may be at once admitted. On the other hand, the oppression of which they have been the victims must not be rated too high. Mr. Forster's narrative was obviously coloured for party purposes, and not in all parts derived from most trustworthy sources. The fact, however, remains that the Transvaal Government have shown themselves unable or unwilling to repress the attacks of the freebooters, aggravated as these attacks have often been by many circumstances of cruelty and barbarity upon the natives. Nor is this offence condoned or palliated by the fact that the rule of the three native chiefs themselves has not been immaculate. Here, then, we have a clear and undoubted violation of the Convention into which we entered with the Boers by the Transvaal Government, and an unquestionable *casus belli*, should we care to follow it up. In other words, the Boers have done what would justify the English Government in undertaking military operations against them.

But between a just cause of war and a war politic and from the point of view of the English taxpayer just, there is a great difference. Those who urge upon the Government an expedition to the Transvaal have not seriously considered whether the struggle could produce results adequate to the sacrifice which it would or it might involve. Behind the Boers of the Transvaal are the Dutchmen of the Orange Free State, and of the aggregate of the various South African communities. If we were to embark on a contest with these, there is every reason to suppose that the campaign would reach proportions not exceeded by, and probably far exceeding, those of any military enterprise of our time. Nor is this all. The logical conclusion, said Mr. Forster, of the present South African policy of the Government is the surrender of India. One hypothesis is as good as another in this context, and the answer to Mr. Forster is, that the

logical conclusion of a new war in the Transvaal would be to make native tribes in every part of the world abjectly dependent on English intervention. The big brother would have declared that he was always willing to take up arms for his smaller relatives, and as a necessary result the latter would inevitably, and perhaps unconsciously, abstain from making any exertions on their own account. Supposing that we settled the present difficulty, there would be no guarantee that we might not be face to face with a greater difficulty to-morrow. Moreover, the more we know of the circumstances of the case the better grounds there seem to be for holding that the native tribes are by no means incompetent successfully to resist the oppression of the Boers.

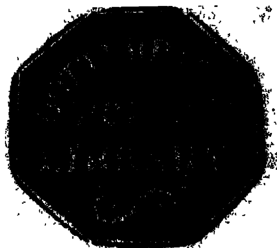
The second question relates to the past—have the Government been to blame for the policy which they have thus far pursued? To condemn Ministers for the retrocession of the Transvaal is to raise an old question, the arguments on both sides of which have been already discussed at great length. To have maintained the annexation of the Transvaal would have involved a war demanding the employment of vast numbers of men and the expenditure probably of fifty millions of money. But it may be said, assuming that the Government were right in giving up the Transvaal, were they right in accompanying its surrender with an illusory convention? Let us meet this inquiry in a practical spirit. The convention, if it has done no great good as yet, has at least done no harm. If it conferred on us no obligations, it gave us rights. It has still to be proved that the moral influence which it established for us has broken down. Even should the sequel prove this to be the case, the state of things is not made worse by the fact of the convention having been concluded. Finally, it must not be forgotten that the full strength of the convention has yet to be tested. The one thing certain is, that the debate will not affect the position of the Government. The responsible leaders of the Conservative party recognise that such a war as Mr. Forster would commit us to is out of the question. It would, as Sir Michael Hicks Beach said, "be the most serious war ever undertaken by Great Britain in South Africa," and the idea of a contest of that kind is as emphatically condemned by the Opposition as it is by Ministers themselves.

The situation in France has undergone a marked improvement during the last few weeks. The Government of M. Ferry partakes of the nature of an interregnum, and this must indeed be the character of any cabinet which assumes office before *scrutin de liste* has been voted. The industrial disturbances in Paris have been from the first greatly overrated. Directly the Government showed themselves determined that they should cease they came to an end.

M. Ferry is universally allowed to be more capable than any of his contemporaries of preserving public order. No one believes that his administration will last an indefinite period, but it is not an extravagant conjecture that it will hold together, at least, till a general election arrives. The chief question before the country, then, will be, whether the present system of *scrutin d'arrondissement* shall be maintained. The arguments against it will have gained strength from delay. Gambetta postponed till the latest possible moment taking office under the existing régime, and when he was compelled to assume the post of premier he did so with the full foreknowledge that he had not the instrument of governing. Since then France has had a succession of weak and short-lived administrations. *Scrutin de liste* is wanted, not to consolidate one party in the State in opposition to another, but to consolidate the Government itself, and to place it upon a sure foundation.

France has also had during the past month an opportunity of co-operating with England in the interests of the peace and well-being of Europe. It is chiefly to the cordial understanding between the two Western Powers that the satisfactory termination of the Danube conference must be attributed. The principle has once more been asserted, in the most unreserved and emphatic manner, that the regulation of European rivers which are great highways of international traffic is an international concern. The treaty which is the outcome of these deliberations practically makes the European commission supreme over the Danube, and constitutes the mixed commission its executive body. Special rights are conceded to Russia in respect of the navigation of the Kilia arm and the operations for the opening of the Kilia mouth; but compensating guarantees are exacted, in the former case, that Russia shall impose no taxes which the other Powers do not approve; in the latter case, that none of her works shall menace the traffic of any other portions of the stream. It is an abuse of language to say that any concessions have been made to Russia. The utmost which has been done is to recognise that her position as a riverain power has been changed by the retrocession of Bessarabia. Roumania parades her dissatisfaction, but it must not be forgotten that the rights of Roumania on the Danube are the cries utilised periodically by Roumanian political parties on the eve of general elections. This is the case now, and too much stress need not be laid upon it. The importance of the proceedings of the conference remains, and what may be called the international principle is distinctly stronger than it was before its sittings began.

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ELIJAH'S MANTLE; APRIL 19th, 1883.

Under a murky sky and amidst splashing rain Sir Stafford Northcote on the 19th of April unveiled the statue of Lord Beaconsfield. The occasion was deemed suitable for lamenting the lost glory of the past rather than for anticipating any triumph in the future. Six years ago it was Lord Beaconsfield who unveiled the statue of Lord Derby. At that time a Conservative Government was in office, supported by a majority of one hundred in the House of Commons. Nothing had occurred to diminish its popularity, and the Prime Minister of the day had expressed an opinion to more than one friend and follower that the Tory party would be in power for a quarter of a century. The palmy days of Mr. Pitt seemed to him to have returned. On the 19th of April, 1883, the disagreeable reality present in the minds of those who had collected to honour the occasion, must have been that the majority of one hundred in the House of Commons was on the side of the Liberal party.

What a crash was that of 1880, and with what a surprise it came! During the three months preceding the general election the populous constituencies of Southwark and Liverpool had acknowledged the excellence of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. In one week power, place, patronage, and glory had departed. The immensity of the disaster increased the intensity of the disgrace. Bitter beyond everything to the vanquished was the fact that the Statesman who profited by this sudden transformation had been the life-long rival of the fallen minister. The Counties, faithful to the Tories since 1848, had gone over in large numbers; Lancashire, true during the trials of 1868, had given way; and the Orangemen of Ulster had been found wanting. The only explanation of the wretched business was that some malign and venomous genius must have suddenly possessed the mind of the people—that some mephitic blast must without warning have swept over the land, under the influence of which the light of

Toryism could no lon[illegible]ven glimmer, was absolutely extinguished. S[illegible]en, so thought the rank and file, so thought the[illegible]ed over the fires at the Carlton. What "The O[illegible] none knew. Never was he more mysterious or reticent. He has left on record no expression of opinion as to the causes or as to the effects of that unequalled disaster. After all, what could he say? It is supposed that he sympathised greatly with the fatalistic doctrines of the East; he knew that his day was done, his race run, and that he left behind him no Cæsar who should take up and carry on the imperial idea. For a short time he fulfilled with stoical calm the duties of leader of the Tories, and while he lived hope lived too. Nor was the session of 1880 as bad for the Tories as might have been expected. The enterprises of Mr. Bradlaugh and the Compensation for Disturbance Bill afforded encouraging opportunities to the wise and wary old statesman of which he knew how to take advantage, and which cheered a desponding party. But on the 19th April, 1881, the mischievous and evil-minded fortune which had persecuted the Tories sent a crowning blow, and Lord Beaconsfield passed away.

From that hour to this there has hardly been a Tory in or out of Parliament, high or low, rich or poor, who, observing at any particular moment the political situation, has not exclaimed, muttered, or thought, "Oh, if Lord Beaconsfield were alive!" This is really the proudest monument to the departed leader, more enduring than the bronze on the Abbey Green. This is the truest testimony of his inestimable value to the party who for so long jeered, feared, flouted, followed, and following at the last greatly loved. This, too, is the criticism pointed and unanswerable on the conduct of affairs since his death, which no amount of memorials of confidence, no number of dinners in Pall Mall, no repetitions, however frequent, of gushing embraces between the lord and the commoner, can meet, modify, or gainsay

Such must have been the train of thought, or something very similar, which impressed the chief actors in the ceremony that marked the 19th of April, 1883, judging from the utterances of which they delivered themselves. It is remarkable that in the speeches which were made on that occasion not one spark of hope or cheerfulness can be detected. Artificial eulogies, vapid adjectives, gloomy recollections were the order of the day. Yet the career of Lord Beaconsfield was rich in illustrations which, if felicitously treated, might have stimulated those who heard, and those who read, to renewed efforts, fresh enthusiasm, unlimited confidence in the performance of the laborious task of resistance to the triumphant hosts of Radicalism and Demagogy. His life may be painted in a sentence: Failure, failure, failure, partial success, renewed failure, ultimate and complete triumph. The disasters of 1880 may be greatly overestimated

in learning the lesson of Lord Beaconsfield's career. It is not foolish to assume that, if Lord Beaconsfield in 1874 had been the same man who turned out Mr. Gladstone in 1866, the Tory party would be in office now. But he was very old and very worn when he got to the top of the tree, and he was but indifferently served by some of his colleagues. Advancing years, an enfeebled constitution, a singularly exhausting and painful form of disease, had compelled him to give way to a disposition naturally indolent, unsuited to the constant mastery of dry administrative detail. He must often have thought that he had done nearly enough, that he might with justice allow himself to seek in the distractions of London society a pleasure and a repose to which, during most of his life, he had been a stranger.

Only the most captious mind could blame him for this, but this it was nevertheless which greatly conduced to the downfall of his Government. What time he gave to public affairs was absorbed in studying, with the assistance of the Foreign Secretary, the various phases of the Eastern complication. All else was neglected. Finance was left entirely to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in whose unaided hands deficits and floating debts grew apace. The other heads of departments were all allowed to go their own way, doing what seemed good in their eyes. There was no master-mind pervading and controlling every branch of the administration. Election affairs and organization went to the dogs. The care, the experience, the personal supervision which Mr. Disraeli, assisted by a few practised hands, had bestowed upon the preparations for the general election of 1874 disappeared. A weak but wide-spreading centralization enervated the vigour of the provincial organization. A stupefying degree of over-confidence, a foolish contempt for the adversary, a fatally erroneous estimate of the revived influence of Mr. Gladstone—these causes, and these alone, all of them preventible, slowly but surely worked the ruin. A golden opportunity had been given to the Tories, but, owing to the natural decay of Lord Beaconsfield's physical vigour, the opportunity was wasted and lost. Who shall say whether such an opportunity will ever return? The Liberals can afford better to sustain great disasters than the Conservatives, for there is a recuperative power innate in Liberal principles—the result of the longing of the human mind for progress and for adventure—which enables them to recover rapidly and unexpectedly from misfortunes which would seem to be fatal. The Tories, though possessing many other advantages, fail in this respect. As time goes on their successes will be fewer and separated from each other by intervals of growing length; unless, indeed, the policy and the principles of the Tory party should undergo a surprising development; unless the secret of Lord Beaconsfield's theory of government is appropriated, understood, believed in, sown broadcast amongst the people; unless the mantle of

Elijah should fall upon some one who is capable enough and fortunate enough, carrying with him a united party, to bring to perfection those schemes of imperial rule, of social reform which Lord Beaconsfield had only time to dream of, to hint at, and to sketch.

On the occasion which gave rise to these reflections Sir Stafford Northcote depicted, with some eloquence and much ingenuity, the character of Lord Beaconsfield. It is curious and difficult of explanation that the three features of Lord Beaconsfield's career which his panegyrist singled out, "force of character, genius, undaunted courage," which one would have thought that a quarter of a century of constant association would have communicated themselves, at any rate to some extent, to Lord Beaconsfield's chief lieutenant, should be precisely the qualities which the greatest friends of Sir Stafford Northcote declare are conspicuous by their absence in the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. It is generally believed that the other three features insisted upon by the orator, "unwearying patience, perfect temper, and great magnanimity," Sir Stafford Northcote possesses with perhaps superfluous abundance. I wonder whether Sir Stafford Northcote, when he unveiled the statue of his former master, allowed his mind to turn for a moment to the commencement of his own political life, formed under the guidance and modelled on the principles of the rival who finally overthrew Lord Beaconsfield and now reigns in his stead. Was it owing to the training of Mr. Gladstone's whilom private secretary that during a certain period Sir Stafford Northcote, though ostensibly the colleague and associate of Mr. Disraeli, found his chief delight in opposing, depreciating, or faintly supporting the financial policy of him whom he eulogised on the 19th of April, in exalting, admiring, and feebly imitating the financial policy of the Manchester school? I wonder whether Sir Stafford Northcote thought of the epoch when, in order to compensate himself for his failure to obtain the Viceroyalty of India, he accepted from Mr. Gladstone, without any previous consultation with Lord Beaconsfield, a seat on the Washington Commission, thereby hampering the Conservative party in their action against the surrender to the American Alabama claims. I wonder whether his conscience was uneasy with the memory of a moment when he permitted a resolution to be carried in the House of Commons censuring Lord Beaconsfield in the matter of the appointment of Mr. Piggott to the Stationery Office—a vote which would never have been agreed to had Sir Stafford Northcote been disposed to present the circumstances of the case in their true light to the House, and which was immediately and unanimously rescinded by the Commons when Lord Beaconsfield in the Lords defended and explained the appointment. I wonder whether Sir Stafford Northcote, when he removed the scarlet drapery which hid from the eyes of the crowd the effigy of the Minister, remembered how he himself,

by pertinacious opposition based on little grounds of financial parsimony, tarnished the lustre, mutilated the form, and prevented the realization of that great Eastern development of the Empire which had been the dream of Lord Beaconsfield's life.

Possibly the character of Lord Beaconsfield was also to some extent imperfectly appreciated by Lord Salisbury, to whom, for some reason or other, an unknown master of the ceremonies had reserved the very secondary function of moving a vote of thanks to Sir Stafford Northcote for having unveiled the statue. Speaking to the delegates of the various Conservative associations on the eve of the ceremony, Lord Salisbury condemned in forcible language "the temptation" which, he said, "was strong to many politicians to attempt to gain the victory by bringing into the lobby men whose principles were divergent, and whose combined forces therefore could not lead to any wholesome victory." Excellent moralising, very suitable to the digestions of the country delegates, but one of those puritanical theories which party leaders are prone to preach on a platform, which has never guided for any length of time the action of politicians in the House of Commons, and which, whenever apparently put into practice, invariably results in weak and inane proceedings. Discriminations between wholesome and unwholesome victories are idle and unpractical. Obtain the victory, know how to follow it up, leave the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness to critics. Lord Salisbury, when he used the words quoted above, must have forgotten that a few hours later he was going to take part in unveiling the statue of a statesman whose whole political life was absolutely at variance with Lord Salisbury's maxim. The condemnation of a particular method of gaining political victories was in reality a condemnation of the political career of the Earl of Beaconsfield.

In 1852, Mr. Disraeli put Lord John Russell into a minority by allying himself with Lord Palmerston, and in 1857, Mr. Disraeli put Lord Palmerston into a minority by allying himself with Mr. Gladstone and with the Radical party. In 1858, Mr. Disraeli put Lord Palmerston into a second minority by following the lead of Mr. Milner Gibson and the Radicals. At the great meeting at Bridgewater House in 1880, Lord Beaconsfield impressed upon his followers the immense benefit which the Conservative party had derived from their having been able on two occasions to hold office for a short time as the result of these alliances. In 1866, Mr. Disraeli, with the assistance of Lord Cranborne, placed Mr. Gladstone in a minority by allying himself with the Whigs, whose principles are even more divergent from the modern Conservatives than the principles of the Radical party, and certainly any political victory in which Whigs bear a part must be to the last degree unwholesome and scrofulous. But even this unwholesome victory enabled the Conservative party, by allying themselves with the Radicals, to

hold office for two years, and during that period to pass a Reform Bill, which laid the foundation of the modern Tory party. It is worthy of remark that in 1867 Lord Cranborne allied himself with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright for the purpose of placing in a minority the Government from which Lord Cranborne had at that time just seceded. Again, in 1873, Mr. Disraeli placed Mr. Gladstone in a minority by making a temporary alliance with the Radicals and with the Irish. During the present Parliament, if Lord Beaconsfield's political wisdom had imbued his lieutenants, Mr. Gladstone's Government might have been placed in a minority more than once, with great consequent loss of virtue and honour to themselves. Nor would it have been in any way incumbent upon the Conservatives to have taken advantage of any defeat of Mr. Gladstone by grasping at office themselves. To have weakened and discredited the Liberal majority, by hostile divisions and repeated attacks, would not only have been fair, but in my opinion was imperative in dealing with a Government who had obtained office by methods more unscrupulous than were ever yet resorted to by English politicians.

The real moral of Mr. Disraeli's long series of parliamentary tactics, which Lord Salisbury probably appreciates, but thinks inexpedient to proclaim, is as follows: Take office only when it suits you, but put the Government in a minority whenever you decently can. To the first half of this maxim there are no exceptions, to the second half the exceptions are extremely rare, and in dealing with them this rule may be laid down, "Whenever, by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, an Opposition is compelled to support the Government, the support should be given with a kick and not with a caress, and should be withdrawn at the first available moment."

The "Dual Control" which was exhibited to the public under the shadow of Lord Beaconsfield's statue on the 19th April is considered by some to be a source of great strength to the party which is blessed or afflicted by it. We are invited by Sir Stafford Northcote to believe that there has never been the slightest serious difference between himself and Lord Salisbury; and no doubt, as long as Sir Stafford Northcote is enabled to occupy the foremost place at public ceremonies, it will be convenient and pleasant to him to persist in this assertion, although it awakens no responsive echo in any quarter. It is just possible, however, that the utmost harmony may exist between the principals, and certainly there is no direct evidence to the contrary; but Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote have each of them adherents, and between the two bands of adherents something very far removed from the utmost harmony frequently prevails.

Greater advantage, we are often told, would result to the Conservative party if the leader of the party was a member of the House

of Commons than if he was a peer. This position is asserted with much force and persistency by the clique which has attached itself to the fortunes of Sir Stafford Northcote. It has not received the examination which reflection will show that it requires. Since the close of the great war, three leaders have illustrated the annals of the Tory party—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Derby, and Lord Beaconsfield. Under the guidance of these nobles the Tory party has exercised great power and influence, whether in opposition or in office. The premiership of Sir Robert Peel destroyed a Tory Government. I allude to these historical facts without wishing to attach undue weight to them. They are worthy of mention and no more. The nucleus of the Tory party is the House of Lords. The existence of the party is inseparable from the existence of an hereditary chamber; as inseparable as the latter is from the existence of an hereditary monarchy. These will stand or fall together, and anything which may tend to exalt the House of Lords will strengthen the Tory party and will not endanger the Constitution. When the Tories are in office it is, perhaps, of less importance in which House the leader may be, though even then it might be shown that considerable advantage attaches to the position of a peer. It is when the Tories are in opposition that the matter becomes serious. In the present Parliament the Tories in the Commons are in a condition of perfect impotence unless largely assisted either by the Irish or by the Whigs. By themselves they exercise no influence on the course or form of legislation, nor can they in any appreciable degree thwart the designs of the Government. This state of things would be little altered if the numbers of the Tory party were increased by a general election,—unless, indeed, they were increased to such an extent as to give them a working majority. Under present circumstances it is to the House of Lords alone that the Conservatives in the Commons and in the country look for the maintenance of their principles, for the rejection or modification of existing legislation, and for an effective control of a Government which is believed to aim at great constitutional changes; and it is in the House of Lords that the genius and experience of the Tory party are concentrated. The large Tory majority in the Upper House well and wisely handled by a statesman possessing the full confidence of the entire party in and out of Parliament can fulfil these duties with safety and success. These duties, however, are in many respects delicate, sometimes full of political danger, and require for their proper discharge considerable tact and much courage. Nothing can be more destructive of these qualities than the existence in the House of Commons of a leader of co-ordinate authority with the statesman who may be leading the Lords. No other result of such an arrangement can be looked for than divided councils, timid operations, distracted followers, broken ranks, constant failure. On the House of Lords the brunt of the

battle against Radical encroachments will always fall when the Tories are in a minority in the Commons. At the end of every session since the commencement of the present Parliament one thought has disturbed and perplexed the country: "What will the Lords do?"

The action of the House of Lords in rejecting the Compensation for Disturbance Bill was bold in the extreme. At that time Lord Beaconsfield was leader. A Government had only just come into office with an overwhelming majority, and with an almost unlimited letter of credit from the constituencies. The measure was declared by the Ministers to be absolutely necessary for the government of Ireland. The Lords refused even to consider it, and their action was received by the country with great equanimity, possibly with no inconsiderable amount of approval. Boldness in politics, as in war, never fails. From the days of Nicias it is the hesitating, the so-called cautious, the would-be-safe-all-round man who spreads ruin and devastation on every side. I can imagine occasions when it might be the duty of the Lords to continue to resist the Commons, even though an appeal to the country upon the matter in conflict might seem to have gone against the hereditary House—occasions when a failure to resist would be cursed by posterity. Such an occasion possibly arose at the time of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. A second may be upon us again before long. No doubt the sentiment I have just ventured upon would cause some of our leaders in the House of Commons to shiver with fear and dismay, and if they had anything to do with such a crisis, the "débandade" might be discounted beforehand with great certainty. Can the wildest imagination conceive "the Junta" in the House of Commons deciding upon such strokes of audacity as the declaration of war against Austria by Prince Bismarck, the repudiation of the Black Sea Treaty by Prince Gortchakoff, the concession by Austria of a Constitution to Hungary, the overthrow of the imperial régime by M. Gambetta, and the formation of the Government of National Defence? Let fancy revel in the possibilities occasioned by the construction of the Channel Tunnel, and "the Junta" under the necessity of deciding whether they should blow it up or leave it alone a little longer. Yet in an empire whose limits may be found in every ocean, on every land, amongst every people, in a country where the fiercest strife of parties is continually agitating political, economical, and social questions of the gravest nature, crises of an analogous nature to those alluded to above will recur and recur again.

A study of electoral probabilities may lead to the following conclusions. In England the Conservatives are strong, numerous, and confident, and there is every reason to believe that at a general election they might carry a remarkable number of counties and

boroughs. The evil feature of the situation appears to be that Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are irreconcilably hostile to the Tory party. An accession of strength in England sufficient to counterbalance the almost unanimous enmity of these three countries would be a miracle, a direct interposition of Providence of a very unusual character, which even the most pious mind would hardly be justified in looking forward to. The Nonconformist tendencies of Scotland and Wales preclude much hope of Tory popularity in those regions. In Ireland, however, something might be done; and if Lord Beaconsfield's spirit could for a moment animate his statue, an Irish policy might be suggested which would captivate the Celtic race. This, however, is so dangerous a subject that I pass from it with haste.

Some of Lord Beaconsfield's phrases will bear any amount of microscopic examination. Speaking at Manchester in 1871, by the alteration of a letter in a quotation from the Vulgate, he revealed the policy which ought to guide Tory leaders at the present time: "Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas." Such was the quotation in which a careful mind will discover a scheme of social progress and reform, of dimensions so large and wide-spreading that many volumes would not suffice to explain its details. By it is shadowed forth, and in it is embraced, a social revolution which, passing by and diverting attention from wild longings for organic change, commences with the little peddling Boards of Health which occupy and delight the Local Government Department, comprises Lord Salisbury's plans for the amelioration of the dwellings of the poor, carries with it Lord Carnarvon's ideal of compulsory national insurance, includes Sir Wilfrid Lawson's temperance propaganda, preserves and reclaims commons and open spaces favoured by Mr. Bryce, constructs people's parks, collects and opens to the masses museums, libraries, art-galleries, does not disdain the public wash-houses of Mr. Jesse Collings. Public and private thrift must animate the whole, for it is from public thrift that the funds for these largesses can be drawn, and it is by private thrift alone that their results can be utilised and appreciated. The expression "Tory Democracy" has excited the wonder of some, the alarm of others, and great and bitter ridicule from the Radical party. It has, unfortunately, been subjected to some discredit by having been used by Mr. Forwood, the Conservative candidate at the last Liverpool election, who used it without knowing what he was talking about. But the "Tory Democracy" may yet exist; the elements for its composition only require to be collected, and the labour may some day possibly be effected by the man, whoever he may be, upon whom the mantle of Elijah has descended.

RANDOLPH S. CHURCHILL.

CARLYLE IN SOCIETY AND AT HOME.

DURING two years which have elapsed since Mr. Carlyle's death his literary biographer has published two volumes of his *Reminiscences* and two of a biography extending over the first half of his life. Three volumes of *Mrs. Carlyle's Letters* raise the number to seven, in addition to two volumes of *Carlyle's Correspondence with Emerson*, edited at Boston by Mr. Charles Eliot Norton. The more interesting and probably the fuller half of the biography will appear hereafter; and Mr. Froude has at his disposal some thousands of letters exchanged between Carlyle and his numerous correspondents. All the English publications have, with or without reason, produced a painful impression, although the general estimate of Carlyle's personal character will probably emerge from the cloud of temporary prejudice. Notwithstanding his anxious avoidance of undue partiality, there is no reason to doubt that Mr. Froude intended to do justice to the memory of his friend. In the preface to the biography he quotes, and accepts as obligatory on himself, the principle which is laid down by Carlyle in a review of Lockhart's *Life of Scott*. It appears that Lockhart had been accused of indiscretion in noticing foibles and errors which qualified his delineation of an otherwise perfect character.

> "The very hero," wrote Carlyle, "of the biography is rendered unheroic, unornamental facts of him and those he had to do with being set forth in plain English. . . . Know that by this plan only, executed as was possible, could the biographer hope to make a biography; and blame him not that he did what it had been his worst fault not to do."

The result of Lockhart's adherence to the rule was that Scott's literary fame was illustrated and enhanced by sympathetic admiration for his personal qualities, as they were exhibited in his private career. Carlyle was not less upright or noble than Scott, and perhaps in the course of a laborious and unworldly life he committed fewer serious errors. Mr. Froude, in the formal biography, recognises and describes Carlyle's singularly pure and lofty character; but in other publications he has, probably with the best intentions, concentrated the attention of his readers on the peculiarities and shortcomings which were calculated to produce popular disapproval and distaste. The latest instalment of biographical documents, consisting of Mrs. Carlyle's letters from the beginning of their residence in London to her death, is interesting in itself, except where it is concerned with sordid details; but, as far as it indicates her own occasional discontent and her husband's domestic defects, the violation of privacy is redeemed by no compensating advan-

tage. It is true that Mr. Carlyle consented to the publication; but Mr. Froude was at liberty either to suppress the whole, or to omit the letters or passages which were certain to provoke offensive comment. It may be confidently asserted that when Carlyle prepared the letters for publication, he overlooked complaints which have furnished unfriendly observers with almost all the matter of their criticism. The principal fault in his character as disclosed by the letters was a certain dulness of perception in regard of his wife's sensitive nature. When he was awakened to the knowledge of her failing health, and after her death, he felt deep regret for his former obtuseness; but he apparently overlooked the meaning of many of her letters, for he refers with mournful pride and with entire absence of self-reproach to the relations which at one time excited her jealousy, while his unintended neglect of her sufferings is always remembered with sorrow and remorse. Mr. Froude discharges his self-imposed duty of unreserved exposure by carefully directing attention to an episode which occupies fewer than twelve pages out of twelve hundred of Mrs. Carlyle's published letters. In his conscientious determination to leave nothing untold, he has not confined himself to the materials for personal criticism and gossip which were in well-intended candour furnished by Carlyle himself.

"A part only," says Mr. Froude, "of the following extracts was selected by Mr. Carlyle, and a part sufficient merely to leave a painful impression without explaining the origin of his wife's discontent. There ought to be no mystery about Carlyle, and there is no occasion for mystery. The diaries and other papers were placed in my hands that I might add whatever I might think necessary in the way of elucidation, and in this instance I have thought it right to avail myself of his permission."

It is true that there is no occasion for mystery in so ordinary and intelligible a grievance as the vexation of a wife whose husband finds another house occasionally more attractive than his own. In this case there was no question of even temporary separation, for Mrs. Carlyle habitually accompanied Carlyle in his visits, or, if she at any time declined an invitation, the refusal was given by her own desire. Mr. Froude gives an animated and accurate description of the society in which Carlyle for some years found his chief enjoyment.

"Mr. Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, one of the best and wisest men in the high circle of English public life, was among the first to recognise Carlyle's extraordinary qualities. He soon became, and he remained to his death, the most intimate and attached of Carlyle's friends. Lady Harriet was a gifted and brilliant woman, who cared nothing for the frivolous occupations of fashion. She sought out and surrounded herself with the most distinguished persons in politics and literature, and was the centre of a planetary system in which statesmen, poets, artists, every man who had raised himself into notice by genuine intellectual worth, revolved while she lived as satellites. By Lady Harriet, Carlyle was ardently welcomed. In the world which gathered about herself and her husband he found himself among persons whom he could more nearly regard as his equals than any whom he had met with

elsewhere. He was thrown into connection with the men who were carrying on the business of the world, in a sphere where he could make his influence felt among them. He was, perhaps, at one time ambitious of taking an active part in such affairs himself, and of 'doing something more for the world,' as Lord Byron said, 'than writing books for it.' At any rate his visits to Bath House, and the Grange, Lord Ashburton's house in Hampshire, gave him great enjoyment, and for many years as much of his leisure as he could spare was spent in the Ashburton society."

"The acquaintance which was so agreeable to himself was less pleasant to Mrs. Carlyle. She was intensely proud of her husband, and wished to be first with him. . . . When she found that he had leisure for Bath House, though none for her, she became jealous and irritable. She was herself of course invited there, but the wives of men of genius, like the wives of bishops, do not take the social rank of their husbands. Women understand how to make each other uncomfortable in little ways invisible to others, and Mrs. Carlyle soon perceived that she was admitted into those high regions for her husband's sake and not for her own."

It may, for anything I know to the contrary, be true that women understand how to make each other uncomfortable in little ways; but it was not true of Lady Ashburton. She was the most magnanimous of women, and she had no little ways. In her house, if in no other, the wives of her friends took the social rank of their husbands, and of some of them I can say from my own knowledge that they became warmly attached to Lady Ashburton.

It appears from the letters that Mrs. Carlyle sometimes willingly visited the Grange while her husband remained in London.

"But for a cold," she writes in December, 1850, "I should have been now at the Grange, where I had engaged myself to be on the 10th. The month of country, of pure air and green fields might have done me good, but I felt quite cowardly before the prospect of so much dressing for dinner and talking for effect, especially as I was to have gone this time on my own basis, Mr. C. being too busy with his book to waste a month at present, besides having a sacred horror of the several lots of children who were to be there, and the bother about whom drove him out of all patience last year."

There is nothing here about little ways, or the power of women to make each other uncomfortable. The shyness about dressing for dinner is quite intelligible; and Mrs. Carlyle was excusably mistaken if she thought that the practice of talking for effect was encouraged by the master or mistress of the Grange.

In his *Reminiscences*, Carlyle describes her first visit to Addiscombe, Lord Ashburton's villa, near Croydon.

"This time I had at once joined the company under the shady trees on their beautiful lawn; and my little woman, in five minutes, her dress all adjusted, came stepping out round the corner of the house, with such a look of lovely innocence, modesty, ingenuousness, powerfully suppressed humility, and radiances of native cleverness, intelligence, and dignity toward the great ladies and great gentlemen; it seems to me at this moment I have never seen a more beautiful expression of a human face. Oh, my dearest, my dearest, that cannot now know how dear!"

If Mrs. Carlyle at any time felt embarrassment in the society which she thus entered, she deserves credit for having always appeared in it perfectly at her ease. She took her share in conversation, and she

formed friendly relations with several of the other guests of the house. But for painful disclosures, which ought not to have been made public, the distress which she seems to have suffered would never have been known to those who were not in the secret. Notwithstanding his expressions of remorse, I doubt whether Carlyle to the last understood the extent, or even the nature, of her jealous feeling. The evidence against him, which has been with conscientious industry collected by Mr. Froude, would probably have surprised the unconscious offender. Miss Geraldine Jewsbury, Mrs. Carlyle's most intimate friend, has, at Mr. Froude's request, furnished him with a statement which, as it must be assumed, contains a faithful account of the impressions which she received from Mrs. Carlyle's conversation at the time. If Miss Jewsbury is not in all respects strictly accurate, she needs no excuse for taking the part of her friend against her friend's husband, and her friend's husband's friend.

"She was miserable, more abidingly and intensely miserable than words can utter. The misery was a reality, no matter whether her imagination made it or not. . . . Any other wife would have laughed at Mr. C.'s bewitchment with Lady A., but to her there was a complicated aggravation which made it very hard to endure. Lady A. was admired for sayings and doings for which she was snubbed. She saw through Lady A.'s little ways and *grande-dame* manners, and knew what they were worth."

It has been already said that Lady Ashburton had no little ways; and her manners, although they well became a great lady, were the reverse of what Miss Jewsbury probably means to suggest. I think Miss Jewsbury was not acquainted with Lady Ashburton; and indeed she is evidently repeating phrases used in her anger by Mrs. Carlyle.

"Lady A. was excessively capricious towards her, and made her feel that they cared more about *him* than about *her*. She was never allowed to visit anywhere but at the Grange; and the mortifications and vexations which she felt, though they were often and often self-made, were none the less intolerable to her. At first she was charmed with Lady A., but soon found that she had no real hold upon her, nor ever could or would have. Her sufferings were real, intense, and at times too grievous to be borne. C. did not understand all this, and only felt her to be unreasonable."

The most malignant of all commentators on Mr. Froude's publication has not hesitated to convert Miss Jewsbury's mysterious and ill-chosen phrase "bewitchment" into the offensive assertion that Carlyle was "besotted;" and he repeats the statement that Mrs. Carlyle was forbidden to visit elsewhere than at the Grange, though the letters themselves abundantly show, as he perceives, that Miss Jewsbury was mistaken. Her error probably arises from Carlyle's objection to his wife's acceptance of an invitation from a lady, a stranger to both, with whom Miss Jewsbury was staying. His wish that his wife should constantly accompany him in his visits to the Grange ought to have convinced her that her irritation was unreasonable or exaggerated. The grievance is not so much that Carlyle

is unjustly judged, as that his memory should be dragged before the tribunal of popular opinion to be judged at all. The Rhadamanthine severity of his biographer is illustrated by a careful insistence on less serious charges. To a series of letters in 1843, which needed no explanation, a note is prefixed for the purpose of calling attention to a supposed instance of selfishness or neglect.

"The house in Cheyne Row requiring paint and other readjustments, Carlyle had gone on a visit to Wales, leaving his wife to endure the confusion and superintend the workmen along with her maid."

No sensible woman desires the presence of her husband when a small house is turned upside down by painters and carpenters.

"You see," says Mrs. Carlyle in her first letter to Carlyle in Wales, "you do so hate commotion that this house gets no periodical cleanings like other people's, and one must make the most of your absence."

Neither husband nor wife foresaw that, forty years later, indignant moralists would revile his memory on the ground of an arrangement which suited them both, and which concerned and concerns no other human being.

While Carlyle, in the morbid depression which followed his wife's death and in the chronic melancholy of his later years, laments with mournful reiteration his former blindness to her sufferings, he never confesses intentional neglect. Least of all does he regret the long-continued friendship which had at one time caused her discontent. One of his notes inserted at the proper date in the collected letters, records how—

"At Paris, on her way home from Nice, Lady Ashburton (born Lady Harriet Montagu) suddenly died—suddenly to the doctors and those who believed them, in which number, fondly hoping against hope, was I. A sad and greatly interesting event to me and to many! The most queen-like woman I had ever known or seen. The honour of her constant regard had for ten years back been amongst my proudest and most valued possessions; but now gone—for ever gone. . . . In no society, English or other, had I seen the equal or the second of this great lady that was gone; by nature and culture *facile princeps* she, I think, of all great ladies I have ever seen."

Carlyle's noble eulogy, which was as just as it was eloquent, bears no trace of the "bewitchment" or the "besotted" condition which has been imagined through pardonable prejudice, or invented by discreditable spite. The wife of a man of genius might perhaps naturally resent his judgment that another woman had no equal or second; but there must be faithful and devoted husbands in the world whose wives are even in their opinion not superior to all the rest of their sex. Mrs. Carlyle, though she was never just to Lady Ashburton, said, after her first visit—

"This Lady Harriet Baring with whom we have been staying is the cleverest woman I ever saw in my life."

She proceeds to express a doubt whether she ever would be anything other than the most amusing and graceful woman of her time. It is impossible to say whether Carlyle, if he had understood his

wife's feelings, would have sacrificed to her exacting temper the chief pleasure of his life. If she had possessed the will and the power to withdraw him from the first congenial society he had ever known, she would have inflicted an irreparable injury on him, and perhaps indirectly on herself. In the sunshine of that pleasant region all his nature seemed to expand. He was nowhere else so bright, so communicative, and so cheerful; and his conversation rose even above its ordinary standard. I have often since regretted that I had not the industry to take notes, after the manner of Boswell, of his profuse outpourings of imagination and humour. A few half-forgotten scraps and fragments inadequately represent a colloquial, or rather an oral faculty, which has seldom or never been equalled or approached. As to the value, or even the meaning, of his doctrines there might be differences of opinion; but many competent judges whom I have consulted agree to the full extent in my admiration of his inexhaustible fertility and of his brilliant expression. His preference for the Grange, or Addiscombe, or Bath House, was explained by sufficient reasons. As Mr. Froude says, he was now for the first time in the society of his equals, and he was brought into connection with those who carried on the business of the world. Mr. Froude has probably reason for adding that he may have hoped himself to exercise practical influence; but the only political function for which he could in any circumstances have been qualified was that of a confidential and irresponsible adviser to some ruling statesman. The position of William v. Humboldt at the Court of Frederic William IV., as the king's non-official counsellor and daily companion, is only possible under a personal government. If Carlyle had himself any ambition of the kind his dream must have been soon dispelled. The social enjoyment remained. He had previously known many persons of ability and eminence; some among them of the highest intellectual rank; but he saw his London acquaintances occasionally and separately with an admixture of mediocrity and commonplace. The results of his later experience are contained in a passage of his biography of his wife:—

"Certain of the aristocracy, however, did seem to me still very noble, and with due limitation of the wholly worthless (none of whom had we to do with) I should vote at present that, of classes known to me in England, the aristocracy (with its perfection of human politeness, its continual grace of bearing and action, steadfast honour, light address, and cheerful stoicism), if you see well into it, is actually yet the best of English classes. Deep in it we never were—promenaders on the shore rather; but I have known it too, and formed deliberate judgment as above. My dear one in theory did not go so far, I think, in that direction, in fact was not at the pains to form much 'theory;' but no eye in the world was quicker than hers for individual specimens, and to the last she had great pleasure in assorting more or less with the select of them, Lady William Russell, Dowager Lady Sandwich, Lady, &c., &c. (and not in over quantity). I remember at first sight of the first Lady Ashburton (who was far from regularly beautiful, but was probably the chief of all those great ladies),

she said of her to me, 'Something in her like a heathen goddess,' which was a true reading, and in a case not plain at all, but oftener mistaken than rightly taken."

Here again the tone in which Lady Ashburton is mentioned, as well as the connection in which she is placed with Mrs. Carlyle, imply a total unconsciousness of any questionable conduct or feeling.

Lord Houghton has given in his *Monographs* an accurate and vivid account of Lady Ashburton's conversation :—

"I do not know," he says, "how I can better describe this faculty than as the fullest and freest exercise of an intellectual gaiety that presented the most agreeable and amusing pictures in few and varied words, making high comedy out of daily life, and relieving sound sense and serious observation with imaginative contrasts and delicate surprises. . . . . While persons cognisant of the wit, and appreciative of her rapidity of movement and dexterity of fence, were fully sympathetic with Princess Lieven's judgment, '*Qu'il vaudrait bien s'abonner pour entendre causer cette femme*,' there were many estimable people to whom the electric transition from grave to gay was thoroughly distasteful. . . . . It was in truth a joyous sincerity that no conventionalities could restrain, a festive nature flowering through the artificial soil of elevated life."

Lord Houghton would, as I infer from other passages, agree with me that Lady Ashburton's influence on the intercourse of her guests was as remarkable as her own conversation. She was not less great as a conductor than as a performer, though, with the single exception of Carlyle, she was always the best talker, and without exception the best converser in the room. To her intimate acquaintances, in conversation or in familiar letters she was still more amusing. Lady Ashburton was the only woman whom I ever knew whose playfulness sometimes took the form, not uncommon among humorous men, of comic fiction or grotesque exaggeration. I remember, in an animated history of the sorrows of a neglected childhood, a cruel governess who locked up and starved her pupil, and a kind housemaid who fed the prisoner through the keyhole with toasted cheese poured through a quill. The anecdote was not the less interesting because the feat appeared to me physically impossible. She had, perhaps, modified and improved a quotation which she once sent me from the sermon of the previous Sunday, to the effect that "The Scriptures are very obscure, and were never meant to be understood; for what might not have been the consequence if they had been?" Of the good sense and the right feeling of her graver discourse I have no intention of speaking further, except to say that her force of character was shown by her tacit rejection of all Carlyle's heterodox and subversive doctrines. She sometimes expressed wonder at her good fortune in having been admitted to the intimate friendship of such a man; but she asserted her privilege as a woman to trust her own feelings rather than any dogmatic or anti-dogmatic teaching. Although her political friends were for the most part Whigs, and notwithstanding her constant intercourse with the most eloquent of heretics, her own predilections, temporal and spiritual, were always in favour of

ancient beliefs and established institutions. It was one of her favourite paradoxes that she liked no one more or less for liking or disliking herself; but she must really have regarded with grateful complacency the admiration and attachment of the chief among her friends. An anecdote which she once sent me illustrates her full appreciation of Carlyle's minor peculiarities:—

"The Carlyles had a maid some two years ago who was untidy, useless in all ways, but 'abounding in grace,' and in consequent censure of every one above or below her, and of everything she couldn't understand. After a long apostrophe one day, as she was bringing in dinner, Carlyle ended with, 'And this I can tell you, that if you don't carry the dishes straight, so as not to spill the gravy, so far from being tolerated in heaven, you won't be even tolerated on earth.' I often feel as if I was spilling that gravy."

The story has an incidental interest, because it must almost certainly have been told to Lady Ashburton by Mrs. Carlyle. There could scarcely at the time have been an extreme feeling of dislike on the part of the narrator; and a woman given to the "little ways" which Mr. Froude and Miss Jewsbury condemn would not have accepted and repeated the story.

Without the friendship which has given rise to so much officious criticism, Carlyle's life would have been impoverished and stunted. Notwithstanding his humble birth and rustic training he was keenly sensible to refinement of character and manner, and his own demeanour, though not conventional, was gracious and on fit occasions courtly. He seemed to be on friendly terms with all the habitual visitors at the Grange, though they varied widely in character and circumstances. Among the number were Lord Lansdowne, Lord Clarendon, Lord Grey, Lord Granville, Lord Canning, Lord Houghton, Lord Elcho, Sir Henry Taylor, Mr. Twisleton, and Mr. Brookfield. Lord Aberdeen, whom Lord and Lady Ashburton greatly respected and esteemed, was, I believe, an occasional visitor. One of the oldest and most intimate friends of the family was Mr. Ellice, surnamed the Bear, and the contrast between his cynical and prosaic sagacity and Carlyle's vaguely eloquent inspiration never impaired their mutual good understanding. Carried away by his own rapid flow of thought and language, Carlyle sometimes forgot whom he was addressing. I remember his quoting a real or apocryphal speech made by the elder Pitt to the Duke of Newcastle, in answer to a statement of the Duke's that it was impossible to have a certain expedition ready at the required moment:—

"'If,' said the imperious Secretary in Carlyle's version, 'the money and the men are not ready on Thursday next at ten o'clock, your Grace's head shall roll at your Grace's feet.' That," continued Carlyle in a tone of eloquent indignation, "is the way to speak to an incapable minister."

At this point he remembered that he was thundering in the face of Mr. Sidney Herbert, then Minister of War, and his ready apology ended in a good-humoured laugh, in which they both heartily

joined. I have heard Carlyle accuse himself of a still more untoward mistake of the same nature. He had once been expatiating on the miraculous effects of discipline as exhibited in a 74-gun ship, manned by a rabble swept together in the old times by crimps and press-gangs:—

In a few months," Carlyle said, "the ship has become a perfect machine; worked with undeviating regularity, and if she meets a Frenchman of her own size she blows her into atoms."

Prince Jerome Napoleon, whom he was addressing, may, perhaps, have been less placable than Mr. Sidney Herbert. At the Grange and elsewhere Carlyle engaged in frequent encounters with a friend in whose society he always delighted, a humorist like himself, though of a different type. When the prophet was most in earnest he was met by an apparently latitudinarian indifference to austere moral rules; and his consequent indignation only provoked still more ostentatious displays of ethical laxity. I have been often reminded by their contests of a match between a *secutor* and a *retiarius* in the arena. The fierce onslaught of the swordsman was again and again baffled and entangled in the meshes of an ingenious sophism; and it was sometimes difficult to award the prize of victory. Carlyle had, perhaps, the best of it on an occasion when he was urging his friend to use his influence as a Member of Parliament to effect some object which, as both agreed, was desirable. The member objected that he could do nothing, because his constituents took no interest in the matter.

"Your constituents!" said the moralist. "Do you think that at the Day of Judgment, when you are asked why you did not perform this plain duty, it will be any answer to say that your constituents did not care? It will be you that will be damned, and not your constituents."

The contingency was, I believe, averted, as the task which Carlyle sought to impose on his friend was afterwards undertaken and successfully accomplished.

I had known Carlyle for some years before I first met him at the Grange, but it is, perhaps, because I knew him there best that the recently published descriptions of his character as harsh and gloomy have surprised me, as they have shocked his admirers, and created a general prejudice against his character. My recollections are of almost uniform geniality and of unfailing courtesy, though his cheerfulness might not be always undisturbed. Even his satirical epigrams were generally free from bitterness; and they often condensed some tenable view of a character into a few words. A laudatory conversation among some of the remaining guests after the visit of an eminent mechanical engineer to the Grange was summed up by Carlyle in the remark that "he seemed to be a clean, veracious smith." Many years before, as I walked away with him from a house where a friend whom he then loved above all others had

discussed various topics in rapid succession, he said by way of comment, "He has the mind of a kangaroo." He liked and respected Cobden, and I think the repeal of the Corn Laws was the only legislative measure in which he at any time took a genuine interest, but becoming tired of the praises bestowed on the hero of the day after his great success, he once described him as "an inspired bagman who believed in a calico millennium." Cobden's biographer has proved with superfluous cogency that the imputation was undeserved. The first Athenian who proposed to ostracise Aristides may perhaps have indulged in some similar epigram. It was in a conversation with Cobden himself, and under similar provocation, that Carlyle enunciated the well-known proposition, that the Americans had done nothing except that they had produced, with unexampled rapidity, eighteen millions of the greatest bores on the surface of this earth. In one of his letters to Emerson, who had gently remonstrated against his outrageous assertion, he graciously admits that there may perhaps be eighteen thousand Americans to whom the charge cannot fairly be applied. In all these cases he indulged his humorous propensity without thinking it necessary to cultivate either literal accuracy or dispassionate justice. The peevish harshness of the personal judgments which are unfortunately preserved in his *Reminiscences* were evidently products of sorrow and disease. No humorist or eloquent talker could be more inadequately represented by the quotation of a few sayings, accidentally and perhaps imperfectly remembered; for the most remarkable characteristic of Carlyle in conversation was spontaneous abundance of thought and language. He was not at his best in his occasional declamations against the vices of the age. It mattered little for social purposes that his denunciations were frequently unjust or exaggerated. It was a more serious drawback that he sometimes lashed himself into anger as he spoke, and that the patience of his hearers was tried, as well as his own temper. Lady Ashburton's tact and her well-deserved influence over the orator often averted the mischief. Her skill in turning the conversation usually sufficed to divert Carlyle's attention from the degeneracy of the age; and sometimes she recalled him in a moment to cheerfulness by a few words of extravagant parody delivered in his own accent and tone. I remember at least one instance in which Mrs. Carlyle interfered with equal success. While he was expatiating at unusual length on the paramount duty of silence, his wife, perhaps noticing or anticipating a smile on the face of some listener, touched him lightly on the arm. "Why," he said with momentary impatience, "do you touch me? But," he went on without a pause, relaxing into a pleasant laugh, "I know very well why you touched me, and you were quite right. I had much better practise silence than preach it." There was happily no danger of his conforming too strictly to his own precept.

There could be no doubt that he occupied more than average share of the conversation, or that he declined discussion and argument; but those who appreciated him were generally content to listen, if they were wise, and they had no desire to analyse or disprove his picturesque prophecies. Almost the only occasion on which I remember to have heard Carlyle engaged in an elaborate defence of his opinions or assertions was at a breakfast-party in London, against an opponent no less formidable than Lord Macaulay. The subject of dispute was the character of Henry Cromwell, whom Lord Macaulay described, in words quoted from Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs, as "a deboshed cavalier." Carlyle maintained not only that the charge was unjust, but that Henry Cromwell was an able and upright statesman. Both disputants were equally vigorous and voluble; but, not pretending to have any independent opinion on the question, I observed that Carlyle referred to many contemporary authorities, while Lord Macaulay, at the end of every rhetorical period, invariably reverted to Mrs. Hutchinson and her deboshed cavalier. "I have read," Carlyle once answered, not without impatience, "all that that shrill female ever wrote, and I can assert that she knew nothing of Henry Cromwell. I have read every existing letter which she wrote, and all that is written about him, and know that he was not a deboshed cavalier." The only other speaker who intervened was Sir George Lewis, whose sceptical instinct never failed him. In answer to Carlyle's argument from the letters he suggested that Henry Cromwell, when he was Lord Deputy in Ireland, probably saved himself the trouble of writing, by merely signing letters written by his secretary. I forget whether Lord Macaulay accepted the aid of his unexpected ally. Mr. Trevelyan, I think, somewhere expresses regret that Lord Macaulay never appreciated the merits of some of his greatest contemporaries, especially of Carlyle. As usual in such cases, the neglect or distaste was reciprocal. Little as Carlyle liked interruption or contradiction, he was always ready to recognise in his turn any happy remark or appropriate anecdote, and he had the great merit of being a hearty laugher. He sometimes derived extreme amusement from the most extravagant forms of humour. In two or three days he repeated a dozen or a score of times, with bursts of unextinguishable laughter, a story which he had, I think, heard from Mr. Tennyson, of some Scotch gentlemen who in the good old times had a three-days' bout of steady drinking. Late on the third day one of the party, pointing to another, said to his neighbour, "The laird looks unco gash." "Gash!" was the answer, "he may weel look gash, as he has been deid these twa days." I heard the story for the last time as we came away from a house where we had been dining, and Carlyle must have surprised his fellow-passengers in a Chelsea omnibus which he entered before he had done laughing.

The substance of Carlyle's most pessimist harangues was luckily not such as to offend the feelings or prejudices of his hearers. It was not difficult to bear with equanimity the announcement that the human race, and especially the English nation, were sinking lower and lower into perdition. Community or universality of guilt and of wretchedness has a tendency to mitigate both remorse and alarm; and the occupation of listening to a witty and eloquent discourse among agreeable company in a pleasant drawing-room was not profoundly depressing. Carlyle never concerned himself with party politics; and in his later years he had become to a great extent reconciled to existing ecclesiastical arrangements. When I first knew him he was in the habit of anticipating with much complacency the early collapse of the Church of England. I remember a parable which he related in answer to a remark that great energy was at that time shown in building and restoring churches.

"When," he said, "I lived in Annandale, it was well known that any farmer who was about to become bankrupt, was sure to appear at Dumfries fair in a pair of new top-boots. The poor old Church of England is now putting on her new boots."

About the same time he paid a visit, which is mentioned in one of Mrs. Carlyle's letters, to the Bishop of St. David's, at Abergwili. Bishop Thirlwall, whose "hard, grey mind," as Lady Ashburton happily called it, was relieved by a strong vein of sarcastic humour, complained to a friend of the difficulty which he had felt in asking any of his neighbours to meet Carlyle. "I was certain," he said, "that none of them had ever heard his name, and that they would all identify him with Richard Carlile" (an obscure publisher who used to be frequently prosecuted for profane libels), "and I thought," continued the bishop, "that Carlyle's conversation would tend to confirm the impression."

Long afterwards he reconsidered his early judgment, and in spite of his odd mixture of Calvinistic habits of thought with extremely heretical opinions, he often declared that the Church of England had more to say for itself than any other religious organization. Even at the date of the *Latter-day Pamphlets* he had begun to regard bishops with toleration. "A bishop," he writes, "is at least a gentleman."

I am not aware how far his personal liking for Bishop Wilberforce may have affected his judgment. They suited one another well, whenever they met at the Grange or elsewhere. Once they were seen riding together up Portland Place on their way to an Islington dog-show, the Bishop in his proper costume, and Carlyle in his well-known slouched hat.

One of the principal elements in Carlyle's unequalled eloquence as a talker, was a vivid, and almost stereoscopic, imagination. Every circumstance which he mentioned, every object which he described,

seemed to be immediately present before his eyes. It has been well said of Dante that he could record the wonders of hell and purgatory and heaven, "because he has been there." The same apparent reliance on actual vision may be observed in Carlyle's writings, but it was perhaps still more conspicuous in his conversation. In his daily rides he constantly called the attention of a companion to common rural sights, affixing to an animal, or a crop, or a cottage, some description or exhaustive epithet which remained long in the memory. He was never more agreeable than on such occasions, in the absence of all causes of excitement. It often happened that something which he saw reminded him of his own border country, and of the unequalled virtue and wisdom which he attributed to its inhabitants as he knew them in his youth. One of his favourites was an Ecclefechan blacksmith who, having once agreed to buy a plot of ground, refused to complete his purchase when he found that it was a leasehold, with only nine hundred and ninety-nine years to run." "Wha," said the indignant smith, "is to have it after me?" Another remarkable gift which Carlyle possessed was that of lucid arrangement of facts and arguments. In a ride near the Grange with Carlyle and Twisleton, one of us asked him, with reference to a recently published volume, whether Frederick the Great had, according to the law of the Empire, a valid title to some petty territory which he claimed, and probably occupied with his troops? He replied in a narrative which may have lasted for an hour, including an account of all the pedigrees, the imperial grants, the family compacts, and the other elements of the controversy; and although the question was one of secondary interest, neither of his hearers was impatient or weary. In my case, professional experience perhaps quickened the appreciation of a statement which resembled the summing-up of a complicated litigation by Austin, Thesiger, or Cockburn, or some other great master of forensic exposition. The historical episode was itself so unimportant that it is, I believe, not mentioned in the published life of Frederick. He often expressed in conversation, as in his letters, his impatience of the labour of his last great work. The task was the more irksome because he never thoroughly sympathised with his hero; his fatigue and his partial distaste for the subject account for the disproportionate haste with which he huddles up in a few pages the history of Frederick's reign from the end of the Seven Years' War to his death.

Among many advantages which Carlyle derived from his entrance into the society at Bath House and the Grange was the partial or total dissipation of many personal prejudices. In his earlier writings he had attacked and ridiculed Sir Robert Peel under the absurd nickname of Sir Jabez Windbag. His judgment had been formed in almost total ignorance, for he was not even a diligent reader of newspapers. I never met Sir Robert Peel, for my acquaintance

with Lord and Lady Ashburton only began shortly before his death; but he had been their frequent visitor, and he unbent with unusual ease in their home. I often heard from both of them, and their accounts were confirmed by Carlyle, of his pleasantness, his gaiety, and his amusing stories. Personal knowledge had the effect of thoroughly converting Carlyle, who from that time to the end of his life fully appreciated the wisdom and integrity of the former object of his lampoons. I happened long afterwards to see, though I was not within hearing, a less complete reconciliation of the same kind. Lord Palmerston, during his last administration, was placed at a dinner-party at Bath House on the opposite side from Carlyle of a large round table. While Carlyle was engaged in animated talk, Lord Palmerston leant forward and listened, and, as if unwilling to be interrupted, he gave a short negative answer to his neighbour's inquiry whether he had ever met Mr. Carlyle before. Before the party had been five minutes in the drawing-room, Lord Palmerston and Carlyle were in close conversation, and it might be inferred from Carlyle's repeated bursts of laughter, that Lord Palmerston's conversation was highly amusing. I do not suppose that his stories or his jokes threw much light on his past or future policy; but I should be surprised to find that from that time forward Carlyle continued his attacks on the Minister. A third interview of the same character was more deliberately contrived three or four years ago. A common friend was anxious to bring Carlyle and Lord Beaconsfield for the first and last time together. The diplomatic adroitness of the lady who projected and executed the arduous undertaking has never been equalled in a similar transaction since Boswell induced Johnson to meet Wilkes at Mr. Dilly's dinner-table. The objection was not on Lord Beaconsfield's part, though he had, together with his great rival, been fiercely denounced by Carlyle in his pamphlet of *Shooting Niagara*. With a generous disregard of personal resentments, Mr. Disraeli, soon after his accession to office in 1874, offered Carlyle, in a letter which is said to have been a model of good taste and good feeling, the high and unusual honour of the Grand Cross of the Bath. Carlyle had probably no ill-will to Lord Beaconsfield, but he was disturbed by the prospect of meeting a stranger. At last, to please a friend whom he justly valued, he consented that an appointment should be made; but at the last moment he sent a message to say that he was unable to come. By vigorous measures the final difficulty was overcome, and the two veterans had a friendly conversation. When they parted Carlyle made a courteous speech to the effect that if he had known Lord Beaconsfield earlier he might perhaps have omitted certain things which he had written.

Carlyle saw Lady Ashburton for the last time in 1856. In the autumn of that year she left England for Nice, where she was

attacked by a fatal illness, and she died at Paris on her way home in the following May. During the early part of the illness I was on a visit to Lord and Lady Ashburton at Nice, and before I left them a famous physician, who came from London to see her, declared that her case was hopeless. The cheerful courage with which she received his sentence was not sustained by any such doubt of the event as that which Carlyle, as he says, persuaded himself to entertain. On my return to England, when I confirmed the information which he had already received, I was surprised and interested by his refusal to believe the warning. He burst out in a violent invective against the ill-boding physician, whom he declared to be the most incapable member of his profession. He had taken the trouble to confirm his unfavourable judgment by a large collection of illustrative but doubtful facts. Sir A. B. had mistaken the nature of Lady C.'s illness; Lady D. had recovered after he had declared her case to be hopeless; and by his improper treatment he had killed Mrs. E. It was touching to observe Carlyle's determination to prove to himself rather than to me a foregone conclusion which he must have known to be unsound. If the delinquent doctor had been really wrong in his latest prognostication, he would have been welcome, as far as Carlyle was concerned, to perpetrate a thousand blunders to the injury of his other patients. I sent to Lady Ashburton an accurate report of the conversation, in just confidence that she would understand Carlyle's pathetic perversity. Lord Ashburton told me in answer that she was delighted with Carlyle's new proof of affection, and that she laughed with all her former heartiness at the form which his feelings assumed. It was satisfactory to know that she retained her buoyancy of spirit to the last. One of her oldest friends told me at the funeral that he had seen her the week before her death in Paris, and that he had never known her more animated or more amusing.

Her death, though it must have been a heavy blow to Carlyle, made no change in his relations with her survivors. His friendship with Lord Ashburton became, if possible, warmer than before, and both he and his wife continued an intimacy which they had formed with Lady Ashburton's mother, the Dowager Lady Sandwich. Mrs. Carlyle writes on her death four or five years afterwards:—

"Nobody will believe the loss Lady Sandwich is to us. They say 'a woman of eighty, that is not to be regretted.' But her intimate friends know that this woman of eighty was the most charming companion and the loyalest, warmest friend; was the only person in London or in the world that Mr. C. went regularly to see. Twice a week he went to call on her; and now his horse makes for her house whenever he gets into the region of Grosvenor Square, and does not see or understand the escutcheon that turns me sick as I drive past."

When Lord Ashburton after a due interval married again, and the former society reassembled with fresh additions, both Carlyle and Mrs. Carlyle were once more frequent and welcome guests. The new

mistress of the house at once accepted them as family friends, and as she learned to know him more intimately she fully appreciated and valued Carlyle's high qualities and extraordinary gifts. Mrs. Carlyle's letters furnish many proofs of her grateful attachment, and of the pleasure which she derived from the connection. The air of the Grange now became the healthiest in the world; and the Addiscombe butter transcended in excellence even the supplies which she received from her husband's family in the north. Unfortunately, even before the circle was broken up by Lord Ashburton's death in 1863, Mrs. Carlyle's sufferings often incapacitated her for social pleasure.

> "In spite," she writes after one of her last visits, "of the pure air and beauties of the Grange and of Lady Ashburton's superhuman kindness, I had no enjoyment of anything all the three weeks we stayed."

Carlyle and his wife felt equally the loss, by the premature death of the master, of what had become a second home.

> "We dread now," writes Mrs. Carlyle, "that the next post will bring the news of our dear Lord Ashburton's death. Carlyle will lose in him the only friend he has left in the world, and the world will lose in him one of the purest-hearted, most chivalrous men that it contained. There are no words for such a misfortune."

During the short remainder of her life the kindness of which she speaks never flagged; and the same constant and generous friend did all that was possible to alleviate the gloom of Carlyle's solitary age. The publicity which has been given to invidious gossip on the subject of Carlyle's social relations must serve as my excuse for recounting details which may perhaps tend to counteract erroneous impressions. There are many instances in literary history of kindly and beneficent relations between men of genius and hospitable or serviceable friends; but I know of no case in which such an intimacy produced so much happiness as that which united Carlyle with Lord Ashburton and his family. The wife who has of late become the object of so much officious compassion would have missed some of her best and pleasantest experience if she had not shared to a great extent the opportunities of her husband. If the personal interest which he felt and inspired sometimes provoked her to groundless jealousy, she might probably have suffered as much it his spirits had been additionally depressed and his temper soured by restriction to less congenial society, and by the unbroken monotony of a frugal home.

Carlyle's belief that his wife was equal or superior in literary power to such writers as Mdme. de Sévigné and George Eliot was a fond illusion; but she had the peculiar gift, which distinguishes genuine letter-writers, of creating an interest in her own character, and in circumstances and persons otherwise insignificant and unknown. As Cowper has preserved the memory of a few commonplace friends and of the most uneventful of lives, Mrs. Carlyle may,

perhaps unconsciously, have rescued from oblivion the names of her friends and kindred, and even the details of her household affairs: but the same result might have been produced if only a few specimens had been given of her more squalid troubles. Her incessant conflicts with "mutinous maids of all work," as Carlyle designates the class, have the merit of illustrating both her untiring energy and her wholesome sympathy with fellow-creatures, even when they annoyed her most. It is instructive to learn from the letters which acknowledge consignments of farm produce from the North, that eggs ought to be packed so as not to touch one another; and that thrifty managers cut fowls into four parts, to serve for as many meals; but two or three letters on such subjects would have fully satisfied reasonable curiosity. Repeated discoveries of obnoxious insects, minute accounts of illness and of medical remedies, might have been largely curtailed, or by preference omitted. Complaints, however just, of the neglect of her husband, and of his blindness to her sufferings, ought for more urgent reasons to have been suppressed. Mr. Froude says, in the preface to the *Reminiscences*:—

"Carlyle warned me that before they" (the letters) "were published they would require anxious revision. Written with the unreserve of confidential communications, they contained anecdotes, allusions, reflections, expressions of opinion and feeling which were intended obviously for no eye save that of the person to whom they were addressed. . . . . He left me at last with discretion to destroy the whole of them, should I find the task of discrimination too intricate a problem."

The author of a recent biography replied to a charge of indiscretion in the spirit of Clive's famous apology, that if his critic had known what he suppressed he would have appreciated his prudent moderation. Perhaps Mr. Froude may have been equally scrupulous; but the passages which he has not deemed fit for publication must be strangely outspoken. Mr. Froude may possibly have learned from some of the criticisms on the letters the questionable expediency of taking all the world into the secret of the narrow and bitter troubles of a single household. It is hard on men of genius and other eminent benefactors of mankind that their domestic relations and failings should be exceptionally exposed to the glare of publication. If Carlyle was not sufficiently considerate of the feelings of his wife, discomforts and drawbacks to perfect happiness may be found in many families. If all cupboards were thrown open and all skeletons disclosed, the victims of biography would only participate equally with their neighbours in universal discomfort and scandal. At present their foibles and faults are placed for public inspection under a magnifying-glass, while the obscure multitude escapes the observation of strangers.

For many years after their settlement in London there is no trace in Mrs. Carlyle's letters of alienation or discontent. As far as casual observers could judge, their bearing to one another seemed to be

affectionate and easy. During one of many evening visits at Cheyne Row, Carlyle had, as was not unusual, declaimed on some subject which interested him for a considerable time. During a pause, Mrs. Carlyle broke into the conversation with an anecdote about some extremely minute domestic adventure which had occurred to her kettle, or her coal-scuttle, or perhaps her carpet. As her animation seemed disproportionate to the subject-matter, I was a little surprised, and Carlyle said, in a tone of mild remonstrance,—

"How can you suppose that V. will care for your coal-scuttle?" "I don't suppose," she replied, "that he will care for my coal-scuttle. I don't want him to care for my coal-scuttle. But you have been talking without stopping for two hours, and I am determined to say something myself."

He laughed gently at her just accusation, and probably the story of the coal-scuttle proceeded no farther. As long as a man and his wife can make little jokes at one another's expense, there can, I think, be no irremediable alienation.

She seems, during the greater part of her life, to have had no intimate or confidential correspondent except Carlyle himself. She addresses him, when one or both are absent from home, with confident affection and often with playfulness. Her economies and contrivances become interesting in her descriptions, and her occasional judgments on men and books are, with hardly an exception, sagacious and sound. She sends a cousin autographs for which, as she asserts, "a Yankee would almost give a dollar apiece—entire characteristic letters from Pickwick, Lytton Bulwer, and Alfred Tennyson; the last the greatest genius of the three, though the vulgar public have not yet recognised him for such." At the date of the letter the poems by which Mr. Tennyson first became universally known had only been published the year before, while Dickens and Bulwer were at the height of popularity and fame. Although, like her husband, she had a profound regard for John Sterling, she thanks Mr. John Forster for "having done for *Strafford*" (a tragedy of Sterling's).

"I have told him all along that it was poor stuff, and had better not see the light, or at least have the light see it. But no, it was a great and glorious work in its author's opinion, and I and all who failed to recognise it as such were blinded with envy, or some other of the evil passions."

Sterling would, if health and opportunity had permitted, have been a great orator, but his poetical and dramatic faculties were imitative and weak. The only line which I remember in *Strafford* was not inconsistent with Mrs. Carlyle's judgment:—

"For there is thunder in the name of Pym."

Mrs. Carlyle even ventured to form an independent opinion of almost the only writer of his time whom Carlyle consistently admired.

"There was," she tells her husband, "a letter last night from E.—too much of Emerson; 'likes him better than he did.' In reply to my charge that Emerson had no ideas except mad ones, that he hadn't got out of you, E. answers prettily, 'But pray, Mrs. Carlyle, who has?'"

She never, after early youth, was a great reader; but she had natural insight, and she thought for herself. In practical matters her sound judgment was seldom biassed by personal predilections. Mazzini, for whom she had a warm and lasting regard, once came to inform her that he was the next week going to Italy either in secret, or on board an Austrian frigate which he could, as he thought, persuade to revolt. Mrs. Carlyle asked him if he meant to overthrow the Austrian Empire and the general peace of Europe; and she answered his simple question "Why not?" by telling him that a schoolboy who uttered such nonsense, and proceeded to put it into practical shape, would be whipped and expelled as a mischievous blockhead.

Some of the most interesting letters in the collection describe Mrs. Carlyle's visit to her few remaining relatives at Liverpool and in Scotland. One touching and graceful narrative or extract from a journal records a visit to her native town of Haddington. She saw:—

"The school-house where myself had been 'Dux,' the playground, 'the boolin' green,' and so on to the church gate which, so soon as my guide had unlocked for me, I told him he might wait, that I needed him no further . . His (her father's) grave looked old, old, was surrounded by nettles the inscription all over moss, except two lines which had been recently cleaned—by whom? The old man knew, and could not tell me . . Our pew looked to have been never new lined since we occupied it the green cloth has become all white from age I looked at it in the dim twilight till I almost fancied I saw my beautiful mother in her old corner, and myself, a bright-looking girl, in the other. . . Leaving the lanes I now went boldly through the streets, the thick black veil, put on for the occasion, thrown back, I was getting confident that I might have ridden like Lady Godiva through Haddington with impunity as far as recognition went . Passing a cooper's shop, which I once had the run of, I stepped in, and bought two little quaighs, then in the character of travelling Englishwomen suddenly seized with an unaccountable passion for wooden dishes, I questioned the cooper as to the past and present of his town. . . . 'Dr. Welsh's death was the worst loss ever came to the place,' that myself, 'went away to England and died there,' adding a handsome enough tribute to my memory. 'Yes, Miss Welsh, he remembered her famously, used to think her the tastiest young lady in the whole place, but she was very—not just to call proud—very reserved in her company.' In leaving this man I felt more than ever like my own ghost"

The next morning arriving before the sexton, who was to open the churchyard gate, she climbed over the wall—

"Some seven feet high, I should think, and dropped safe on the inside—a feat I should never have imagined to try in any actual phase, not even with a mad bull at my heels, if I had not trained myself to it at a more elastic age."

An old townsman, whom she afterwards met in the railway carriage, asked—

"Was it you who got over the churchyard wall this morning? I saw a strange lady climb the wall, and I said to myself, that's Jeannie Welsh! No other woman would climb the wall instead of going in at the gate. Are you Jeannie Welsh?" Two other railway passengers "had not a conception of its being me, till they saw me smiling." "'Eh, mrs,' said my mother's old nurse to her after a separation of twenty years, 'there's no a featur o' ye left but just the bit smile.'"

She wrote and then tore up a letter with a full account of her visit; and afterwards

"I wrote a note to Mr. Carlyle, a compromise betwixt 'all about feelings' and the new silent system of the prisons."

His note on the touching history of her visit is—

"This is a very interesting little narrative, discovered by me the other day. I had never heard of it before."

In the course of the same journey she saw at Edinburgh her own old nurse, described by Carlyle as "one of the venerablest and most faithful of women. I never saw such perfection of attachment, and doubt if it exists elsewhere."

In an account of a later visit Mrs. Carlyle gives a pleasant illustration of the good old woman's affectionate piety. She consoled herself for the dangers to which the traveller was exposed by the reflection that, "He can take care of my bairn, even on the railway." Her faith, happily for herself, prevailed over the difficulty of believing that Omnipotence itself could overcome apparent impossibilities.

Those who take pleasure in discovering and disclosing the failings of men of genius have had no difficulty in proving that Carlyle was extraordinarily unobservant. There may, perhaps, be other wives who will recognise the justice of Mrs. Carlyle's reasonable complaints, but they will not be astonished or shocked by the description of a husband who is

"So wishful to get away, and so incapable of determining where to go and when to go, that living beside him has been like living the life of a weathercock in a high wind blowing from all points at once, sensibility superadded. . . The imaginary homes in different parts of the kingdom . . . would have driven me crazy, I think, if one day I hadn't got desperate, and burst out crying. Until a woman cries, men never think she can be suffering—bless their blockheadism! However, when I cried and declared that I was not strong enough for all that any more, Mr. C. opened his eyes to the fact."

One of Carlyle's many censors remarks in aggravation of his guilt that he prided himself on his penetration and knowledge of character. It is true that he generally formed an accurate judgment of the moral and intellectual qualities of acquaintances and strangers, and that he was one of the acutest and most accurate of physiognomists. I may add that in my experience, which referred to the most cheerful period of his life, he displayed little of the harshness which, as exhibited in the *Reminiscences*, resulted from infirm health and habitual melancholy. His occasional remarks on the foibles of those around him often expressed sympathetic amusement. On other occasions the very extravagance of his invective showed that it was rather fanciful than earnest. His keen sagacity was compatible with blamable dulness in perceiving or understanding personal and domestic difficulties. His critics must have been fortunate in their experience, if this, like the other faults which they denounce, seems to them peculiar to Carlyle. Some of the most unselfish of men are born with an innate incapacity of distinguishing the symptoms of illness, as others never learn in life-long companionship to understand the characters of those with whom they are most

closely connected. Dulness of mental vision is a misfortune rather than a crime. Carlyle may be called selfish so far as he was unable to go out of himself, but there is no proof that at any time of his life he deliberately preferred his own gratification to the health and happiness of his wife. The painful impression which is undoubtedly produced by some letters which might well have been suppressed, is in some degree relieved by the proofs of perfect reconciliation which abound in the last period of their life together. She never resented his awkward delay in buying her a brougham, and she could scarcely have anticipated the posthumous sympathy of gossiping intruders who undertake retrospectively to regulate the details of her household and her stable. His fault with respect to this transaction consisted in not understanding that she wished the purchase to be made by him, and not by herself.

"It was in vain," he writes, "that I said (what was the exact truth), 'No wife in England deserves better to have a brougham from her husband, or is worthier to drive in it Why won't you go and buy one at once?'"

Conscientious reviewers pounce on his misconception, and some of them hold him responsible for an accident with an omnibus when her horse was lame and when Carlyle with great difficulty persuaded her to drive in a hired brougham twice a week. About the same time to which their gratuitous criticism relates she writes to her sister-in-law,

"I cannot tell you how gentle and good Mr. Carlyle is."

Sometimes his over busy solicitude is gently reproved:

"Don't be bothering, making plans embracing me. The chief good of a holiday for a man is just that he should have shaken off home cares—the foremost of these a wife. Consider that for the present summer you have nothing to do with me, but write me nice daily letters and pay my bills."

Her last letters of all recall her wearing anxiety when he had to speak at Edinburgh, and her overwhelming triumph in his success. She tells Carlyle how she went to the Royal Institution to see Mr. Tyndall, one of the kindest and most useful friends of Carlyle's later years. "It is," as she innocently fancies, "the event of Tyndall's life." As she came away she noticed for the first time officials hurrying about, and she asked with surprise if there was to be lecturing there to-day. There is one letter more. "The last words her hand ever wrote! Why should I tear my heart by reading them so often?" She little thought that strangers would make it their business to assail through her her husband's memory by resuscitating the neglects and misunderstandings which she had long forgiven. It would have been better that defects of temper and superficial dissensions should never have become subjects of public discussion; but the mischief which has been done, though it can neither be revoked nor repaired, may perhaps be in some small degree mitigated by a protest from one who knew them both. G. S. VENABLES.

NITRO-GLYCERINE AND DYNAMITE.

RECENT events have, unfortunately, directed attention in a very special way to the subject of explosives, and more particularly to those explosives which lend themselves most readily to attacks upon the public peace and safety. Gunpowder appears by common consent (except among miners) to have been remitted to its original use, that of a powder for guns, great or small; and modern legislation is chiefly concerned with the promiscuous possession and application of the more scientific destructive preparations which may, for convenience, be classed generally under the head of nitro-compounds. Of these the material called "dynamite" is a prominent type. Considered generically, dynamite may be regarded as nitro-glycerine absorbed in any more or less solid ingredients; specifically, it consists of nitro-glycerine absorbed in an infusorial silicious earth called "kieselguhr," of which large deposits exist in Hanover and other places. This earth is of such high absorbent quality that the better descriptions of it are capable of taking up and retaining, under all ordinary conditions, about three times their own weight of nitro-glycerine.

There are only two sorts of "dynamite," properly so called, licensed for manufacture or use in the United Kingdom, viz. "Dynamite No. 1," composed of nitro-glycerine and "kieselguhr," and "Dynamite No. 2," in which the proportion of nitro-glycerine is reduced from 75 to 18 per cent., and the "kieselguhr" is replaced by a pulverized preparation composed of nitrate of potash, charcoal, and paraffin. This second description of dynamite was introduced to replace gunpowder in coal-working, and in places where the No. 1 dynamite was too violent; but it has not proved a commercial success in this country, and may now be regarded as almost non-existent.

To many minds the name "dynamite" conveys an impression of something even more formidable and destructive than nitro-glycerine itself. Of course this is a mistake. The addition of the absorbent ingredients constitutes, speaking broadly, so much deduction from the strength. These ingredients practically form a diluent. It is natural, therefore, to inquire why, then, is nitro-glycerine employed in this diluted form? The answer is simple. Because nitro-glycerine is so highly dangerous that it is now never licensed for use in its liquid condition. The terrible accidents which occurred when the dangerous liquid was in unrestricted use on board the *European* at Colon (in 1866), at Newcastle (in 1867), at Cwm-y-glo (in 1869), and in New York, California, Australia, Belgium, Sweden, and elsewhere, led to the very stringent Nitro-glycerine Act of 1869. By this Act the use of nitro-glycerine *per se* was absolutely pro-

hibited, but power was reserved to the Secretary of State specially to license any substance having nitro-glycerine, in any form, as one of its component parts or ingredients, which, in his judgment, might be safe to use or transport.

Dynamite, which was proposed by Mr. Alfred Nobel, a Swede, in 1867, may be regarded as an ingenious device for diminishing the risks attending the employment of liquid nitro-glycerine, and one which furnished a convenient solution of the difficulties, and met by anticipation the prohibitions imposed by the above Act. It was originally the intention simply to use the "kieselguhr" as a vehicle for the safer transport of the explosive liquid to the place of use, where it could be washed out and employed in its liquid form. But it was accidentally observed that the presence of the absorbent earth did not attenuate the explosive power of the nitro-glycerine to an extent commensurate with the trouble and risk which its reproduction in a liquid form would entail, while it removed (at any rate, in dry blast-holes) the danger existing in the use of the liquid material from its liability to percolate through fissures in the rock, and to give rise to subsequent accidents when the escaped liquid was struck by a pick, perhaps at a considerable distance from the original hole. Accordingly, and because the detonation of the solidified material was found to be more easily and certainly effected, the project of separating the ingredents was abandoned, and nitro-glycerine came to be not merely transported, but used in its solidified form of dynamite. It is interesting to recall that the original intention of the use of an absorbent base was reverted to in the case of recent seizures of nitro-glycerine in Birmingham and London, the liquid having been absorbed into "kieselguhr" at Birmingham, and into sand and sawdust at Woolwich, merely with a view to its safer removal to and destruction at the places of execution.

Of course "kieselguhr" is very far from being the only substance suitable for the absorption of nitro-glycerine and its conversion into dynamite; but it is probably on account of its high absorbent qualities and stable character the best. During the siege of Paris, however, many materials were substituted for "kieselguhr," of which supplies could not then be obtained, and the ashes of Boghead coal, precipitated silica, alumina, and sugar were among the ingredients experimentally applied. Another method which has been suggested for temporarily taking the sting out of dynamite, consists in dissolving it in wood-spirit to an extent sufficient to render it non-explosive. When required for use the oil could be easily separated by the addition of water. This plan, however, proved open to the practical objection that the gradual volatilisation of the spirit tended to restore the explosive properties of the nitro-glycerine.

In seeking about for various effective forms of absorbents, men's

minds have not unnaturally been attracted to absorbents which are themselves possessed of some explosive properties. Thus, probably, the very earliest form of dynamite, if so it may be called, was one prepared by Mr. Nobel before he had discovered the proper mode of exploding nitro-glycerine—and this consisted of gunpowder saturated with nitro-glycerine, the gunpowder being in this case regarded as the effective explosive, and the nitro-glycerine being added merely to augment its power. The substance "dualin," which is substantially "sawdust gunpowder" impregnated with nitro-glycerine, is another form of a class of substances to which the French gave the appropriate name of dynamite *à base actif.* A substance called "lithofracteur," belonging to this class, obtained at one time some slight importance, but although it still exists on the Home Office books, it is believed to be practically in disuse in this country. Sir Frederick Abel's "glyoxilin" (gun-cotton saturated with nitro-glycerine) contains something more than the germs of probably the most powerful explosive which has yet been presented for blasting purposes—blasting-gelatine. This important explosive has scarcely been in practical use for more than about two years. It consists of nitro-cotton (a form of gun-cotton, mainly of the soluble or collodion class, with some admixture of the more explosive insoluble variety) dissolved in nitro-glycerine, and furnishing, when well made, a gelatinised mass of great consistency, and very remarkable explosive power, and which is free from the liability, which constitutes an objection to dynamite, to yield up its nitro-glycerine when brought into contact with water. The production of this material, which is a complicated process, could hardly be effected except in a properly organized factory; and even under these conditions, its production in a thoroughly safe and satisfactory form is attended with considerable difficulty. Accordingly, we have ample security against the extensive employment of blasting-gelatine for the purposes of outrages, unless it be such as may have been obtained for the purpose from licensed magazines or stores, or surreptitiously imported. It will never be found in process of illegal manufacture in a back shop in Birmingham or elsewhere.

Those who seek to commit outrages have been content, as we have seen lately, to employ a much simpler and very inferior article—"lignin-dynamite," as the wood sawdust saturated with nitro-glycerine which has lately attracted attention in connection with certain infernal machines is called. The proportions of nitro-glycerine contained in the samples of lignin-dynamite which have come under notice, and which proportions may be regarded as rough measures of their explosive power, have differed widely. Thus, the lignin-dynamite in the infernal machines which were seized at Liverpool, *ex Malta* and *Bavarian*, in 1881, contained 32 per cent. of

nitro-glycerine, together with 41 per cent. of nitrate of soda. In the lignin-dynamite which was recovered from the Possil Canal Bridge, at Glasgow, after the abortive explosion of January 21st, only about 19 per cent. of nitro-glycerine was present, and no salt. The lignin-dynamite, in the case of the attempted explosion at the *Times* office on the 15th of March last, contained about 29 per cent. of nitro-glycerine, and the recently seized infernal machines at Liverpool were filled with a lignin-dynamite which contained about 70 per cent. of nitro-glycerine. It is an important circumstance to note that lignin-dynamite is a wholly unlicensed explosive, and consequently not in use or purchasable in this country. It follows therefore that the material in all the four cases mentioned must have been either illegally manufactured or illegally imported.

It does not appear from the seizures which were made on Whitehead's premises in Birmingham, or from the evidence yet disclosed in that case, that it was proposed to carry out the conversion of the nitro-glycerine into dynamite on those premises, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the operators may have satisfied themselves that provided the conveyance of the nitro-glycerine could be safely accomplished in waterproof bags, the whole object of such conversion would disappear and the explosive liquid might be more conveniently employed in its undiluted and more powerful form. But it is unlikely, in view of the grave risks which attend the conveyance of liquid nitro-glycerine and which sooner or later might be expected certainly to declare themselves to the destruction of those concerned, that this desperate device would be long persevered with, and except in the case of explosives manufactured close to the scene of the intended outrage it would be reasonable to expect that it would be employed in some solidified form.

The licensing of nitro-glycerine preparations and the control of the manufactured material form important functions of the Home Office department of explosives. Every new variety of nitro-glycerine preparation, whether called dynamite, or lithofracteur, or blasting-gelatine, or by whatever other fancy name (and such names are legion), is carefully examined, and its physical and chemical properties are accurately ascertained before it is licensed. As regards the former, it must not present any special liability to liquefaction or exudation, or the object of the protective provisions of the Act against liquid nitro-glycerine would obviously be defeated; and for this reason preparations containing as one of the absorbent ingredients a deliquescent salt (such as nitrate of sodium) are generally unacceptable. Some samples of blasting-gelatine have also furnished unsatisfactory results under this head. The preparation must also be free from any very high degree of sensitiveness to explosion *en masse* by a blow or by friction, and must not exhibit other excep-

tionally dangerous qualities. Licenses are never granted for the manufacture of liquid nitro-glycerine except for immediate conversion on the factory into dynamite.

Up till 1881 the manufacture of dynamite and other nitro-glycerine preparations was a monopoly in this kingdom, being in the hands of Nobel's Explosives Company, Limited, of Glasgow, in virtue of the patents taken out by Mr. Nobel. But those patents expired in 1881, and other traders have naturally desired to acquire some share in what had proved an extraordinarily lucrative business. Since that time a new and extensive factory for the manufacture of these preparations has been established near Llanelly by the Explosives Company, Limited, and it is not improbable that before long the number of such factories will be further multiplied. The opening of the English markets to foreign manufacturers of dynamite has led to the introduction of much foreign dynamite, and it appears that in 1881 no less a quantity than 1,008,050 lbs. of dynamite was imported. All such importations are subject to licenses which contain a number of strict regulations, and every cargo is sampled by the Customs on its arrival and chemically examined by the Explosives Department of the Home Office. All nitro-glycerine preparations distributed among the magazines and stores throughout the kingdom are also subject to being sampled by the Government Inspectors and examined.

Nitro-glycerine itself—the vital principle of dynamite, as it may be called—was discovered by the Italian chemist Sobrero in 1847, within about a year of the discovery of gun-cotton (in 1846) by Professor Schönbein of Basle. Nitro-glycerine bears the same relation to glycerine that gun-cotton does to cotton and that sawdust-powder (or nitro-sawdust) does toward sawdust. It might perhaps be popularly described (behind a chemist's back) as a sort of liquid form of gun-cotton or sawdust-powder, these substances being the product of the action of a mixture of strong nitric and sulphuric acids upon glycerine or cotton or sawdust. The chemical effect is broadly the same in all these cases. According to formerly received opinions it consisted in the substitution of some of the elements of nitric acid (viz. nitric peroxide) for a portion of the hydrogen which these compounds contain. But modern research shows that the change may be more correctly represented as the conversion of these compounds into nitric ethers analogous in their constitution to the ordinary nitrates, but containing an organic and combustible radical in place of the metal; hence their explosive properties.

For sixteen or seventeen years after its discovery nitro-glycerine existed rather as a chemical curiosity than as a useful or potential blasting agent. It was not sufficient to its practical application to know that it was powerfully explosive, or that if a portion of it were

struck sharply it would detonate energetically. It was necessary to discover some practical method of delivering the required blow before the material could be brought into industrial use. The application of fire to moderate quantities generally only served to inflame it, and even when subjected to strong confinement it was not easy to get an explosion out of it by means of simple ignition. Other difficulties beset its use. It was horribly poisonous and persons handling it paid the penalty in the shape of a violent headache, frequently accompanied by severe sickness. Its chemical stability was in those early days not above suspicion, a result doubtless of the insufficient attention which was then paid to its purification. To this cause the great danger which attended the recent Birmingham seizure was due, the material having been actually left on the arrest of Whitehead floating on the acid, while even the collected nitro-glycerine was in a dangerously impure condition. The material also froze at a comparatively high temperature, about 46° Fahr., and when frozen assumed a crystalline form, in which it was generally supposed to be exceptionally susceptible to explosion.

But from the moment when in 1864 Mr. Alfred Nobel discovered that the material could be exploded by the simple expedient of producing through the agency of a powerful percussion cap (commonly called a "detonator") an initiative detonation which proceeded with instantaneous rapidity through the mass, the future of nitro-glycerine was assured. It was thenceforward recognised as on the whole the most powerful blasting agent known. The energy and skill of the accomplished Nobel, with whose name far more than with that of Sobrero nitro-glycerine and its valuable applications will ever be associated, overcame most of the incidental difficulties in the way of its adoption. He proved that when properly purified the suspicions which attached to its chemical stability were not warranted. The objections to the material on account of its poisonous character he subsequently (about 1870) overcame by the simple expedient of supplying it to the miners ready made up into (dynamite) cartridges covered with parchment paper, so that any actual contact with the nitro-glycerine could be avoided.

But for the first three or four years after the discovery that nitro-glycerine might be exploded by detonation the dangers which beset the transport of the highly explosive liquid continued to exist, and from time to time asserted themselves in such terrible forms that it became evident that if nitro-glycerine (or as it was then very commonly called "glonoin oil") was to continue to be used industrially this fatal and fundamental objection must be overcome. It was this which led Mr. Nobel to resort to the expedient (in 1867) of absorbing the nitro-glycerine in some more or less inert base, and thus anticipating by some two years the action of the Nitro-glycerine

Act of 1869, of which mention has already been made, and which forbade the use of the liquid explosive, and permitted it to be employed only in the safer form of dynamite.

Among the illusions respecting nitro-glycerine (and which apply also more or less to all nitro-glycerine preparations) the fallacy that the material becomes much more sensitive and dangerous when frozen lingered the longest. Notwithstanding the elaborate exposition by Mr. George M. Mowbray of the superior safety of nitro-glycerine when in the frozen state, derived from his almost unique experience in the making of the Hoosac tunnel, persons ordinarily well informed on the subject continued to believe that frozen nitro-glycerine or frozen dynamite were exceptionally dangerous; and when in connection with the recent seizures of nitro-glycerine in Birmingham the writer and Dr. Dupré surrounded the carboy containing the same with ice (in order to keep down the temperature and so reduce the risk of spontaneous decomposition to which the grossly impure state of the nitro-glycerine gave rise), and by this means brought the mass almost to a state of congelation, it was represented by some of the public journals that the risk had been thus enormously increased, instead of being materially diminished, and among the risks which this condition was specially represented as creating was that of spontaneous decomposition. In 1879 the writer was led in the discharge of his official duties to examine this point experimentally. The results will be found recorded in the Report of H.M. Inspectors of Explosives for that year,[1] and they abundantly establish the greatly inferior sensitiveness of frozen nitro-glycerine and dynamite as compared with the same materials in an unfrozen condition. There is one exception to this, namely, the liability of the material to explosion by simple ignition. Thus I have witnessed the burning of as much as fifty-six pounds of unfrozen, unconfined dynamite without explosion, and it is probable that a much larger amount burnt before the explosion of the mass of six hundredweight took place at the Llanberis experiments in 1872.

The sensitiveness of nitro-glycerine to explosion by a blow is very considerable, and from a series of experiments carried out in connection with a recent disastrous explosion in the South Wales Dynamite Factory, and in connection with other inquiries, it appears, roughly, that when the unfrozen material is spread thinly on a metallic surface, a 1-lb. weight falling 17 or 18 inches, or a 5-lb. weight falling 15 or 16 inches, will explode. It may also be exploded by a blow from a wooden implement applied with incautious energy, and in one case, at any rate, some dynamite cushioned in a man's hand was exploded by a blow from a light hammer. In addition to its

(1) *Report of H.M. Inspectors of Explosives for* 1879, pp. 99—104.

uses as an explosive, nitro-glycerine is employed occasionally in medicine, and Dr. William Murrell has written a pamphlet setting forth and explaining the beneficial results of minute doses in cases of angina pectoris.

In appearance, nitro-glycerine is an oily-looking substance, with a somewhat yellowish tint and a sweet aromatic taste. It is inodorous, and has a specific gravity of about 1·6, or, roughly, is half as heavy again as water. A single drop placed on the tongue will produce the most acute headache.

It may be useful to offer a few observations on certain fallacies which exist in respect of the behaviour and destructive powers of nitro-glycerine and its preparations: One such fallacy is that this explosive always "strikes downwards." As a matter of fact this is simple nonsense; and if anybody desired a practical disproof of it, he could hardly do better than examine the injury inflicted on the ceiling and upper part of the window of the room at the Local Government Board in which the explosion of March 15th was effected. The fact is, that nitro-glycerine and its preparations act with such extreme rapidity as to give no time for the force to seek out a line of least resistance, as in the case of gunpowder. The rapidity is so great that the air itself acts, if it may be so expressed, as the tamping of the charge; and thus, while in the case of gunpowder the pulverizing effect upon the material on which the explosive rests, and which is characteristic of a nitro-compound, is not produced unless the gunpowder be closely tamped, and even then to a far inferior extent, the action of dynamite is so energetic and rapid that the stone, or iron, or wood upon which it rests is more or less destroyed, independently of the degree of tamping or confinement. This may be illustrated by a simple experiment: Place a few grains of gunpowder in a test-tube, cork up the tube, and explode the gunpowder. The result will be the blowing out of the cork. But if a very much smaller amount of any nitro-compound or quick-acting explosive be substituted for gunpowder, the result will be the destruction of the test-tube.

Another error, which unfortunately has led to the sacrifice of many lives, is that dynamite if set fire to will always burn and not explode. It has already been shown that under certain conditions, and especially with the frozen material, dynamite is more liable to explode if set fire to, than to burn harmlessly away. The explosion during the recent destruction, at Woolwich, by burning of the dynamite (into which the nitro-glycerine seized in London had been converted), furnishes another contradiction of the fallacy. But it is also worthy of notice that although not inconsiderable quantities may sometimes be burnt without explosion, it is extremely dangerous to *heat* (without igniting) even very small quantities. Ignorance of this fact

has cost many miners their lives. They argue that if a dynamite cartridge can be harmlessly set fire to and held in the hand while it burns away, it must surely be safe to expose a similar cartridge to heat (for the purpose of thawing it when frozen) without igniting it. The greater, they argue, includes the less. But this is exactly what dynamite will not stand. If any part of it becomes heated to explosion point before it is consumed, the result is likely to be an initiative detonation which extends to the whole mass. Place a small piece of dynamite on an iron plate and set fire to it, and it will probably burn harmlessly away; but apply the fire underneath the plate instead of on the top, and the result will be a violent explosion. It is probable that the recent explosion at Woolwich during the destruction of the seized nitro-glycerine, which had been converted into dynamite, may be referred to some such cause. No doubt the nitro-glycerine was more or less wet. Some wet and not readily inflammable material may have interposed between the burning portion of the thickly spread train and the unignited portion beyond, some small part of which may thus have been exposed to a heating influence without itself becoming ignited; and hence, perhaps, the initiative detonation, which extended to above nine yards of the train, and which if it had occurred earlier might have involved the loss of valuable lives. In burning dynamite it is always advisable to burn it as at Birmingham, in small quantities, with breaches of continuity between the masses.

It cannot be too strongly stated that many of the apprehensions which obtain as to the probable effects of dynamite or other nitro-glycerine preparations are extravagantly exaggerated. The letter which Mr. MacRoberts, the accomplished technical director of Roberts' Explosives Co., addressed to the *Times* the other day, was a very useful contribution to this subject. Without accepting to their full extent Mr. MacRoberts's figures, and making all allowance for his natural partiality for an explosive which his company alone are at present entitled to make, it may be said unreservedly that his general conclusions are perfectly sound; these being to the effect that the wide-spread devastation which the public appear to contemplate as a possible consequence of the explosion of even a moderate charge of nitro-glycerine is a physical impossibility. It cannot be too generally understood that, powerful as nitro-glycerine is, its power resides in a very large degree in its intense rapidity of action. How rapid this action is, is illustrated by the fact that the detonation of nitro-glycerine proceeds, according to experiments conducted by Sir F. Abel, at not less than from 19,500 to 21,000 feet per second, or over 200 miles a minute. Such intense rapidity of action is inconsistent with anything but exceedingly local effect. In the immediate vicinity of the charge all will be shattered,

pulverized, macerated, and ruined—but it is a local effect essentially. This received a very striking illustration at the recent explosion at the Local Government Board. The structural injury produced by a charge containing probably about 20 lbs. of nitro-glycerine was practically limited to the room in the window of which the charge was applied and to the room above. Here and there some doors were damaged, but speaking generally the effects beyond these rooms were limited to broken glass.

During 1881 and 1882 I had occasion, in conjunction with Sir Frederick Abel, to carry out a series of experiments with small charges of dynamite on a masonry structure and on two small vessels given for the purpose by the Admiralty. The result in both cases was the same, and justifies the statement in the joint report that, "any general or even partial destruction of a public building or of a substantial dwelling-house could not be accomplished except by the use of very much larger charges of dynamite and similar substances than could usually be brought to bear without attracting observation, and the effect of a single 'infernal machine,' containing a few pounds of explosive, would be structurally insignificant."[1]

What is here stated, with regard to the destruction of a large building, applies, of course, with extended force to a large area covered with buildings. It is not to be disputed that immense mischief, in the form of serious loss of life, might be produced under favourable conditions by even a comparatively small charge of dynamite—or almost any explosive. But the apprehensions as to the "blowing up," *en bloc*, of large well-built public buildings, and, still more, the apprehensions as to the levelling of considerable areas of the metropolis by the explosion of an amount of nitro-glycerine capable of being contained and carried in a portmanteau, would be ludicrous, were it not for the state of public uneasiness, and even panic, to which they are liable to give rise. One word in conclusion. It may be assumed that the object of those who try to blow up Government offices, and commit similar outrages, is to produce a general feeling of national *malaise*. This could hardly be more successfully accomplished than by throwing a score of important trades into confusion and placing an equal number of industries in fetters. This point is one to which it may not be out of place at the present time to direct particular attention.

VIVIAN DERING MAJENDIE.

(1) *Report of H.M. Inspectors of Explosives for* 1881, p. 57.

HENRY J. STEPHEN SMITH.

It is rarely that the life of a great mathematician presents much that is of interest to the world at large: his real life is written in his works, and his biographer has but little to recount besides tales of his early mathematical promise, the names of the teachers who fostered his talent, the nature and influence of his writings, the offices he held, and the honours he received from universities and academies. But it is far otherwise with Henry John Stephen Smith. It was to his brilliant personal qualities and his unselfish devotion to the general advancement of science that his commanding position was due—not to his eminence as a mathematician. That he was the holder of a mathematical chair was indeed well known, and many were aware that he was of real distinction in mathematics, but there were few who knew how great a man he was, or how great a name in the history of science his was to be.

When the shock of his death came, the personal loss was felt far and wide. It was not only that one of the most brilliant and gifted men of our time had been suddenly removed in the fulness of his intellectual powers; but, besides this, his character was one of such singular beauty that even those who knew him but slightly thought more of the friend they had lost, and of the loss of his influence from amongst us, than of his marvellous intellectual attainments or his brilliant social gifts. The individuality of his presence, the lightness and gaiety of his wit and conversation, his grace and charm of manner, his powers of gentle persuasion and of disarming opposition, his wisdom, the wonderful extent and accuracy of his views and knowledge upon all subjects—but so little displayed and showing itself in so delicate a manner that no one would think of applying the word "learned" to him, though to no one was it more truly appropriate—all these phrases have a meaning of their own to those who knew him, and even to those who had only met him; but his brilliance and vivacity, the subtle gifts of genius and sympathy, and the charm of his character as a whole, which impressed his friends the more and more deeply the better they knew him, are indescribable in words. But great as was the personal loss, the loss to science was even greater; for since Newton's death no mathematician so great or so powerful has passed away in this country.

The spectacle of a great mathematician, the author of some of the most brilliant intellectual achievements of our time in the most intricate field of human effort, passing through life all but unknown by his scientific victories to those with whom he was asso-

ciated, and owing his fame and his influence and his position to his personal gifts—his powers of understanding and acting with other men, his fine taste and exquisite tact, his noble and generous disposition, and the personal attachment felt to him by his friends—is perhaps unique in the history of science. By many, if not most, of his closest friends his mathematical eminence was never suspected. This would have been impossible if his achievements had related to any other branch of science except the very highest and most abstract regions of pure mathematics. It has been truly said that Henry Smith could live at heights where others could scarcely breathe, and no phrase could give a better idea of the singular remoteness of the scene of his triumphs even from the ordinary range of mathematical inquiries. No word of his ever drew attention to the work to which his life was given: but it is strange that rumours of the place he held in mathematical science should have never reached the ears of many of those who thought they knew him best.

Perhaps to no other mathematician that the world has ever produced has it been granted to win his victories so much by sheer intellectual force—to *see*, as it were, so far into a stone wall. It was not, however, that he relied on his intellectual powers rather than on the use and improvement of the analytical weapons that were already at hand in the armoury of the mathematician. On the contrary, he was a consummate master of all the singularly refined and delicate methods and processes that distinguish the field in which he laboured even from the remotest subjects of mathematical inquiry in other directions; but the peculiar difficulty and intricacy of the problems that he set himself to attack demanded not only all the aid that mathematical analysis could give, but also an amount of mental and creative power such as would only be required on the part of one who purposely selected just those questions which were blocking the onward march of the investigator in what will in the future be the great highways of the science—the main roads that lead through the territories he succeeded in traversing to the quite unknown regions that lie beyond.

The mathematician with whom it is natural to compare Henry Smith, as regards the subject and character of his achievements, is Gauss. But, closely alike as their works are, no two lives could present a greater contrast. Gauss's career almost satisfies the popular ideal of what the life of the great mathematician should be. While quite a child, Gauss showed almost incredible mathematical talent, and some of his greatest discoveries were made when he was scarcely more than a boy. For nearly half a century he held his professorship at Göttingen, leading a serene life of secluded quietude and contentment, absorbed in his pursuits and free from illness or anxiety; and when at length, having received every honour that his genius

could win or European Science confer, he quietly passed away, in his 78th year, his life's work was fully accomplished, and had already borne fruit at the hands of pupils devoted to their master, and not unworthy to follow in his steps. So simple and regular was his mode of living that it is said that from his appointment as professor in 1807 till 1854, the year before his death, he never slept from under the roof of his own observatory, except in 1828, when at Humboldt's invitation he attended a meeting of natural philosophers at Berlin, and that he saw a locomotive for the first time in 1854, when railway communication was opened between Hanover and Göttingen.

How different was this from the busy, active life that closed on the morning of the 9th of February! It was not till after his degree that Henry Smith first seriously directed his attention to the subject that henceforth was to engage his whole heart, although the hours of work that he could devote to it were only the irregular intervals of leisure that he managed to find for his own pursuits in the midst of a life of incessant activity, a life of anxious and exacting labour freely given for the benefit of his university and the progress of science. When death so suddenly removed him, great as were the works that he had given to the world, the next few years would have seen the completion of many others of no less importance. In the early years of his work he had published his researches but sparingly, and it was only as the mass of results accumulated that the necessity for publication pressed itself upon him. The same marvellous excellence and completeness that distinguished all that Gauss ever published was a characteristic of Henry Smith's work, and as in Gauss's case, so too in his it was the result of extreme thought and care and elaboration. His death was the greatest calamity that could have happened to mathematics. Year by year his powers had increased as his love of the subject had deepened; but unfortunately the time that he was able to give to his mathematical work had been seriously restricted in recent years by the labours of the University Commission. In spite of this he had steadily matured for publication paper after paper, and during the last year, since the termination of the Commission, although suffering from an affection in the leg which for a long time confined him to his sofa, he had made great progress with an important memoir on Elliptic Functions, which had occupied his attention for many years, and the printing of which would have been completed in another three months. Just as it seemed that he was about to have more leisure and better health, and when the opportunity had come for him to bring to maturity other researches on which he had bestowed years of time and thought, his labours were closed in a moment without warning; for although his

illness lasted a few days he had no consciousness that death was upon him, and his papers were left untouched, just as they stood at the moment when the illness seized him. The loss to science is more than any one can estimate. In the subjects he had made his own he stood quite apart by himself, and no other hand can ever complete as his would have done the great mass of manuscripts left unfinished, or present them to the world in the form he would have given to them.

It is only in the lifetime of those now living that England has waked up from her long sleep of nearly a century, and has again taken a part among the other countries of Europe in the advance of mathematics; and Henry Smith's contributions to the Theory of Numbers—the most abstract and the most beautiful of the mathematical sciences—are vastly more important than any others that have ever been published in the English language. His early death affects the position this country will hold in the mathematical history of the century: had his life but been prolonged, not to the length of Gauss's, but even for ten years or five years, he would have been able to complete and publish some of the researches which he had most at heart, and which awaited only the finishing touches at their master's hand. When a man dies young he can have shown but little more than "promise," and it is impossible to feel certain of what his career might have been, or how much or how little the world has really lost. But in Henry Smith's case there was both performance and "promise." Although in his fifty-sixth year, the extraordinary accuracy and perfection of form which he regarded as essential had caused him to withhold from publication much that any other mathematician would have given to the world on its discovery, and it is certain that the brilliant "promise" would have been fulfilled. The last ten years had seen the completion and publication of some twenty papers, all containing the finished results of work begun long before, and it is only after turning over the pages of these lasting records of their author's genius that it is possible to realise the loss his country and the world have suffered by his premature death.

Henry Smith's life differs in almost all essential respects not only from Gauss's but from that of every other great mathematician. This difference shows itself even from the beginning, for as a boy he displayed no special aptitude or taste for mathematics, although there is abundant evidence, which will surprise none who knew him, of the great natural gifts of which this science was afterwards to have the full benefit.

He was born in Dublin on November 2, 1826, and was the fourth child of his parents. His father, John Smith, was the son of a clergyman at Bantry, County Cork. He was a barrister-at-law, and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards at Brasenose

College, Oxford, in order to shorten the residence at the Inns of Court required before he could be called to the Bar. At the Temple he was the law pupil of Henry John Stephen, serjeant-at-law, best known to the world as the editor of Blackstone's Commentaries. The law student and his master were greatly attached to each other, and the pupil gave the master's name to the younger of his two sons.

John Smith married Mary Murphy, a daughter of a country gentleman living on the shores of Bantry Bay. She was one of fourteen children, brought up in the wildest Irish fashion, but many or all of whom were endowed with physical strength, personal beauty, and rare gifts of intellect. The name of Smith was brought over by a member of a Dorsetshire family in the time of James II., but otherwise the family was Irish.

When Henry Smith was just two years old his father died, his death being due to the same malady as that which has just carried off the son. There were four children, two sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest, a girl, was but nine years of age, and to their education the widow thenceforth devoted herself. She was one of those rare people to whom isolation and the lack of all opportunities of culture had proved the goad and spur impelling them to help themselves, and to make all the use they could of the scanty materials at their command. In a world where literature was unknown, the girls fell eagerly on the books their brothers brought home from their English schools, and made themselves Latin and Greek scholars because French and Italian were out of their reach; and to the end of her life the delight in learning and the passion for the beauties of nature, fostered by the exquisite loveliness of her Irish home, were her ruling impulses. During her ten years of married life she lived in the best and most cultivated society in Dublin; the Pennefathers, Bishop Daly, Alexander Knox, Mr. Darby, F. W. Newman, and Lady Powerscourt were familiar names in her circle. On the death of her husband, in order to escape from the sad memories of her Dublin home, and to give her children the better opportunity of education which England afforded, and which their father had above all things desired for them, Mrs. Smith left Ireland, and after passing the summer months in the Isle of Man, she settled for the winter at the village of Harborne, near Birmingham. It was here, on his birthday, on the completion of his third year, that Henry was subjected to the crucial test of whether he could read or not. The fairness of his complexion and hair had gained for him the name of the "White Crow;" and he believed that failure to read would prove that he was really a crow, success that he was indeed a little boy. On the eventful day, with child-like excitement and expectation he saw the window opened wide

to let him fly away in case of failure; but the examination was passed most successfully, and to his intense delight he remained a little boy.

In the spring of 1830 the family moved to Leamington, and from thence, twelve months later, to Ryde, in the Isle of Wight. Up to this time feats of vivid memory are the only things that were noted about Henry; but at Ryde, while still between four and five, he began to display the desire for learning and the facility in acquiring knowledge which distinguished him ever afterwards. He began Greek on his own account, attacking *motu proprio* an old Greek grammar which belonged to his mother, and was full of the most crabbed contractions. It was not till he had mastered declensions of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns that any one noticed the book he had selected for reading in his play-time. The family resided in the Isle of Wight for nearly ten years; and until Henry was over eleven he continued under the exclusive care and teaching of his mother. It is probably very seldom that children's education has been pursued with such unremitting steadiness and industry. The hours of labour were not excessive —five or five and a half a day—but there were no interruptions. Christmas Day and Good Friday were whole holidays, and birthdays half holidays, but this was all. Early rising and most regular hours left plenty of time for play. Pleasures, except such as the children made for themselves, were a thing unknown and unheard of. Toys and games, except of their own invention, had no existence for them. Acting Homeric scenes, personating Homeric characters, and taking part in "plays" (such as, for example, the life of a shipwrecked family) were the amusements of the play-hours, together with the pursuit of natural history. Flowers and insects especially were the delight of the summer months, and in the later years they eagerly pursued botany, conchology, and chemistry.

When Henry was between eleven and twelve his mother, who had been reading Greek plays, Herodotus, and Thucydides with the boys, began to feel herself unable to cope with the further difficulties of Latin and Greek composition, and Mr. R. Wheler Bush became their tutor for some months. In an interesting letter, which appeared in the *Times* of February 12th, Mr. Bush, now rector of St. Alphage, London Wall, has given an account of the work of his pupil, which deserves to be quoted here.

"In the years 1838-39, Henry Smith, then a boy of eleven years of age, read with me for about nine months at Ryde, in the Isle of Wight. He had been previously taught by his widowed mother—a remarkably clever and highly educated woman. After reading with Henry Smith I had a large experience of boys during a headmastership of more than thirty-three years, but I have often remarked that the brilliant talents of Henry Smith prevented me from ever being really astonished at the abilities of any subsequent pupil. His power of memory, quickness of perception, indefatigable diligence, and intuitive grasp of whatever he studied were very remarkable at that early age. What he got

through during those few months, and the way in which he got through it, have never ceased to surprise me. From a record which I have before me I see that during that short time he read all Thucydides, Sophocles, and Sallust, twelve books of Tacitus, the greater part of Horace, Juvenal, Persius, and several plays of Æschylus and Euripides. I see also that he got up six books of Euclid, and algebra to simple equations; that he read a considerable quantity of Hebrew; and that, among other things, he learnt all the Odes of Horace by heart. I could scarcely understand at the time how he contrived at his early age to translate so well and so accurately the most difficult speeches of Thucydides, without note or comment to guide him. He was a deeply interesting boy, singularly modest, loveable, and affectionate. In proof of his powers of memory, I recollect his mentioning in a letter written just after he had taken his First Class in classics that he had not seen several of the plays that he took up since he read them years before with me. I also remember that, when writing to me after he had gained the 'Ireland,' he expressed his belief that his stay in Rome for the sake of his health just before he went in for that examination had enabled him to appreciate and answer some of the questions in a way that he would not have been able to do had he not resided for a time there. I would in sorrow bear this tribute to the memory of one who was not less remarkable as a boy than he was afterwards as a man."

Mr. Bush was succeeded by two gentlemen of excellent character and devoted to their work, but of less ability, and Mrs. Smith found that adequate teaching for Henry could not be obtained from resident tutors. Following the advice of the last of the tutors, Mrs. Smith removed to Oxford in the autumn of 1840, when Henry became the daily pupil of the Rev. H. Highton. In the summer of 1841 Mr. Highton was appointed to a mastership at Rugby. He was accompanied by his pupil, who being only fifteen was disqualified by age from entering the sixth form, although possessed of sufficient knowledge. He was placed in the upper fifth and in "the twenty" until the midsummer holidays of 1842, when having been allowed the privilege of bidding Dr. Arnold good-bye, as a boy who would commence the next term in the sixth form, he returned home, where the news of Dr. Arnold's sudden death followed him the next day. He went back to Rugby, and soon became the head boy under Dr. Tait.

On the death of his elder brother from consumption, in September, 1843, he was removed from Rugby, and remained with his family at Nice through the winter, almost without classical books and without even a Greek lexicon. He spent the summer of 1844 in Switzerland, and at the beginning of October it was thought that he should return to Rugby for a few weeks' preparation before going to Oxford to try for the Balliol scholarship in November. He was successful in obtaining the scholarship, and joined his family at Rome before Christmas. The winter was one of great enjoyment to him, and he made rapid progress in knowledge and cultivation while studying diligently the antiquities of the city.

He accompanied his family, in June, 1845, to Frascati, where in August he was attacked by malaria, the effects of which invalided him for nearly two years. The winter was spent at Naples, the

malady slowly wearing itself out. In May, 1846, he was taken to Wiesbaden, where the waters rapidly restored him to fair health. It was not, however, thought expedient that he should resume his interrupted course at Oxford until Easter, 1847. The intervening winter was spent at Paris, and like the preceding one was a time when he made rapid intellectual progress. He remembered with especial pleasure the lectures of Arago and Milne Edwards. After the Easter term of 1847 he was never to the time of his death absent from Oxford for a single term. In the summer of 1847 he once more visited Wiesbaden, returning with his family to England in October. Until his mother's death, in 1857, his vacations were all passed with his family, the Christmas and Easter vacations chiefly in London, and the summer in Germany, Switzerland, or Austria.

He won the Ireland scholarship in the Lent term, 1848, and obtained a first class both in the classical and mathematical schools in the Lent term, 1849. He gained the senior mathematical scholarship in 1851. He was elected a Fellow of Balliol in 1850, and resided in college till 1857, when, after his mother's death, his only surviving sister, Miss Eleanor E. Smith, came to Oxford, and from that time onwards they lived together. He was elected Savilian Professor of Geometry in 1861, and in 1874 he was appointed Keeper of the University Museum. He then removed to the residence attached to the Museum, and lived there with his sister, a lady almost as well known in Oxford as himself, till his death.

After taking his degree he wavered between classics and mathematics, but not for long; the latter soon attracted him, and with a power and a charm that steadily increased from year to year. Great as was the amount of time and thought and energy which he devoted to other matters, and liberal as he was of his help in every useful work or cause, mathematics was the one subject which held absolute possession of his heart, and to which his real life was given. How deep were his love and care for it but few knew in his lifetime, though his works have placed it on record for all future generations. To say that he "made sacrifices" for it would be untrue; such was his love for it that he regarded nothing as a sacrifice; he never thought that there was anything worthy to be compared to it, or that a sacrifice in such a cause was possible. Not Gauss, nor Euler, nor Jacobi, nor any mathematician who gave up to it all the working hours of his life, cared for it more than he, and his perfect devotion was such as only a nature so beautiful as his could feel. Those only who know how completely his heart was engrossed by it, how he longed to attack the obstacles that barred the progress of the science, to solve the mysteries that he felt were within his grasp, and to complete his unfinished successes—problem only half worked out, but through which he could see his way—can appreciate the unsel-

fishness and the sweetness of disposition which made him yield so willingly and gracefully to the wishes of friends, and take a leading part not only in the business and management of his own university, but wherever the cause of learning or science was involved; in fact, he never refused to give up his time and attention to any purpose for which his friends asked his help, and where he thought his services might be of use. But for this he would have been alive now; the incessant cares and anxieties of his numerous occupations, combined with the exhaustion produced by the severe mental efforts to which every moment of his spare time was devoted, have prematurely closed one of the most perfect and valuable lives of our age.

His two earliest papers were geometrical, and it was not till 1855 that his first contribution to the Theory of Numbers was published. For the ten years 1854-64 he devoted himself to this vast subject, and made himself completely master of everything that had ever been published upon it in any language. The results of this enormous amount of research are contained in his report on the Theory of Numbers, which appear in the British Association volumes between 1859 and 1865. This report, which occupies altogether about 250 pages of close printing, is quite unique of its kind, and presents a complete and comprehensive view of the actual state of not only the widest but the most complicated and difficult branch of pure mathematics. It is remarkable for the same perfection of form, condensed mode of statement of processes, and what may be termed "mathematical good taste," that distinguished all his work. Not only does the report contain a complete account of the wonderful series of discoveries of Gauss and his pupils and successors, but there is also much original matter, though with characteristic modesty it is but rarely that it is distinguished in any way from results that are merely quoted. But the amount of original work that he accomplished was far greater than he could find room for in the report, and the splendid advances that he made in the science were communicated to the Royal Society in a series of papers between 1860 and 1867. Attention has just been directed to one of these papers by the award to him of the great mathematical prize of the French Academy. The subject of the prize was the decomposition of a number as a sum of five squares—a very special case of the general question of the classification of Quadratic Forms, of which he had published the complete solution in 1867. Eisenstein had partially solved the question of five squares, and the French Academy, in ignorance of Henry Smith's work, proposed the completion of Eisenstein's solution as the subject for the prize for 1883. When this subject was announced last year Henry Smith's time was engrossed by investigations connected with his large memoir on Elliptic Functions, and besides having a great dislike to become a competitor, especially

under the circumstances, he was very reluctant to leave, even for a short time, the work he had in hand. At length, however, he decided to write out a portion of his published work, together with its application to the problem of five squares (for which, in the paper of 1867, he had given the results, but without demonstration), and to send it in as an essay. In taking this course he acted in accordance with the request of one of the academicians, who pointed out to him that in this way the Academy would be relieved of the embarrassment in which it was placed. No episode could bring out in a more striking light the distance that he had advanced beyond his contemporaries than that a question of which he had given the solution in 1867 as a corollary from more general principles that governed the whole class of investigations to which it belonged, should have been regarded by the French Academy in 1882 as of so much importance as to be worthy to form the subject of their great prize. It affords, too, a singular illustration of the little attention that works destined to become classical attracted in the lifetime of their author.

He was led by his researches on the Theory of Numbers to the Theory of Elliptic Functions, and on this subject he has published since 1864 results scarcely inferior in importance to his achievements in the former theory. His third subject was Modern Geometry, in which he was quite without a rival in England, and of which he showed the same wonderful mastery. All that he published had reference to one or other of these three subjects. Pure Mathematics is divisible into two great branches—the Theory of Numbers, or "Arithmetic," *i.e.* the theory of discrete magnitude, and Algebra, the theory of continuous magnitude. The aims and methods and processes of the two branches are quite distinct. The algebraical branch, which admits of application to physics and to all the exact sciences, is the one that has been most generally studied; in fact, ninety-nine out of every hundred mathematical papers relate to it. A characteristic of Henry Smith's work, no less than of Gauss's, is the "arithmetical" mode of treatment that runs through the whole of it, no matter what the subject; and his great command over the processes of the science of number is everywhere conspicuous.

This is one reason why Henry Smith's writings are difficult to read, for as regards the "arithmetical" knowledge required the senior wrangler is no better off than the schoolboy; but another and more powerful reason is afforded by the very perfection of form that he gave to his work. In this he resembled Gauss, and no words could more exactly describe his own work than those which he has applied to the great German mathematician in the following sentences.[1]

"If we except the great name of Newton (and the exception is one which Gauss himself would have been delighted to make) it is probable that no

(1) They occur in an article on Gauss, by Mr. R. Tucker, in *Nature*, April 19, 1877.

mathematician of any age or country has ever surpassed Gauss in the combination of an abundant fertility of invention with an absolute rigorousness in demonstration, which the ancient Greeks themselves might have envied. It may be admitted, without any disparagement to the eminence of such great mathematicians as Euler and Cauchy, that they were so overwhelmed with the exuberant wealth of their own creations, and so fascinated by the interest attaching to the results at which they arrived, that they did not greatly care to expend their time in arranging their ideas in a strictly logical order, or even in establishing by irrefragable proof propositions which they instinctively felt, and could almost see, to be true. With Gauss the case was otherwise. It may seem paradoxical, but it is probably nevertheless true, that it is precisely the effort after a logical perfection of form which has rendered the writings of Gauss open to the charge of obscurity and unnecessary difficulty. The fact is that there is neither obscurity nor difficulty in his writings as long as we read them in the submissive spirit in which an intelligent schoolboy is made to read his Euclid. Every assertion that is made is fully proved, and the assertions succeed one another in a perfectly just analogical order; there is nothing so far of which we can complain. But when we have finished the perusal, we soon begin to feel that our work is but begun, that we are still standing on the threshold of the temple, and that there is a secret which lies behind the veil, and is as yet concealed from us. . . No vestige appears of the process by which the result itself was obtained, perhaps not even a trace of the considerations which suggested the successive steps of the demonstration. Gauss says more than once that, for brevity, he only gives the synthesis, and suppresses the analysis of his propositions. *Pauca sed matura* were the words with which he delighted to describe the character which he endeavoured to impress upon his mathematical writings. If, on the other hand, we turn to a memoir of Euler's, there is a sort of free and luxuriant gracefulness about the whole performance which tells of the quiet pleasure which Euler must have taken in each step of his work; but we are conscious nevertheless that we are at an immense distance from the severe grandeur of design which is characteristic of all Gauss's greater efforts. The preceding criticism, if just, ought not to appear wholly trivial, for though it is quite true that in any mathematical work the substance is immeasurably more important than the form, yet it cannot be doubted that many mathematical memoirs of our own time suffer greatly (if we may dare to say so) from a certain slovenliness in the mode of presentation; and that (whatever may be the value of their contents) they are stamped with a character of slightness and perishableness which contrasts strongly with the adamantine solidity and clear hard modelling, which (we may be sure) will keep the writings of Gauss from being forgotten long after the chief results and methods contained in them have been incorporated in treatises more easily read, and have come to form a part of the common patrimony of all working mathematicians. And we must never forget (what in an age so futile of new mathematical conceptions as our own we are only too apt to forget) that it is the business of mathematical science not only to discover new truths and new methods, but also to establish them, at whatever cost of time and labour, upon a basis of irrefragable reasoning.

"The *μαθηματικὸς πιθανολογῶν* has no more right to be listened to now than he had in the days of Aristotle; but it must be owned that since the invention of the 'royal roads' of analysis, defective modes of reasoning and of proof have had a chance of obtaining currency which they never had before. It is not the greatest, but it is perhaps not the least, of Gauss's claim to the admiration of mathematicians, that while fully penetrated with a sense of the vastness of the science, he exacted the utmost rigorousness in every part of it, never passed over a difficulty as if it did not exist, and never accepted a theorem as true beyond the limits within which it could actually be demonstrated."

These words describe not only Henry Smith's views, but the quality of his own work. He did not care that his papers should be "easy to read," but he did care that they should be imperishable; and the words "adamantine solidity" express better than any others could do the character of the work he has left. To the "slovenly" way in which much of the mathematics of our time is presented to the world he had the strongest dislike; and he spared no time or pains that all his own work should be as complete in its details as in its main results, and that it should be as perfect in form as in substance. He wished that what he did should be done for all time, and that it should also receive from his own hand the form which it was to retain. The order in which results are best and most logically displayed is not as a rule that in which they are most easily followed; and, besides this, his writings are rendered more difficult by the fact that he did not allow himself to publish "steps" in his work, in order to assist the reader, when they were not required by the logic. Another point that should also be noticed is this: mathematicians usually work at whatever interests them, and publish papers of various degrees of importance, some relating to the boundaries of the subject and others only to quite elementary matters; but it was not so in his case. He directed his efforts only to acknowledged difficulties in science, victory over which would produce a real advance. He severely restricted himself to such questions, and was never tempted to deviate from his course by anything that interested him on the way.

For all these reasons the standard of excellence of his writings is far above that of other great mathematicians. His published mathematical papers occupy perhaps 1,200 pages; but this amount would have been tripled had he been less exacting in the quality of his work. Clerk Maxwell said of a mathematical paper that showed talent and originality, but was ill-arranged and incomplete, that it was "worthy to have found a place in Gauss's waste-paper basket;" and it might, indeed, be truly said that much of the best work of Henry Smith's contemporaries was only worthy of a place in *his* waste-paper basket.

The cold severity of his writings forms a curious contrast to the brilliant gaiety of his manner, and future generations who will know him only from his works will find it hard to believe what will be recorded of their author. In conversation and correspondence he was so lightsome and gay, and whimsical in the expression of his affection for his formulæ; but the printed pages show nothing but stern dignity and power, without a trace of his own bright fancy or a word to show how he loved his work or the pleasure it had been to him.

His victories were won by the hardest of intellectual conflicts, in

which for the time his whole heart and soul and powers were entirely and absolutely absorbed. It was in his wide interests and sympathies, the pleasure of intercourse with others, and the love of all that was good and cultivated, that he found relief from these severe mental efforts. Had he not been gifted with a disposition that gave him the keenest sympathy with every human interest, that attracted him to society and endeared him to his friends, that gave him, in fact, his other noble life—the life the world knew—his fierce devotion to the subject he loved would have ended his days long since.

His extreme modesty forbade him ever to speak of his work except to those who knew of it and appreciated it, and even then he generally referred to it only in his own light way; but there were times when he made no attempt to conceal the intense delight he had felt in the discovery of principles that he knew must remain landmarks in science. As time went on, and engagements and duties thickened upon him, he became more and more haunted and oppressed by the mass of work that lay unfinished in his study. "I have twenty papers embedded in my note-book. I extricated and published seven last year," he gave as a reason for being obliged to decline to undertake a fresh piece of work. But in spite of this constant anxiety, he continued to read new mathematical literature on its appearance—all that related to his own subjects and a vast amount besides—with the same avidity and ease as of old; and the still unsolved mysteries of the subject and the endeavour to discern indications of the lines that future discovery would take exercised even a greater fascination over him than ever. Only three months before his death, referring to the opinion (expressed by a speaker at the Balfour Memorial Meeting at Cambridge) that a man's most original ideas came to him before he was thirty, he said that in his own case he was certain that not only had his power of seeing and understanding things uninterruptedly increased all through his life, but that his thoughts and ideas and "invention" had undergone a corresponding progression and development. A glance through his note-books affords striking evidence of this, for the later entries are especially rich in suggestions for future researches and in "guesses" at what the results may be found to be.

His power of reading rapidly—as one might "skim" a novel—new mathematical publications of the most difficult kind, seizing the ideas and grasping the processes as if by intuition, was a truly wonderful gift. If the bare truth were told with regard to the accuracy and extent of his acquaintance with the actual state of mathematics, taken in its very widest sense, it would seem simply incredible to any one who knew how much of his life was devoted to other occupations, how great and varied was his knowledge in other directions,

and how vast is the range and how rapid the progress of the sciences with which he showed this perfect familiarity.

But little space remains in which to speak of his attainments and influence in other fields, or of his personal and social gifts; but these are far more widely known than are the works that will give him his permanent place in the world's history. Of all that has been written of him since his death there is scarcely a word with which his friends will not all agree. Universal tribute has been paid to his brilliant genius, to the ungrudging manner in which he freely devoted the common good gifts that, had he employed them in any way for his personal ambition, would have early won him a European reputation, to the serenity of heart which "enabled him to wear the gifts of genius with sobriety and to use them nobly and well, without seeking to expend them in the purchase of fame, or of wealth, or of advancement," to his moderation, his insight into human nature, his gentleness and modesty, his "invincible wisdom," his freedom from any trace of egotism or dogmatism, his kindliness and generosity, the delicate gaiety of his wit, the brilliance of his conversation and his powers of conciliation. It is strange to notice how entirely what has been written of him and his character by those who were unaware of his mathematical eminence applies also to him as a mathematician. That the "note" of personal ambition was absent from his composition is equally true, whether we regard his public or his mathematical career. He was well content to leave his works to tell their own tale when the proper time should come, and he cared not that they should bring him fame or honour in his lifetime. In this there was no trace of cynicism; no such feeling could exist in his nature. He worked at his subjects simply for the love of them, and he had no desire to make them the means of drawing attention to himself. Science can indeed boast few characters so perfect as his. It has been sometimes said of him that he was too fond of compromises. If this be so it may be partly explained by his moderation and dislike of extremes; but a truer reason may be found in the quickness and breadth of his intellect and sympathy, which enabled him to understand and appreciate both sides of every question, and prevented him from ever pressing home a victory.

An article on Henry Smith could not be closed more fitly than by the concluding words of the notice in the *Athenæum*: "No one, probably, has ever had a larger circle of private friends to lament his loss. He had all the gifts which win and preserve attachment; not only sincerity, constancy, depth of feeling, and liveliness of sympathy, but a sweetness and nobility of nature to which no words can render adequate testimony."

J. W. L. GLAISHER.

A POLITICIAN IN TROUBLE ABOUT HIS SOUL.

II.

When his friends[1] had gone Angus remained intently watching the smoke of his cigar, but the half-formed rings that rose slowly upward, growing thinner and wider before they melted in the air, brought him no inspiration in his difficulties and no answer to his question. Still, in spite of the laughter of friends, he felt that it was a question that he could not thrust out of his mind and be rid of. To leave it unanswered was to leave a fortress untaken in his rear, and to prevent all farther advance in confidence and security. Some answer must be found. "What is the right and the wrong of politics?" he kept asking himself. "What makes it right or wrong to pass a Land Bill? There must be some principle by which we can test a political action, something by reference to which we can say that it is just or unjust, good or bad." As he asked himself the question, all the well-worn political phrases came back to his mind. "'Carrying out the wishes of the people.' Then is the Land Act right simply because the Irish tenants wanted a half ownership in the land; or because England wanted the Irish people to be satisfied; or because the Liberal party wanted the support of the Irish members? Do our wants and wishes make things right? If so, it is all plain sailing enough. The people have only to take the trouble to wish, and we are at once rid of all our difficulties, and have attained to the knowledge of good and evil. No wishing-cloak in the old stories worked greater wonders." Here he stopped for a minute, as if he had come to an obstacle in his path. Then he tried to find an opening in another direction. "'The happiness of the people.' That is of course what every Liberal politician answers off-hand. But then what does it mean? How do we know if any measure does increase the happiness of the people or not? You have two opposite opinions about Ireland: one that the Land Bill in giving a sense of security as regards the labour of the tenants will induce content and pledge them to maintain the existing order of things; the other that it will

(1) The *dramatis personæ*, with whom the reader made acquaintance in a preceding number, are:—Mr. John Danby, M.P., a Liberal, who sits behind the Government, but is an unfavourable critic of their policy; Mr. Pennell, M.P., a Conservative in favour of the formation of a third party; Mr. Geoffrey Lewin, M.P., a Liberal with Socialistic opinions; Lord Holmshill, M.P., a Whig, who does not want office; Mr. Angus Bramston, M.P., a young Liberal with mental perplexities. To these *personæ* the following must be added: Mr. Manley, M.P., a young Liberal and strong supporter of the Government; Mr. Oswald Standish, M.P., a Liberal of considerable standing; Mr. Bastian, M.P., an enterprising Liberal, sitting below the gangway; Mr. Maudsley Graham, M.P., an independent Liberal; Mr. Wolleston, M.P., belonging to the moderate wing of the advanced Liberal section.

excite passions, lead the people farther away from steady industry and deeper into unscrupulous political action, will lower both their sense of honesty and their sense of prudence, and thus increase the causes of suffering rather than the causes of happiness. How then does that expression help us? Does not each party merely use it to sum up opinions that they already have—a sort of serviceable cloak thrown over all the other clothes that they wear? Are we not merely treading in a circle? Ask either a Conservative or a Liberal what is the object of their party, and they answer, the happiness of the people. Ask them five minutes afterwards on what the happiness of the people depends, and each answers, on supporting the opinions of the party to which he himself belongs. But then what are these opinions? Who knows what either party believes, or even what he himself believes? Press any man as to what the opinions of his party really are, and after a halting recital of some two or three measures which he opposes or supports, he goes off into general phrases about his party which mean nothing, which bind no finger on either hand, and tell you nothing of what he will do this day six months. Is Danby right when he laughs openly at us all? Are we mere counters moved by what we do not see, and living in the happy delusion that we move ourselves? Are we all involved, without consciousness of our own, in a huge system of self-deception from which it is impossible to escape? Are we like boys who arrive at the playground and find a great game going on, and themselves swept in to take part with one side or the other; who run and struggle and fight for some few hours, and at the end of it do not know why they should have played on one side more than the other? Does our life only repeat their game? What man amongst us really makes his opinions and follows them? Are not his opinions the last thing in the world that he troubles himself about? How little he knows what they are, where he got them from, whether they agree together or not, of what real value they are, why he keeps them, or why he changes them. And yet here we are, Tories and Liberals, acting in two great crowds, and ready to shout for anything in the name of our party, and to march anywhere together, just as if we knew what we were doing, and honestly wished to do it." He stopped again as if this path also could lead him no farther. "Are we to appeal to first principles? But who believes in first principles? who follows them? who does not laugh at the idea of our being bound by them? Each party uses them in debate to convict its opponent of inconsistencies, and each party when it has to defend its own action declares that only pedants and doctrinaires disregard the necessities of the moment to think about first principles." He made yet another attempt. "'The general merits of the case.' Are we then to try and balance against each other all the things that can be said on both sides by those who have most knowledge of a question?

But what a multitude of excellent reasons each man and each party are always able to urge on their own behalf! Whose eye is true enough and knowledge wide enough to strike the balance justly when all these reasons are thrown into opposite scales? Besides, men do not really decide and act on the merits of the case; they do not really weigh the conflicting reasons, and arrive at an impartial decision; to speak the truth, in nine cases out of ten they have prejudged the measure before the first reading of it; else by what marvellous coincidence could it happen, when a Land Bill is placed before the House, that, with some few exceptions, those who are called Liberals walk into one lobby, and those called Conservatives into the other? By what miracle have all these men, each by way of possessing a judgment of their own, weighed all the merits of this most difficult case, and come to the same conclusion? To do so in any real sense would be to spend a part of a lifetime over this, or any other equally complicated question." And Angus stopped again. No road offered him an escape from his difficulties. There was the question, facing him in an almost threatening manner, and seeming to demand its answer like many another question, both in early and modern days, under penalties which could not be avoided, whilst as yet no clear and true answer, satisfying to the mind of a man, seemed forthcoming.

"Damn it!" at last exclaimed Angus, relieving his feelings, "what a mess and tangle the whole thing is!"

But he was not left many minutes to himself. His friends were scarcely gone when the maid Alice, the smiling possessor of willing feet and clever hands, came tripping back and showed in two other members of Parliament. Frank Manley and Oswald Standish were Liberal members in the same county with Angus, and had come to make arrangements about a great banquet at which the town and county members were to be assembled in honour of the Liberal victory at the last elections. Frank Manley was an enthusiastic young Liberal, full of belief in the Liberal party, of devotion to Mr. Gladstone, of indignation against all traitors, as he summarily named those who did not always walk into the lobby suggested by the Liberal whips, and had a hearty, fighting dislike, but without any real bitterness in it, of the other side. Gerald Standish was a man of a different type. He was a member of old standing, had seen and known much, was learned in forms and precedents, acted and voted with a certain independence of the Government, but always refrained from joining any organized opposition to them, and preserved the attitude of a friend who, not without pain to himself, is obliged to remonstrate when things go wrong. Having once made a deliverance of himself on the matter in question, and having given the Government the advantage of hearing some plain truths, he usually took them again under his protection, voted with them,

and often helped to reduce the remaining elements of opposition within the party to insignificance. Most men looked on him as affording a striking example of political independence and cool impartial judgment; all men gave him the credit of great tact and skill in filling a position which obtained for him a considerable influence both inside and outside the House; a few men laughed whilst they acknowledged his success. Danby used to call him the Government safety-expansion gear, and added, though he often saved the Government from the immediate effect of their mistakes, he was in reality the most dangerous man in the House, since whenever they went wrong he satisfied the discontent of the party by a series of caustic remarks, and then led the House to feel that even from the point of view of those who disapproved, the best thing left was to warn the Government against similar mistakes in the future, but to discourage the attack being pressed farther against them on that occasion. A man who speaks in one way and votes in another, if only he compounds the two methods judiciously, often succeeds in commanding attention. His free criticism of his own party implies a power of balancing advantages and disadvantages, it suggests that he has better means of information and a wider range of knowledge on the subject, than those with whom he generally acts, whilst at the same time his vote reassures his own friends on the important point that he is a strictly practical man who is quite aware of the importance of not disturbing the cohesion of party. It must be admitted that when Oswald Standish split his votes and opinions, he did it so as to secure the best results.

"My dear Bramston," began Manley, after they had finished their business, "what bad company you are getting into! I suppose all those men we met have been breakfasting with you. I have nothing to say against Holmshill, he always speaks and votes straight, and he is just the sort of man, if he had more go in him, that Mr. Gladstone likes giving office to; but I look on Danby and Lewin as about the worst form of Liberal that we have in the House. As for Danby, he is a sour, bad-tempered fellow with an unhealthy liver. I should think Cockle for a twelvemonth might do something for him; and as for Lewin, what he likes is the satisfaction of making himself out a better Liberal than Mr. Gladstone and the rest of the Government put together. If I did not dislike him so much, I should be glad to see him given some small berth under Government, just to show you how tame and domesticated he would become. Any under-secretary could pat him in a month. It is all very well for men like him to have their own views, but he does infinite mischief by trying to make as little as possible of all that the Government does. I heard him at the Cosmopolitan the other night belittling the Government, and trying to make out that Mr. Gladstone only moved when he was pushed forward by outside forces. Why, if there is

one fault more than another in Mr. Gladstone, it is that he is too free to act, too ready to take work on his shoulders that would crush other men, too ready to attack great questions before their time has come. It is not only not true, but it is the very reverse of truth. See how splendidly and boldly he has plunged into this Irish question without giving a thought to difficulties that would have kept other prime ministers shivering on the brink. The country has never had a really heroic Government before."

"I'll tell Lewin and Danby what you say," said Angus, laughing, "and I hope they will profit by it. As for myself I confess to being fairly puzzled about the Government and what they do. Of course everybody admires the matchless energy with which Gladstone throws himself into any question which he undertakes, but I doubt if either he or those who act with him, are as if they were altogether ignorant of the distribution of forces that exists in the country. I am always asking myself the question, 'Is he a hero, or is he a calculator?' What I cannot help seeing, with I think perfect willingness to admire Mr. Gladstone, is that the forces which he faces look very imposing at a distance, but that they are all in reality flimsy in their nature. Large landowners, clubs, London society, London papers, many of them occupied with the day's interests and amusements, and half bored with the interruption of politics, what real power is there in any of them? whilst the solid forces, the forces that Gladstone takes care to have at his back, are the enormous mass of people who are outside most of the good things of life, who have everything to gain from the horn of plenty which he carries in his hand, and are terribly in earnest about the matter. To compare the two forces is to compare steel pikes and paper breast-plates. No man can really doubt that in any re-arrangement of property such as that we have been carrying through this session, the real forces are and must be on the side of those who are taking something from the few to give to the many; and though Mr. Gladstone may be right in what he has been doing, I cannot help seeing that as far as political difficulties are concerned, it is a piece of downhill, not uphill work. Look at it in whatever way you will, whatever may be your confidence in the Government, it is a very serious thing, is it not, to enlist forces which already by their own nature strongly gravitate in the direction which we are now inviting them to take? Grant that to-day we can find a good many reasons which appear to justify what we have been doing this session, still must we not expect as a natural consequence that to-morrow we shall be called upon to deal with some other kind of property as we have just dealt with Irish land; and will not the new claims be pressed with greater urgency than the old ones, greater pressure on the one side, and less power of resistance on the other?"

"A very good thing for us if they are pressed more strongly," in-

terposed Manley, "considering the way in which some of our men are always hanging back in the traces."

"If only what Mr. Gladstone and ourselves," continued Angus, "have been doing were an act that imposed, for the sake of a great future gain, some present sacrifice upon the mass of Irish and English electors, I should more readily be satisfied that we were right. But our electors pay nothing for the Land Bill, they only have the pleasure of watching the landlords putting their hands into their pockets. Of course, therefore, they like it, and like it only too well. It would be affectation not to see this. The road is too broad and smooth and the slope too pleasant in this kind of legislation for five out of every six electors not to enjoy greatly the opening of the gates which lead to it. And it is this popular satisfaction with what I heard a workman the other day call "unbuttoning the landlords," which does not let me feel quite sure about the heroism either of our leader or of ourselves. I should feel it if we were opposing some unjust war for which the country clamoured, or if we had thought that the poor-laws were demoralising the people and had fearlessly attacked them, or if we had set ourselves resolutely to cut down public expenditure and to pay off part of the debt, or if we had set about in earnest any of these great measures which will rather cost the Government popularity at the moment than gain it for them. But in these days, with the people on one side and only the landlords on the other, I hesitate about the word heroic."

"You forget what the Liberal party is," replied Manley. "Their reason of existence is to work out through the people for the people what will add to their happiness. How can this be done if men like Gladstone, who sees more for others than for himself, does not explain to them their wants, and with his unrivalled power help them to secure what really is necessary to them? Besides, did ever a man make greater efforts to restrain the people from asking for what was beyond the line of justice? You hear men charging him with changes of purpose and with inconsistencies. Is not one-half of these reproaches simply due to the fact that he keeps so many views before him at the same time, to his never being led away by the advocacy of a special cause to forget any conflicting interest, whether of tenant, or labourer, or landlord, or State? If great changes have to come, is it not everything that they should be in the hands of such a man; and is it not the deep-rooted feeling of confidence in his moral intentions which gives him more than half of his power in the country, and makes our party, that after all represents every class and profession, so ready to follow him? Depend upon it we have great changes to make, if we are to work out successfully the happiness of the people, and it is very fortunate for the propertied classes, who are always in a mental flutter about their interests, that it is Gladstone who has to make them for us."

"I am quite out of temper with that expression, the happiness of the people," exclaimed Angus; "it is so utterly vague and elastic. What do you mean by it? Each person employs it just for what he wants at the moment. If you meet fifty Liberals, or I might even say Conservatives nowadays, they will all use the same expression, and none of them be able to tell you what they themselves mean by it. You might as well fish for salmon in the Thames as hope to get any definite answer from them. Forty-nine out of the fifty will tell you that it is impossible to speak exactly in the matter; that we live in a very complicated state of society and only know our own wants as they arise. If the happiness of the people is our great object as a party, I think we ought to make some effort either to understand our own meaning, or to put another expression in its place that we can all translate with some sort of agreement amongst ourselves."

"I think you are asking for too much," said Standish. "You must not expect men who are engaged in politics to be as precise as if they were grammarians at a University. You may quarrel with us for not being definite enough, but for all that it is true that in these days things change so quickly—new wants arising, new dangers showing themselves, new forms of old things constantly presenting themselves—that we cannot lay down exact rules for our conduct as a party. It is also true that we are placed in power to secure the happiness of the people; that is what our electors mean and what they returned us for; and except for that excellent reason they would not keep us in office for a month. Both on our side and on theirs we understand quite well enough what is meant. The people ask for a good many things, and though they don't get the whole they get a part. Our business is not to move too fast nor to give too much, but always to meet pressure by concession. This is what on the whole the Government succeeds in doing; though Gladstone's fault is that he constantly uses larger expressions than the case justifies, and therefore raises expectations of greater things than he can or ought to give; and this is always increasing the difficulty of managing the party as a whole and preventing some section or other breaking off from it. You might, if you chose, compile a small volume of infelicitous phrases into which Gladstone has stumbled, and out of which he had to pick his way afterwards with but second-rate success."

"Yes, but you forget," broke in Manley, "that he is an orator, that he does his work by oratory, that he has to rouse into movement masses of the people, touch their imaginations, raise their hopes, call them away from their every-day toil and their pleasures of a not very high kind; and that if he measured and weighed every word he used, the magician's wand which he now holds over them could scarcely work its wonders. Were we all as prudent as you, Standish, we had hardly smitten the Tories at the last election with the edge of the sword."

"It is true enough," replied Standish, "that in politics we are dealing with great masses of men, and that for so large a work you must use rough and ready methods. I know when you let loose over the country ten thousand electioneering orators, every kind of appeal will be made and rather dangerous stones set rolling; with these things we always have to reckon; but still I think no leader ought to indulge the habit of employing expressions which go beyond the necessities of the case. Every man who is not a fool can see that we must make concessions at the present day; but we can make them in a prudent instead of a dangerous way. I am not prepared to translate all our political expressions into exact words, as Bramston wishes us to do. Bramston is asking for too much. We cannot be purists or academicians, but we need not throw gunpowder about as if it were sand."

"Well, even if you are right," replied Manley, "even if you can pick out here and there a phrase of Gladstone's that went too straight to the heart of the people to satisfy your caution, what does it matter? No man who really cares for the Liberal party, who sees what it is to have in office a Government anxious to increase education, to improve the condition of labour, to equalise the condition of classes, to give more voting power to the people, to teach them to understand their own interest, and to help them to organize themselves, as Mr. Gladstone did at Birmingham, for the purpose of securing it, and at the same time to keep us everywhere at peace, and who sees that the whole stock of trade of the other side is to do nothing at home and only excite the country about foreign politics, will throw difficulties in Mr. Gladstone's way, or try to make the people think less of the man who is serving them. It is a miserable task, and only a man who has vinegar for blood, like Danby, or a man who is full of conceit and other bad gases, like Lewin, would undertake it. I hate these ungenerous slanders of a great work."

"You are young," said Standish, "and will pull steadier in the traces some day. We all know Mr. Gladstone to be a great man; but what you say is what any disciple might say about any master. As for generosity, we have nothing to do with that in politics. The question is whether Mr. Gladstone handles the reins ill or well, and whether he will keep the party together or not. I think he will, but that is no reason why Danby should think so."

"Young or not," retorted Manley, "I hope I shall always fight for a great man when we have one amongst us. Confess now, Bramston, am I not right to quarrel with your friends?"

"You all leave on me the sense of men fighting in a dark room with sticks, and breaking the heads that are nearest them," said Angus. "I will not say who is right or who is wrong. Of all the strange games at which men play in the world, I think politics and religion are the two strangest, only we are all so busy with our

sticks that we don't find out what we are doing. A man will do anything for his church and anything for his party and ask no questions, just because some accident has pitch-forked him into his place as a member of one or the other. But whether he is right to be where he finds himself is a question that he never stops to ask"

"Don't become a philosopher," said Standish. "That is the one thing there is no room for in the House."

"And if you are, you never will be a good Liberal," said Manley. "You will be going into caves and all sorts of noisome places. Take my advice and give up your friends, Lewin and Company, and come and sit on our bench behind the Government."

And the party broke up.

III.

At two o'clock Angus Bramston intended to be at the Westminster Palace Hotel. There was to be a gathering of Liberal members to consider the proposal of inviting all the Liberal executive committees of boroughs and counties up to London. There was to be a day of speeches and then a dinner, and it was supposed that a leading member of the party intended inviting the whole gathering to his house in the evening. It was thought that the plan would help to keep the party united; Liberals from the provinces would hear speeches from some of the Ministers, who might touch upon measures for which it was specially desired to have the support of the country; and in addition to the political enthusiasm called out during the day's proceedings, the effect of the social gathering at the end might be fairly counted on to seal the services of each committee-man who had received a few words of divine communication from the lips of a cabinet minister under his own roof, and to send him home with incorruptible devotion to his party. If the experiment were found successful, it was proposed that the gathering should be established as a yearly ceremony. It was generally understood that influential persons considered it of the highest importance to bring all the working members of the Liberal party into closer connection, and to make them into a more solid whole. It was perceived that the leading men in the provinces were in reality the men on whom victory depended. They had been only too much neglected in the past, but that mistake should not be repeated in the future.

"Will any of the Government be here?" asked Angus of Wolleston, the member for a Lancashire borough by whose side he found himself.

"No, I think not. I believe it is wished that the movement should be made by the party itself without any appearance of official guidance. It will look better in the country, if only we ourselves appear in it without being told what we are to do. Just watch that old fox Tyrrell, moving busily about and arranging everything.

He is always the link between the seen and the unseen on these occasions. He is going to ask Standish to take the chair. Hush! Oswald is beginning to speak."

Standish in a few neat sentences explained the object of the meeting. It was plain to them all how much organization had done for the party at the last elections. He did not say organization might not be carried too far. It was the special distinction of the Liberal party that they represented principles; they left victories which were the result of mere organization to the other side; but it was an advantage from every point of view that the Liberal leaders in the provinces—he would call them the non-commissioned officers—should learn to know each other, should form the habit of acting together, should, like the officers of the German army, each be at their post within twenty-four hours if a crisis arose. He also thought it would be useful for the Liberals of the provinces to have an opportunity of hearing from the lips of the leaders a statement of the policy they were pursuing; and for the leaders in their turn to be frankly told by those who came directly from the people what they were thinking and desiring."

"I thought Standish disliked the caucus," said Angus to Wolleston.

"Yes, he does, and he opposed it for a time in a quiet way. I suppose he thinks that his own influence will be lessened if the House becomes more stupid and more mechanical, as some people believe it will; but he found it would not do, and this is a sort of amends he is making to the Government. The caucus is flourishing, and, like others, he is accepting it. You notice, however, that he puts in a few saving words."

The discussion went on, a resolution was moved, and Bastian rose to second it. Bastian was another of the members recently elected. Quick-witted, with considerable coolness and address, sharp to see and to know just as much as sharpness could teach him, with the conscience of a Greek of the Lower Empire, but completely unembarrassed by his own knowledge of the fact and not over-careful to conceal it, except on occasions when concealment seemed specially desirable. Most things in the world were food for amusement and excitement to him, including even certain not very reputable episodes in his own life before he came into some money; and about which he was at times willing to be communicative, if the company and the circumstances were encouraging. The world took some interest in speculating on his past life. It was said that at one moment of his career he had raked florins under the direction of the Government of Monaco; and his more fully informed biographers declared that he had fought a duel at a later period in which the pistol of his opponent had mysteriously refused to go off; but owing to his habit of romancing about himself in congenial smoking-rooms,

it was difficult to know how much or how little truth there was in these and in other stories. There were undoubtedly incidents of a shady kind in his past life which could not by his best friend be described as "purpurei panni;" but then those who knew most of him declared on his behalf that, in his undisguised vanity, he preferred being talked about in connection with any incident rather than not being talked of at all. "He has told more lies than he has committed murders," was the blunt apology of one of his friends. It was difficult for him to count for much in the House of Commons as yet, but outside he enjoyed the sort of position which any man of quick brains may rapidly secure for himself, if he is supposed to be quite thoroughgoing in his radicalism. He had tact enough to remain neutral where it was uncertain on which side of the question the mass of the people would be, and seldom committed himself deeply except where questions of capital and labour, taxation, and enlargement of the franchise gave him a clear course. The few words which he now said were well chosen. He had picked up a vapouring, bullying manner of speaking, but he knew that some part of his audience were scarcely favourable to him, and that a good many of those present were helping to fasten fetters on themselves which they secretly disliked, so he kept as well as he could on safe ground. A passing reference to the great Liberal victory at the last election; a little sarcasm about the crotchets and the crotchet-mongers who had not succeeded in dividing the party; a short eulogy of Mr. Gladstone and his single-handed fight during the session, with an allusion to the bow of Ulysses, and a warm commendation of the hard work done by the non-commissioned officers of the Liberal army, as they had been so well called by the chairman, made up his speech. Then he worked up to his ending—"It was time that they did something to mark their sense of those who bore the heat and the burden of the day in the service of the people, and were always at their post preparing for the battle, though themselves sharing but little in the honours and distinction of public life." Then, warmed by the cheer which he got, he thought he might slip in a good democratic sentence, which he could strengthen still more afterwards in the report he intended to send to the *Times* on the chance of its insertion. "And here let him say as one to whom without merit on his own part the people had given their commission to speak, that they were watching jealously the preparations they were making that day, they were ready to fight and to win the battle, but they asked that no professional blundering, no carelessness about organization, no wavering on the part of their responsible officers, and above all no lukewarm support of their great leader should render fruitless the efforts and the sacrifices they themselves were ready to make." There was something like a laugh at the commission of the people, but he got another cheer as he sat

down. The resolution was about to be put when a tall and rather pale man rose, and amid a dead silence asked to say a few words.

"I am not here," said Maudsley Graham, "to oppose all that you are doing. Any scheme for bringing men together, and for letting them have an opportunity of hearing members of the Government explain and justify what they are doing, probably has some good in it, but I think your arrangements, as I hear them talked of, are more intended to increase your power of managing these men than to open opportunities of free discussion. Remember that these men who are the party leaders in towns and counties have their own mental responsibilities as much as yourselves. In what way are you going to treat them? Are you going to use them merely as your tools and instruments? Are you going to bring them up to London to cheer an eloquent speech, or to shake the hand of a minister at an evening party? If you do that you may perhaps increase the mechanical cohesion of the party for the moment, but you will destroy the true springs of life and force in it. It is to these men that you might look for many of the inspirations that the party needs, they might be the connecting links between you and the people, you might find in their sturdy provincial sense and their simpler habits of thought a sane force urging you onwards to remove on the one hand those cumbersome and impeding laws which are still in existence, and on the other hand restraining you from entering on political adventures; you would at least have the safeguard of views and feelings and experiences that differ from your own, and that would often force you to reconsider what you were doing. But it must be on one condition, and on one condition alone—that you leave them honestly and really in full possession of their own judgment; that you leave them unmanipulated and unmanaged either by the Government or by any other body of men. Make them the mere echoes of your London committee; practise them in looking upon everything from a centralised party view; teach them to consult you upon the members they elect; accustom them to wait with open mouths for the measures you bring forward; train them to roar like the mechanical lion at your signal, and again to be silent at your signal; and you will destroy them as free men playing their part in a free party. The fault of the caucus is already that the representatives of towns and counties meet at a critical moment not really to exercise their judgment but to accept programmes drawn up by nobody knows whom—probably by some member or hanger-on of the Government—and laid before them for signature. A system is springing up under which these men act as the middlemen of the Government, buy and sell on its behalf, and take some small intermediate profit of local influence as their share. It is true that we do not see the caucus every day in its bodily shape, that it is not lodged at Whitehall, with a brass

plate on its door, but for all that it is as much a permanent Government office as your Education Department, or the India Office, or any other public body that you passed on your way coming here. I may be told that the Government could not allow any great machine having such power to be independent of it, to be sometimes against it, sometimes for it; that it must in its own interest keep the control of it in its own hands. But at all events let us see clearly the facts as they are, and do not let us cheat ourselves by thinking or talking of the caucus as if it were an independent organ of public opinion. In reality it has no life of its own. It is a piece of passive machinery, adopting the words and the thoughts which are found for it. It is a fighting party organization acting under direction, and unless your managers blunder in their management, will act, whenever called upon, with the discipline of an army. I am quite prepared to believe that for a time it will help you to win your victories. In a party sense all is going smoothly at present. But I claim permission to doubt if you are pursuing a method by which the higher ends of Liberalism will be reached, by which our people will learn to ask for the truest and justest things. It is not the method by which they learnt the due of free men in the old days. In those days they required no caucus to spell out for them the words which make up English rights. Those who had sufficient vigour of thought or action to be leaders formed their own organizations and fought their own battle until they had fairly persuaded the country that what they claimed was just and true. They had no official guidance, and they were better without it. But you are building up a system that will extend party management to every nook and corner of the land. Take care you do not spoil the temper of a free people. There is no better servant, but there is no worse master than organization. To carry out a policy that the country has once chosen, consciously and deliberately, after full discussion in the newspapers, in the street, by the fireside, employ all the organization at your command; organize men, if you will, for the sake of definite opinions; but do not employ organization in order to obtain an inglorious possession of empty minds, to make the people wait, careless of mental responsibilities and hungering for gifts, whilst their party managers and their spiritual directors decide what is right for them to have and to do. Remember that our effort as Liberals is to place mental independence above and before every object; not to make men think according to authority and direction, or according to their interests, or according to the fashion of thought that prevails round them, but to lead each man to exercise a fearless private judgment. Our warfare, if we rightly understand it, is less against the Tories, as Tories, than against those weaknesses of the human mind which make men in every age think in crowds and copy their justice and reason from

each other. Take care that you do not bring us to the moral and intellectual level of our opponents. I have but little faith in mere Liberal measures. You may call anything the party desires at a special moment a Liberal measure. The real test of Liberalism is the separate intelligence and the individual conviction of the members of the party. Destroy these things, turn us, as a party, into a crowd that shouts, follows, fights, and enjoys the spoil, and merely asks of its leaders that the spoil shall be in abundance, and you will have destroyed the real meaning of the existence of the Liberal party. Let our effort be rather to loosen the ties that bind the Government and the caucus together than to draw them more closely. This hidden and unavowed connection is not good for either. For both it is healthier to act on their own responsibility and not to be exchanging reciprocal services. If you wish that these men should come up to London, let them come free and unconnected with you; leave them to arrange their own business, to decide for themselves what subjects they will discuss and what resolutions they will pass. Let the Government in its turn carry the burden of its own responsibilities; let them stand or fall by the wisdom or want of wisdom of their own measures. It is not for you to bribe, or buy, or organize on their behalf, but to look on every man, from the highest to the lowest in the party, as a free man endowed with conscience and reason, and whom the highest principle in Liberalism forbids that you should treat as mere war-material for winning party victories. The mental independence of each man is your highest concern; this is the one thing needful; guard and cherish this, and then you may safely leave Ministerial invitations and the tea and white-kid-glove business to take care of themselves."

"I am glad he has spoken," exclaimed Angus. "He has put into words for me much of what I have been thinking lately. But can we do without the caucus? Is he right in attacking it, do you think?"

"Yes and no," answered Wolleston hesitatingly. "The organization mania is strong upon us now. There is a good deal of personal ambition about the actual men who are directing it; and as for those who acquiesce in it, they have divided motives. With the larger number there is no desire to ask any questions as long as all goes well, and they find themselves sharing in a successful enterprise; they want their seat in Parliament, and the caucus gives it them by driving rivals off the ground; and with other men there is a good deal of timidity. They are rather frightened at the democratic look of things, and they find comfort in the idea of any sort of centralised management. They think that they are safer under a regulated system of wire-pulling than with all the forces in the party let loose to pull against each other and to find out which is the strongest. No professional wire-pullers are revolutionists if they can help it. They will do, it is true, what must be done from time

to time to satisfy the mass of the party; but, like all other holders of office, they will not do more than is necessary."

"I cannot think," said Angus, "there can be much safety in the wire-pullers. If any strain comes they will follow the line of least resistance."

"Yes, I think so," answered Wolleston; "they are not likely to die for their opinions,—if they have any. And I also doubt sometimes if the system of wire-pulling and general management does not end in greater concessions than if the different classes in society were openly claiming what they each believed in. Those of us who have property are not in real agreement with those who have not, however much we pretend to think so. We keep giving bit by bit without really facing what we are doing, or what we intend to do next. The object of the managers is, before everything else, to keep us together as a party; to avoid all discussions that might stir unpleasant differences—though, perhaps, a real discussion between men in earnest on both sides would be the best and healthiest thing that could happen to us;—to put a good face on all we do; to accustom us to certain sets of phrases; to minimise each concession that is made to one section of the party, and to make the most of it to the other section; but as to what will happen the day after to-morrow, that does not come within the range of either their intelligence or their conscience. They do not get their wages for thinking about the future. I am afraid we are rather like the half-pint men who go on sipping, and who do not find out what they have taken until they try to walk home. Each session we take some step that means many further steps hereafter in the same direction. I daresay it is a good thing for us when a man like Graham gets up and tells us that we are all moving on low moral levels, and are only thinking about winning our own seats or remaining in office."

"But do you yourself think that there are real dangers in organization?" asked Angus.

"I accept it as one does so many things in politics," answered Wolleston, "because there is not much choice in the matter. We have got arrears of work to do in this country—local government to establish, law to simplify, House of Lords to reconstruct, the Church to disestablish, and, perhaps, organization of the constituencies is required to let us get through these necessary things; but I suppose nobody can help seeing that we are playing a dangerous game in creating a great power, in giving the handling of it to a few ambitious men, and teaching the country to wait and expect wonders of all kinds from it. The monster we are helping to bring to life may go to sleep, as some men think, but he may also wake by fits and starts and devour a good many things; and if he does they may not be exactly what you and I have placed on our own programmes. It

is very like having a powerful standing army in a country. Nobody not in the prophet line of business can say what it is going to do. There is, however, so much good sense and fairness in the country that, whatever mistakes we make, I cling to the belief that we shall pull through."

"I often wonder," said Angus, "how far that unemployed fund of good sense is going to help us. If we are going wrong, ought not that good sense to be employed at once in making us go right? It is rather like an investment on which a man in trade depends, and which may turn out on the day he wants it to have but little real value."

Meanwhile the discussion went on. Graham had disturbed the even flow of the meeting, some men being inclined to agree, and others to pooh-pooh what they looked on as fanciful objections. Bastian was up again on his legs, and, rendered rash by his first success, went off at score about the people being determined to sweep, like cobwebs, out of their path the timid fancies of those phrase-makers who wished to keep them for ever defenceless and unable to help themselves. "He would wish Mr. Graham to remember that they had to reckon with a people tired of trifling and not to be deluded from year to year with fine moral sentiments that fed nobody. Did Mr. Graham think that the nation would stand still, and not ask for what it wanted, aye! and take it, too, because he was good enough to have views about their moral independence? The people knew what they were doing. They knew that all things went to the strongest, and they intended to be as strong as organization could make them." The last sentences were nearly lost in the noise, but Bastian consoled himself by reflecting that they would read well in the report he proposed sending. Presently Standish rose, and applied oil to the waters. "It was well," he said, "for them to be reminded that the Liberal weapons were not simply those of organization. As Liberals they could not remember too often that they represented the cause of principles, principles for which the party had made sacrifices, and would always make sacrifices again. They could not too faithfully follow Mr. Graham's injunction to treat the provincial leaders as men of independence who had to act and think for themselves; and, speaking in his own individual capacity, he would take no part in a scheme that could by any possibility reduce them to the position of mere wheels in a machine. But that was far from their intention. He was confident that the managing committee, in whose names the meeting would find every guarantee that they required, would act in a wise and liberal spirit; whilst at the same time he felt that Mr. Graham himself would not desire that a mass of men brought up from all parts of the country should be left in a disorganized condition to waste the few hours which they had at their disposal. It would be necessary for some person to

issue the invitations and to throw the business into some kind of form, so as to prevent either waste of time or disorder; but he thought they might fully depend upon the committee acting in the spirit of Mr. Graham's thoughtful speech. He would, indeed, pledge himself that such should be the case."

"Ah! he always says the right thing," said Wolleston laughing, as Standish sat down amidst general assent; and the small waves that had threatened to be troublesome, having sucked in their oil, retreated under the surface. The resolutions were passed, the meeting broke up, and Angus walked down to the House with Wolleston, thinking over what had passed. At last he said, quoting from Standish, "The party of principles, Wolleston; what do you think are our principles? What principles did Standish mean?"

"Principles—free-trade, perhaps—no, not nowadays;—well, retrenchment; no, not retrenchment. I believe the Tories spend rather less than we do. Peace; yes, peace, perhaps. I don't think Gladstone ever really intended punching the Turk's head, when he tried to be logical over 'bag and baggage;' but, hang it, we need not be too particular; you can always say the happiness of the people if anybody asks you."

"But what is the happiness of the people?" asked poor Angus, with something like a groan, as his old and irrepressible friend turned up once more.

"Oh! something of all sorts. Something to do with getting rid of worn-out old things and putting new ones in their place; with easing the shoe wherever it pinches anybody who has votes enough to make it worth while to help him; with keeping the constituencies in good-humour, and ourselves, I suppose, in office. There is good for ourselves in it, of course, as well as for the people. But it must always be better for them to have us than to have the Tories. There is that unfailing consolation to fall back upon if you have any misgivings," added Wolleston philosophically.

It was still early when they reached the House, and Bramston went to the terrace for a few minutes' walk. As he paced backwards and forwards, Manley and Standish came up together and called to him to join them. They all sat down, and the conversation glided insensibly back to the subject of their morning talk.

"You have always admired Gladstone," said Bramston, speaking to Manley, "have you not? I can quite understand the charm that he exercises over you and many other men, even though I myself remain outside the charm, and though at present I am too much in the humour for speculating and questioning and criticising to indulge in unrestrained admiration for anybody. What is it that attracts you most in him?"

"I think it is the whole type of man that attracts me," said Manley. "I like him for his splendid working and fighting powers.

I feel for him as the old Greeks must have felt for their leaders, whenever things go against us, and our men have made but a poor fight of it, as they so often do, and he dashes into the debate and restores the whole line of battle. And then what man can do the work which he does? Every kind of possible subject, from the west coast of Ireland to South Africa, turns up in the House, and he comes down and knows all about it, though when and where and how he was able to get his knowledge passes the power of mortal imagination. His working power compared with that of other men is like steam power compared with horse power. Then I like him for the plain and simple grasp he takes of every question. There is nothing narrow or personal in his view. He lifts the discussion at once into a better and freer atmosphere. Like some general whose instinct leads him to occupy the higher ground, he always seizes the moral heights that surround a question. I have heard men say that to read or hear a speech of Gladstone is to them like walking on a mountain and seeing all the valleys and plains underneath them lying mapped out in their true positions to each other. Then I like him also for all the subtle qualities that are compounded together in him. He is not a mere politician; he has so many interests and so many sides to his character; he lives almost as much in the past as he does in the present; he is saturated with ideas that few men regard or understand at the present day, and yet he allows nothing to prevent the growth of his popular sympathies. With ties of every sort that bind him to the Old World his mind has refused no democratic idea of our generation that is true or just in itself; and this meeting of the two tides in his mind is one reason why the men who dread and almost hate him cannot dispute his power. If only they could think of him as they like to think of Bradlaugh, as a sort of ogre with one eye and a hundred mouths, they would feel so much more at their ease in abusing him. But what utterly bewilders them is the knowledge that the man they hate beats them everywhere on their own ground; cares more for and understands better than they do all the old things which give the charm to civilised life, and which they would like to look on as their own special property, as intellectual mysteries of which no democrat can see the real meaning."

"Mr. Gladstone's character must always be an interesting one; it must always claim respectful attention," said Angus. "But underneath what you say there lies a question which I am always asking myself, as I watch his leadership of the party: how do the changes of political thought, that we all see in him from time to time, take place in his mind? Are they the result of deliberate intellectual choice, taken when Mr. Gladstone, as far as outward circumstances are concerned, is free and able to determine his own position, or when circumstances are such that unless he takes the required step he will impair his position as leader and run the risk

of lessening his hold upon the people? I have no fixed opinion on this point. I wish to hear all that can be said, but, to speak frankly, what strikes me as I watch him is that all the changes that he makes are of such a kind that they strengthen his position as a popular leader, that they are always skilfully adapted to meet the desires of those on whom he depends. Why does this happen? Are the two things only a coincidence, or are they related to each other as cause and effect? Is it only an accident that the developments of his mind result in measures that are popular with the mass of the electors, or does the coming popularity cast its shadow before and help to shape the convictions that we presently see expressed in his speeches and his measures?"

"You can hardly suppose," said Standish, "that Mr. Gladstone thinks *in vacuo*. He is not like a mathematician calculating the forces of motion as if no atmosphere existed. Of course, when he gives up an old opinion he has the necessities of the moment strongly before him. He would be very little fit for the difficult task of leading the Liberal party if he had not."

"Yes, of course," said Manley. "Of course Mr. Gladstone neither thinks nor acts irrespective of circumstances; but what Bramston means is, when Mr. Gladstone's conduct seems to be inconsistent with his past declarations, is it the party advantage, or is it a change in his own convictions, which has influenced him? I say that Mr. Gladstone's whole career answers that question. You see one part of his nature continuously developing; you see him steadily advancing in one direction, from year to year becoming more democratic, more in feeling with the masses of the people."

"Still, you do not help me," said Bramston. "We all see the democratic change in Mr. Gladstone, but then we cannot help seeing also that it is his interest to become more democratic. Why did he and many of our other leaders only become decidedly democratic in mind after the householders became voters? The question is, do the changes take place in obedience to or irrespective of what is his political interest? If at the present moment, when public opinion is what it is, Mr. Gladstone were to declare himself for an English republic, or an Ireland separated from England, I should know, we should all know, that this was a free mental development on his part, and that he would probably lose power and place by making such a declaration. No one would accuse him of consulting his interests—unless you could suppose that he was greatly miscalculating public opinion in the country;—he would evidently do it in obedience to some strong inner conviction on the subject. But suppose ten years hence, when perhaps public opinion will be very different from what it is now, Mr. Gladstone declares himself a Republican and in favour of the separation of Ireland, shall we not reasonably conjecture that his mind had followed the popular movement?"

"You are making impossible suppositions," said Standish, almost vexed. "How can Mr. Gladstone separate himself from what the nation thinks? Do you wish an officer to gallop three hundred yards in front of his own men when he is leading an attack? He is not unnecessarily pushed on by his own men, though he may be only three yards in front of them."

"Yes," said Angus, laughing; "but I want to know which begins to gallop first. I never see our leaders galloping, until the line itself has begun to gallop. Can it be right for our front bench to be the last men to have opinions in the country? We all admired the fearless and resolute way in which Mr. Gladstone fought the battle against the war policy of the Tories—it was a really splendid thing, and deserved the admiration of the nation; but even then, as I noticed at the time, the nation was in a blaze before Mr. Gladstone moved a little finger. Lord Derby's cynical despatches, inviting the Turks to stamp upon the insurrection, fell on his closed senses; he had taken no part in the effort of a few men in the House to call attention to what the Government was doing, and had not the *Daily News* suddenly lifted the curtain from a Bulgarian village, perhaps neither the nation nor Mr Gladstone himself would have awoken from their slumber And as for the rest of our present leaders, not only did they not gallop three yards in front, but a good clear half mile in the rear. It was only when the battle was fairly won, and public opinion fairly turned, and Gladstone had made it safe for them to reappear, that all the other right honourable gentlemen came galloping up brandishing their swords, as if they, too, had helped to win the fight. It is a sight like this that makes one wonder how much any men in politics have to do with their own opinions."

"Whatever the others did," exclaimed Manley, "never was there a more gallant piece of fighting than that done by Mr. Gladstone. Amidst strong opposition and lukewarm support he led the party, which was worse than defeated, which was demoralised and despairing of itself, back to victory and belief in its own fortunes."

"My praises must seem cold and ungenerous to you," replied Bramston. "I heartily admired Mr. Gladstone in many ways for that campaign against the Tories; but I want to get at the innermost truth—what makes him or any other political leader arrive at certain convictions? Are they really judging the right and wrong that are involved, or are they themselves acted upon by the movement of the mind of the people and moving with it? The question that I want answered is, how far was Mr. Gladstone's agitation made by the circumstances of the moment, the anger of a part of the English people against oppression, their sympathy with suffering, their dislike to an adventurous policy, the mess in which it was felt that the Tories were gradually involving themselves, and much pent-up resentment at the defeat he had experienced at the last

election; how far was it a noble effort on his part, irrespective of all these circumstances, and simply and purely springing from a deep love of national independence and the overpowering desire to secure for every nation, small or great, the right to live its own life, free from interference outside itself?"

"Yes, I think you are ungenerous," said Manley. "Why should you peer below the surface of a great action? You acknowledge how splendidly Gladstone behaved, and yet you go out of your way to suggest time-serving motives. What has he ever done to justify such suspicion on your part?"

"I am quite clear," continued Bramston, "that Mr. Gladstone sympathized with his cause, that it was congenial to him to plead for the liberty of other nations, to denounce oppression, and to batter into pieces the empty and sonorous imperialism of the Dizzy period. Of course to every man of powerful mind a great cause always commends itself, and brings out his highest powers. But then I want to learn the moral worth of his action. Was it a cause into which he would have flung himself, as he did, if the turning out of Dizzy's Government had not depended on it? I see the way in which a great lawyer undertakes a cause. There are no moral pretensions about it; it comes to him in the way of business and of advancement in his profession, and as a matter of business he gives the best part of himself and of his powers to it. Is it the same with all of us in politics? Is it with us a professional matter? Do we on the Liberal side undertake all such causes when they come to us, because they afford us a famous opportunity for drawing moral contrasts between our opponents and ourselves, and showing how deficient they are in good feelings when compared with ourselves? or do we seek to move a nation with our pleading because our opinions are an imperative part of ourselves that we must obey, whether the world is for us or against us, whether we fail or we succeed, whether we lead a party or remain in a minority of one? Can you tell me, are we enthusiasts or are we impostors?"

"I should say it was in the pure spirit of enthusiasm that Mr. Gladstone fought the Eastern Question," said Manley, "and, whatever you have done, the rest of the nation has recognised that there is no man in the whole country who cares so really and so deeply for national independence; no man on whom we can rely with such absolute confidence to save us from being led either in Europe, Asia, or Africa, into acts of aggression, or from sacrificing the national aspirations of any people, however humble and weak, to our own interests. Does not all Europe feel that he is the one man who will never let England assert her own claims in a violent and high-handed manner; who will always respect and strengthen, even, if needs be, to her own disadvantage, the concert of Europe; whose hand is the one hand alone of which it may be said that, whenever and wherever

liberty is claimed, it will never break the bruised reed or quench the smouldering flax? I do not think you are very happy in your examples. Have you no better instance to bring against him?"

"Well, the future must judge much of what you say, but I think that this very Land Bill raises the question how far Gladstone's actions are with him a matter of free choice. I do not pretend to have sufficient knowledge of men to say whether it is possible for a strong believer in free trade to continue to respect his own opinions whilst he lends his hand to protective measures like this Land Bill; but, apart from that, I do not understand the changes he has gone through in the last eleven years. In 1870 he studied the whole question, giving himself up to it with that power of absorption in a subject that adds so much to his great natural gifts, until he had made himself completely master of it. As the result he formed certain opinions, concluded that certain things were right and certain things wrong, as regards those principally interested in the matter, and embodied these opinions in law. Well, a few years pass. There is no real change in the position; there is a recurrence of some distress in Ireland, and a recurrence of agitation carried on by not very scrupulous men, or with very scrupulous weapons; but the principles on which he acted, if good for anything in 1870, must have remained good in 1881. However, they all go for nothing; he looks at the relation of landlord and tenant in a different light; what he thought fair in 1870, he thinks unfair in 1881; and what he would not give in 1870, he gives in 1881. In one sense I understand the change; I see many things pressing on him to make it; I see that perhaps he satisfies Ireland; perhaps he strengthens the Liberal party; perhaps he closes up an old wound in the empire; but speaking in a moral sense, speaking of a free agent, of a man dealing honestly and truthfully with his own mind, basing his actions upon moral reasons deliberately chosen and consistently maintained, I do not understand the change. I do not see how his own sense of what was just as between landlord and tenant can have changed in those eleven years. He had all the materials for forming a most deliberate judgment in 1870. What has happened to make him this year depart from that judgment and overthrow his own work? How in eleven years, as between landlord and tenant, has the right become wrong, and the wrong right?"

"My dear Bramston," replied Manley, "you cannot argue about what is right and wrong in politics as you can in other things. No man can do all that he wishes in politics. Even Mr. Gladstone cannot. I know that he has given a great deal of thought to what is just to the landlord. I think I may say as much as that to you. But in politics one must look to the end, and be satisfied with that, even when one does not like the means. If in a few years' time we see Ireland at peace with itself, the tenants contented and supporting

the English connection, and the landlords selling their estates for even more than the old price they could have obtained, you will feel that you did not judge these things as broadly and truly as Mr. Gladstone did. There is no man who has so strong a sense of what is right and wrong as Mr. Gladstone has, but then politics are a thing by themselves. I don't know that you can always lay down fixed rules for them."

"Ah," sighed Bramston, "there it is. There is my difficulty——"

"What is the use of this discussion?" broke in Standish rather impatiently. "You can't play a game of whist, you can't move thirty thousand men into Hyde Park and out again, by merely talking about right and wrong; and how can you hope to manage a party by talking about it? You have got to think of circumstances, and very awkward and contradictory things circumstances are. I know no more complicated piece of work than leading a large party that, like our own, differs considerably in itself. There is a great mass of men in our party whose hopes you must excite, not too much so as to let them get out of hand, as Gladstone is apt to do, but enough to make them quite sure that it is better worth their while to support you than the other side; then there are other sections who have little special jobs which they expect you to do for them, and who must be handled with great lightness of touch. You must always give them a little, and always keep back a little. My impression is, that were we to disestablish the Church at a blow we should lose a great many of the Dissenters. A large number of them want to be Conservatives, and will only remain with us as long as the nose-bag is not fairly in their reach. A Burials Bill, an amendment to the Education Act, a Tithes Bill, a Bishop's Liberation from the House of Lords Bill, a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, are the kind of measures we ought to keep passing from time to time. These things whet the appetite without destroying it. Then you have still more careful steering as regards some other sections of the party. There is a strong agitation beginning among the English farmers. It is only from us that they will get what they want, and as they get it they will naturally go back to the Conservatives. I don't see how they can eventually remain with us. There will be the devil of a pull presently between them and the labourers, and I suppose we shall have to go with the labourers. If this agitation goes on, and if the Government manage well, they will presently before the next election give the farmers a rather bountiful measure, so as to put them in good-humour and to get their support in case we have to go to the country on the old franchise. Presently, when household suffrage is passed, we can afford to let them take themselves where they like. They will be pretty nearly lost sight of in the larger electorate, and such Tories as remain in existence will be welcome to the whole lot of them. The tenant-farmers will probably by that time be more in our way than they will be of use to us. Then there is the difficulty in the towns. There is the

workman who wants capital-and-labour legislation, and the small and big trader, both of whom are very sensitive on these subjects, though radical enough on all questions outside the towns. The land question, if carefully handled, will keep these men together for a time; and it could not have been more safely and judiciously opened than by the farmers' agitation. But our difficulty will be to prevent the question growing into too large proportions, so that we should lose the moderate section of our party. Our effort must be, by hook and by crook, to keep these men with us, and not to let the windbags and noise-machines like Bastian become of too much importance in the party. They are excellent for making a row when it is wanted, but are of little other use. Neither you nor I should care to have much more to do with politics if the mere spouters by competition ever got the management of the thing. The trade and its tackle would be a trifle coarse for me, and I suppose for you also. It would be like having to begin to fish for jack after fishing for trout all one's life. But I don't think that this need happen. All these land-nationalization leagues are most useful allies to us. I wish there were more of them. They make the landowners think that the devil is close behind them, and they become quite reasonable and tractable and ready to accept any compromise that the party proposes. After all, it is only paying their salvage-money, as Lord Derby tells them. But from every point of view there are plenty of difficulties in front of us, and very nice steering required; and to talk as if you could lay down abstract principles, or as if the Ten Commandments were a complete political guide for a Prime Minister in the present day, is to argue like schoolboys who undertake to decide in their discussion-clubs whether Cromwell was right or wrong to cut off Charles's head. After you have both been in the House of Commons more than twenty years, as I have, you won't waste your time over this sort of thing. But it's nearly prayer-time. Let us go and take our places."

And Standish and Manley went towards the House.

"Well, Angus, you have succeeded in putting Standish out of temper, which is an achievement that few other men can boast of," said Danby, who had silently joined the group during the last few minutes, and had stood listening with his cigar between his teeth. "But take care you don't become the terror of the House of Commons; there is generally some one of the sort about the place, from whom men fly as soon as he appears on the terrace. There's Standish looking back over his shoulder, as if you had taken a subscription-list out of your pocket."

"Standish is only a——" began Angus indignantly, but stopped short without finishing his sentence.

"That's right," said Danby; "philosophers in search of the eternal truths should not call names. Don't go to prayers, and we will stop and have a smoke and watch the barges."

AUBERON HERBERT.

(To be continued.)

THE REFORM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN COUNTIES.

THE recent discussion on Mr. Pell's motion for the relief of rate-payers, and the close division which followed it, have once more committed both parties, not merely to a thorough revision of Local Taxation, but to a thorough reform of Local Government. The former subject is the more popular, because rates are borne with less patience than taxes, and farmers have long been tantalised with the prospect of shifting a part of their burdens to the shoulders of "the general taxpayer," who has no political friends. Considering how often this concession has been promised, their importunity is natural enough, but Mr. Albert Grey's objection to revising Local Taxation without reforming Local Government was perfectly conclusive. Local Taxation cannot be effectually revised without a perilous extension of centralization—until there are local bodies capable of undertaking the new financial duties which must then be cast upon them. But this is by no means the only reason for regarding the reform of Local Government as the most important of all the reforms which now await the consideration of Parliament. Not only does it directly embrace within itself several of the most difficult and urgent questions of domestic policy, but several other questions, still larger and more fundamental, depend for their solution on the principles which may govern this long-deferred reform. If we had a simple, comprehensive, and truly national system of Local Government, we might approach with much greater confidence the discussion even of such organic changes as a revision of the existing Church settlement —far more, that of educational endowments, that of licensing, and a host of secondary problems. It is admitted on all hands that any complete reform of Imperial Finance must involve a readjustment of Imperial and Local Taxation. But it is equally certain, if it be not yet equally obvious, that Imperial legislation must needs become less and less effective without a similar readjustment of Imperial and Local Administration. Such a readjustment would inevitably extend over the whole field of Local Government, urban as well as rural. It may be found necessary or expedient to place a large number of urban populations, now under Local Boards or Improvement Commissions, on the same footing as corporate boroughs; and, further, to increase the powers of Town Councils, so as to have one paramount authority in corporate boroughs, though it might exercise its various functions through various Committees. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, it is true, purported to recast the constitution of all corporate

boroughs upon an uniform representative model. But it was far, indeed, from establishing unity of administration, and a signal example of the anomalies which still disfigure our municipal institutions may be found in the local economy of Oxford, one of the most ancient of English cities.

Oxford is situated in two counties, Oxfordshire and Berkshire. It is, of course, a municipal as well as a parliamentary borough, yet the municipal do not coincide with the parliamentary boundaries, and the jurisdiction of its borough-magistrates does not extend beyond the old city franchises, which have long since been outgrown by its population. Though it has a Poor-Law Union or "Incorporation" of its own, with guardians elected by three or four distinct bodies, three of its parishes, and a part of a fourth, are within the neighbouring Union of Headington. Though it possesses a Mayor and Corporation, like other boroughs, it also has a Local Board, partly elected by the Town Council, partly by the parishes, partly by the Convocation of the University, and partly by the Heads and Bursars of Colleges and Halls. This body performs duties in respect of drainage and highway management which must otherwise devolve on the Town Council, and if the water supply provided by the Council should fail, the Local Board is empowered to procure a fresh supply elsewhere. Under a separate Act, Oxford also possesses an Amalgamated Police Committee, on which the University is represented by six members, the rest being appointed by the Town Council. Meanwhile, the River Thames, on the regulation of whose stream the health and well-being of Oxford largely depends, is now placed under the dominion of two independent bodies—the Thames Conservancy and the Thames Valley Drainage Commission. It is needless to add that, by virtue of an ancient privilege, the Vice-Chancellor holds a Court which has jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, over all resident members of the University. Some of these peculiarities, no doubt, are due to the fact of Oxford being an University town; but other municipal boroughs have other peculiarities in their constitutions, due to other historical or local circumstances, which have managed to survive the levelling policy of the Municipal Corporations Act.

I. Still, however great may be the anomalies and diversities of self-government in municipal boroughs, they are small by comparison with the extraordinary absence of self-government in rural communities. "We are wont to look back on Saxon times as barbarous, and on the feudal system as oppressive; but the simple truth is, that nine-tenths of the population in an English country parish have at this moment less share in Local Government than belonged to all classes of freemen for centuries before, and for centuries after, the Norman Conquest. Again, they have not merely less direct share in

Local Government than belongs to French peasants of the present day, but less than belonged to French peasants under the eighteenth century monarchy; though more, it must be allowed, than belonged to their own ancestors of the same age, as described by Fielding."[1] The causes which have brought about and perpetuated this startling result, notwithstanding the constant growth of popular representation, must be carefully examined before we can lay down a sound basis for the Reform of Local Government in Counties.

1. The first, and perhaps the most influential, of these causes, was the progressive extension of magisterial jurisdiction. The origin of that jurisdiction has been well interpreted by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice in his Essay on the Areas of Rural Government.[2] "The administrative and legislative supremacy of the State was finally recognised in the institution of the Commission of the Peace, issued by the Crown, but addressed to the leading men of each locality; an institution in itself the standing negation of the feudal ideas of an original local and territorial jurisdiction." From the first, Justices of the Peace were armed with very arbitrary powers for the prevention of crime, by arresting thieves and vagrants even on suspicion, and taking security for good behaviour. After some years they were commissioned to hear and determine felonies at their General Sessions, but not without the safeguard of trial by jury. It was they who, in the fourteenth century, were charged with the duty of enforcing the Statutes of Labour. It was they who, in the reign of Henry VIII., were empowered, though not without the assent of representatives from each township, to levy county rates for the repair of bridges and the erection of gaols. A few years later they were directed to establish petty sessional districts, and invested with the novel power of summary jurisdiction—that is, of trying minor charges without the assistance of a jury. Under the first Poor Law of 1601, they were further entrusted with the power of selecting two, three, or four householders to act as overseers with the churchwardens in each parish; of levying a contributory rate on neighbouring parishes and even on neighbouring hundreds; and of erecting houses of correction for undeserving beggars. During the lifetime of Shakespeare, who had no superstitious respect for country justices, they had already become the chief rulers of rural districts, and the magistrates assembled at Quarter or Petty Sessions had practically superseded the old County and Hundred Courts for most purposes, both civil and criminal. But their authority continued to be developed in the two succeeding centuries. The last semblance of feudal jurisdiction perished with

(1) See Brodrick's Essay on *Local Government in England*, in the volume on *Local Government and Taxation*, published by the Cobden Club (1880), p. 52.

(2) *Ib.* p. 118.

the abolition of military tenures; the small freeholders began to die out before the progress of enclosure and the rise in the value of land; and, for want of any other local body strong enough to be trusted with administrative powers, such powers, constantly multiplied by the growing demands of civilisation, were conferred by successive Acts on the county magistracy. Blackstone, writing in 1765, pointed out the danger of the system, declaring that few country gentlemen then cared to undertake, and fewer still understood, the onerous duties of a magistrate. But the cup of their responsibilities was by no means full in Blackstone's time. The volumes defining the legal extent thereof continued to expand in bulk down to the Reform Act of 1832, and though several elective Boards, since constituted, now share with the magistrates the burden of Local Government in Counties, the administrative functions of magistrates, as such, are more various and multifarious than ever.

No analysis of these functions is possible, and a complete enumeration of them would overtax the most retentive memory. Besides their strictly judicial office, county magistrates have the control of bridges, main roads, and highways, if they have adopted the Highway Act, and parcelled out the county into Highway Districts. They manage the County Police, Lunatic Asylums, and Prisons, even since county prisons have been taken over by the Government. They license public-houses and slaughter-houses; they may provide or subsidise Reformatory and Industrial Schools; they regulate the movements of cattle with a view to prevent the spread of Contagious Diseases; they are expected to guard their fellow-citizens against the Adulteration of Food and Drink, and the falsification of Weights and Measures; they have a jurisdiction over steam locomotives, pedlars, and vagrants; they settle the fees of Justices' clerks and Coroners, subject to the Home Office; they maintain lock-ups, assize and session courts, and other county buildings, levying rates for these and some other purposes. Such are the main functions exercised by the magistrates at Quarter Sessions, or by committees of the magistracy; but these powers by no means represent the whole range of their authority, for they are also *ex-officio* members of Boards of Guardians and Sanitary Boards, in their own districts. That powers so vast and, in some respects, so arbitrary, are so rarely abused, that county finance directed by non-elective magistrates contrasts favourably with municipal finance directed by elective delegates, and that work so unattractive is done so efficiently by unpaid servants of the State, must ever reflect credit on English public spirit. Still the fact remains that in the rural districts of England nominees of the Crown have stepped into the place formerly occupied, however imperfectly, by popular bodies, and that herein consists one powerful reason for the decay of Self-Government in counties.

2. There are other reasons, however, which must have contributed to produce that decay, even if the old machinery of self-government had been upheld. In days when a national Parliament did not exist, and when the Central Executive, in the person of the King, was seldom accessible and utterly incapable of superintending local affairs, the energy of local self-government was kept alive by the instinct of self-preservation. Local rights were then almost the only rights worth protecting, and personal attendance at local courts was almost the only means whereby they could be protected. It is far otherwise now, when it is often easier to set Parliament in motion, than it is to prevail against an obstructive majority on a Town Council or a Board of Guardians, and when not only the King's peace but civil justice is steadily enforced by Imperial tribunals over the whole realm. Thus supported, and secured against lawless encroachments by the irresistible force of a law which is universally respected, Englishmen have ceased to watch over their own local interests with the jealous vigilance of ruder times. Moreover, under such conditions, territorial influence greatly outweighs any personal ascendency that may be gained by activity on local councils. A great landowner, sitting in his arm-chair, and issuing mandates through his agent, can produce much greater results than he could produce by sedulously attending the Board of Guardians of his Union, or even the Quarter Sessions of his County. By consolidating or dividing farms, he can alter the rural economy of a whole district. By keeping cottages in his own hands, moderating their rents, and granting allotments, he can practically govern the condition of the labourer and the rate of wages. By encouraging providence, or by the abuse of charity, he can either keep down or increase pauperism. By simply decreeing that no tenement on his property shall be let as a public-house, he can achieve at a stroke all that a two-thirds majority of the inhabitants would be enabled to do under the Permissive Bill. By subscribing handsomely to keep up the parish school, and co-operating heartily with the master, he can practically keep out a School Board, and clothe himself with all its more important attributes. By a strict code of estate rules he can reduce disease or crime to a minimum. By setting an example of improvement on his own home farm, and introducing the finest breeds of cattle and sheep, he can put a new spirit into the agriculture of his neighbourhood. In short, he can indulge at once the impulses of benevolence and the love of power more easily and more effectively in his private capacity of a proprietor than in any public capacity which he might assume under any system of Local Government hitherto tried in England. He has not, therefore, the same motive which his ancestors had for devoting himself assiduously to local business; and, for a converse reason, his tenants and labourers

are animated by a like apathy. They may carry resolutions on the Board of Guardians, or Sanitary Board, or School Attendance Committee; but, after all, the will of a great squire is often more potent, and his favour more valuable, than local dignity or popularity. Thus, the principle of self-government, which depends for its vigour on social equality, is weakened at both ends of the scale. The highest class of a county population is too independent of local politics to concern itself much with their working; the lower classes are too dependent to supply the backbone of a real local Parliament.

3. But the energy of Local Government in Counties has also suffered much from the progress of centralising tendencies. Some of these tendencies arise from a patriotic craving for a higher national life, or from a democratic eagerness to employ the powerful machinery of Imperial legislation and administration to accomplish objects, more or less beneficial, which, in the opinion of their promoters, local public spirit could not be trusted to realise. Others are connected with an impatience of Local Taxation, and a demand for Imperial subsidies, which can only be granted on condition of State inspection and control. Factories and mines, railways and merchant shipping, are subject to State regulation, instead of being left to be regulated by local authorities, because it is supposed that no local authority would have both the will and the power to secure the requirements of public safety. The system of Poor-Relief, and the execution of sanitary laws, are superintended by the Local Government Board, in order to insure some degree of uniformity in their application, and to overcome the *vis inertiæ* too prevalent in backward districts. Elementary schools are superintended by a Department of the Privy Council, and county lunatic asylums by the Home Office, because a large share of their maintenance is charged upon the Imperial Exchequer; and county gaols are managed by visiting justices, only as agents of the Home Office, because the whole cost of them is now provided out of the Consolidated Fund. Mr. Gladstone has emphatically condemned the growth of such Imperial subsidies, as impairing the vitality of Local Government; but this is the method of relief which still finds most favour with country ratepayers, and those who supported Mr. Pell's motion adopted, more or less openly, the suggestion of the late Agricultural Commission that the cost of indoor relief should be thrown upon the Consolidated Fund.

All these centralising tendencies may be regarded as mainly the product of political causes. But there are other centralising tendencies of a different nature which spring from the very advance of civilisation—

"From the centripetal force which now attracts population towards London, and from a legitimate expansion of social ambition and commercial energy,

chiefly due to such irresistible agencies as printing, steam, and telegraphy. In the olden times, when people were far more rooted in the soil, and seldom thought of changing their residence, or buying land in another county, there was an instinctive attachment to local institutions, and a readiness to serve in local offices, which it would be absurd to expect in days when men are more familiar with national, and even international, interests; when county families, and the burgher aristocracy, look upon London as a second home; when the rural labourers themselves have become migratory; and when smaller are precipitated towards larger masses of population, as by a fixed law of political gravitation. It must not be forgotten that men who cheerfully spent their lives in gratuitous exertions on behalf of their own neighbourhoods had to be remunerated for transacting the affairs of the nation in Parliament, and would have thought it an intolerable hardship to be impressed into any unpaid commission, such as those which nowadays perform so much useful work for the public. Nor must it be forgotten that, putting aside all those persons who live only for sport or self-indulgence, a very large proportion of the leisure and brain-power otherwise available for Local Government is actually devoted to semi-public duties of a commercial or a philanthropic nature, which had no place in earlier states of society. If we could lay our hands on all the directors of railway and other joint-stock companies, all the governors and trustees of schools and other educational institutions, all the managers of religious and charitable societies, and if we could employ their undivided powers on Local Government, we should no longer have reason to lament a dearth of materials, whatever difficulty we might have in organizing and applying them. In fact, Local Government has been to a considerable extent supplanted by voluntary association; and though it may well be doubted whether voluntary association fosters so active and conscientious a sense of citizenship, it certainly has merits of its own to which the old English squire or burgher was altogether a stranger."[1]

Such are some of the less favourable conditions under which any Reform of Local Government in Counties must be worked out. We must remember, on the other hand, that if many local institutions have become obsolete, new social exigencies have created new centres of Local Government in rural districts. By far the most important of these are the Boards of Guardians, which are also the great meeting-point of magisterial and representative jurisdiction in counties. These Boards, originally constituted for the superintendence of Union workhouses, have since been invested with almost entire control over poor-relief; over the education of pauper children; over school attendance in country parishes; over sanitary administration, including water-supply, drainage, the prevention of nuisances, and vaccination; over the assessment of property for the purposes of rating; and over rural Highways, in cases where the Highway district coincides in area with the Union. This qualification brings at once into relief that portentous confusion of all the elements in Local Government, especially in counties, which Mr. Goschen justly described as a chaos of authorities, a chaos of rates, and a chaos, worse than all, of areas. The Union is now the Rural Sanitary District, but there is no reason why it should coincide with the

(1) See Brodrick's *Local Government in England* (pp. 56, 57), from which this passage is extracted.

Highway district; while the old hundreds, the Petty-sessional districts, the Lieutenancy divisions, the Registration districts, and other areas defined for various purposes of Local Government, have no relation to each other, to the Highway districts, or to the Unions, which, again, instead of being sections of counties, frequently overlap the county boundaries. As for the parish, it has long ceased to be a self-governing community, but where it has taken upon itself the responsibility of primary education by the election of a School Board, it constitutes a new administrative area conterminous with none of the others. Moreover, these different areas are mostly governed by different bodies, with different qualifications, nominated or elected at different periods, for different terms, by different methods, according to different scales of voting.

II. It is incredible, indeed, that so cumbrous and costly a framework of local institutions would have been so patiently tolerated by the present generation of Englishmen, if their rights and interests were so closely bound up with local institutions as were those of their ancestors in the olden times. It is to be regretted that Mr. Sclater-Booth, who himself introduced a County Government Bill in 1878, should have lately put forth a vigorous protest against a "scientific rearrangement" of the present system, which is liable, at least, to be misinterpreted as an argument against any comprehensive Reform of Local Government in Counties. So far as it has any force, his plea is really directed against an indiscriminate assimilation of rural to municipal government, which no true reformer seriously contemplates. When he urges that considerable improvements of local areas and administration are permissible under the existing law, but are seldom made, because they must "touch vested money interests," he supplies the best possible reason for a general enactment which shall prevent such interests standing in the way of a great public benefit. When he tells us that "in the county of Hants there are twenty-five subordinate areas, completely exhaustive of the county map, the governing bodies of which are poor-law guardians, sanitary authorities, valuers and assessors of rural property, waywardens of the highways, and supervisors of public vaccination and of elementary education," he draws an attractive picture of the symmetry which might be introduced into the Local Government of less favoured counties, by a measure which might at the same time remove any remaining anomalies in the internal economy of Hampshire itself. For it would really be idle to discuss the question whether a multiplicity of conflicting areas, jurisdictions, and offices does or does not involve an indefinite waste, not only of public money, but of administrative power. If a district hardly contains within itself good materials for one local Council, how can it procure good materials for half-a-dozen local Councils? Besides, it is not to be assumed that

men of position, education, and independence will be as ready to serve on a petty Board charged with a single and perhaps trivial function, as on a higher Board charged with several momentous functions. In short, whatever else may be attempted by a Reform of Local Government in Counties, it will be futile without an effective concentration of local powers in whatever Councils may be constituted for entire counties and for divisions of counties respectively.

It is proposed by Mr. C. D. Acland, M.P., in a suggestive essay on County Boards,[1] that these Boards should be constructed on the principle of allowing each petty-sessional division to return ten members, and entrusted with all the administrative duties now discharged by the Quarter Sessions—not to speak of other duties which might gradually devolve upon them. He justly observes that such a reform of County Government ought not to be advocated mainly for the sake of greater economy in county expenditure. The county and police rate, levied and expended by magistrates, does not exceed one-sixth of the rates levied and expended by representatives of the ratepayers, and it is very doubtful whether the former are not more economically administered than the latter. Nor is the direct and immediate improvement of county administration the main advantage which Mr. Acland anticipates from the formation of County Boards, but rather "the great number and importance of the avenues of improvement to which their establishment would give access; the confidence with which, if thoroughly local and thoroughly representative, they would presently be regarded; their value, as instruments of political education, both to electors and to representatives; and last, though by no means least, the extent to which their labours might lighten the labours of the Imperial Parliament." The value of these objects is openly challenged by Mr. Sclater-Booth, and even Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice doubts whether the last could be so realised as to produce much appreciable relief. Mr. Sclater-Booth, in his speech on Mr. Pell's motion, went so far as to argue that any control of the County Board over Unions and Highway Districts would be more unpopular and less effective than the control of the Central Government. He warns us, moreover, that a new organization and staff of officials would be required to carry it out, and that public opinion would never suffer Parliamentary functions to be executed by sixty or seventy local centres taking different, and probably conflicting, views of duty and policy. He, therefore, recommends that if County Boards must needs be formed, their powers should only be coextensive with those of magistrates at Quarter Sessions, or, at all events, should include no interference with the work of subordinate Boards. Lord E. Fitzmaurice does not see how County Boards could do more than help to carry out the

(1) *Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom*, pp. 89–117.

details of Acts of Parliament, "acting in harmony with the public departments," though he is in favour of establishing them for other reasons.

It must be admitted that, unless the new county organization could be made to embrace corporate boroughs, nothing like provincial Home Rule could be established in this country. But then nothing like provincial Home Rule is claimed by those who, nevertheless, desire a thorough reform of Local Government in Counties. Let it be granted that, for the present at least, it would be hopeless to bring corporate boroughs under the control of County Boards. It would not, however, be hopeless to offer self-governing urban communities under Local Boards or Commissions the choice between complete municipal incorporation and a modified independence within the sphere of county administration. Still less would it be hopeless to create what may be called rural municipalities as the constituent departments of that administration. Since it is too late to revive the old hundreds, there are practically but two existing areas capable of serving that purpose—the Petty-sessional Divisions and the Poor Law Unions. The Petty-sessional Divisions were preferred by Mr. Goschen as well as Mr. Sclater-Booth, mainly on the ground that, being more uniform in size, they are also real subdivisions of Counties never overlapping or intersecting County boundaries. But the arguments greatly preponderate in favour of adopting the Unions as the subordinate districts of Rural Government, and readjusting boundaries once for all, so that Counties may henceforth be multiples or aggregates of Unions. The Report of the Sanitary Commission, followed by the Sanitary Act of 1872 and the Education Acts of 1876 and 1879, has been confirmed by the results of other official inquiries, and the Union may be considered to be already designated as the primary area for the future government of Counties. Unions have not the historical prestige of parishes, nor are their boundaries so easy to reconcile with those of other areas. But they are large enough, and yet not too unwieldy, to be made the basis of Rural Government; they were carefully marked out, mostly in groups of villages surrounding a market town, with a view to administrative requirements; they have a representative constitution, with a capable official staff tested by forty or fifty years' experience; and their governing bodies have been clothed by Parliament with one administrative function after another, until Guardians have come to be regarded with almost as much respect as the magistracy, and, by virtue of their influence over pauperism, exercise almost as much power as the ancient popular Courts. To convert Unions into rural municipalities would, therefore, secure the maximum of convenience, and involve the minimum of disturbance in local arrangements.

Whether it would be expedient to retain or to modify the present scale of plural voting for Guardians is a subordinate question, on which it is needless here to dwell at length. Considering how largely these Boards deal, and must deal, with pecuniary interests, there is, perhaps, no sufficient reason for altering the method of election. But it would be a simpler, as well as a more scientific, alternative to compose the Union Board, or District Council, of representatives chosen by each parish, and acting in each parish as the civil heads of the village community, like the *maire* in a French commune. If these parochial representatives were not elected by plural voting, it might be well to have on the District Council a number of members elected by that method from the whole District. Magistrates resident in the District, and Inspectors of the Local Government Board, should also have a right to sit on the Council *ex officio*. A distinct provision might easily be made for the representation of non-corporate towns on the District Council, and for the reservation to such towns of greater administrative independence than could be allowed to country villages. Subject to reservations of this kind, the District Council would regulate poor relief, highways, sanitary concerns, assessment, and any other local matters which might be delegated to it by the county executive. Probably it would be fitter than any parochial body to discharge the duties of a School Board for its own district—subject, again, to exceptional reservations. The administrative capital of the District would naturally become the centre of Petty-sessional jurisdiction, and it would not be difficult to make Police arrangements, Post-Office arrangements, Inland Revenue arrangements, Registration arrangements, and so forth, correspond gradually with the new organization.

Many and conflicting have been the schemes for constituting the higher Board of the County. This is a question which should be chiefly determined by the purposes for which such a Board is to be constituted. If the object were merely to satisfy a demand for popular representation at Quarter Sessions, it would be easy, and might be sufficient, to associate a certain number of elective members with the magistrates for the despatch of administrative business. But, since the object is also to create bodies capable of controlling and harmonizing the primary Local Authorities, and of relieving, to some extent, the Imperial Executive and the Imperial Legislature, a stronger and more representative constitution becomes necessary. With such a constitution, a County Board might safely be entrusted, not only with all the non-judicial work now done at Quarter Sessions, but with the execution of entirely new powers, such as the reform and regulation of the whole valuation and rating system; the adaptation of the licensing system to local exigencies within limits

to be laid down by Parliament; the general oversight of river basins, irrigation, and arterial drainage; the preservation or enclosure of commons; and many other functions of inspection or management which cannot be defined beforehand, but which could not fail to gravitate towards a body solid enough to bear the weight of heavy responsibilities. It has been proposed, for instance, that County Boards should take over the workhouses and the entire administration of indoor relief. This proposal appears far preferable to the scheme of the Royal Agricultural Commission, under which the cost and management of indoor relief would be charged on the Consolidated Fund. In either case, a powerful motive for the reduction of outdoor relief would be called into existence, and rural guardians could lower the Union poor-rate to a minimum. But England and Wales form too large an area of Chargeability for indoor relief, and it is certain that workhouse management would be more economical, if not more efficient, under County Boards than under the Local Government Board in Whitehall.

The suggestion of Mr. C. Acland that County Boards should consist of ten members from each Petty-sessional Division, has at least the merit of simplicity. He rejects the idea of dividing the Board into representatives of owners and representatives of occupiers, still more into magistrates and delegates of ratepayers, as likely to emphasize class sentiment, and to hinder the appointment of the best officers. There is considerable force in these objections, and Mr. Acland's preference for direct over indirect election may doubtless be supported by a comparison between the London School Board and the Metropolitan Board of Works. Still, even London School Board elections supply ample proof of the fact that local busybodies, with no qualification but the capacity of active canvassing, constantly prevail against candidates of the highest ability and mature experience. Moreover, it is certain that many other men of the highest ability and mature experience will never become candidates at all for any office which can only be won by canvassing. Again, it will be long before counties will be able to dispense with the experience and influence of magistrates in the conduct of what has hitherto been the civil business of Quarter Sessions. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems better that County Boards should have a mixed constitution, and should combine three elements. Let one-third of their members be elected directly, "without reference to class or residence," by the ratepayers of the county, who, it may be assumed, will shortly become the Parliamentary constituency. Let another third be chosen out of themselves by the new District Councils of the Unions, and another by the magistrates at Quarter Sessions. No doubt the distinction between owners and occupiers is more logical than between ratepayers and magistrates. Owners have

a permanent, while occupiers have but a transitory, interest in the district to which they belong, and it is highly important that full justice should be done to both these interests. Magistrates, on the other hand, are appointed by the Crown; they may not be owners at all, and so far as they represent owners, they represent the great proprietors and not the small freeholders. Nevertheless they are generally the best and most public-spirited representatives of the county gentry; and the very fact of their holding an office of high trust under the Crown would lend weight to their presence on a County Board, two-thirds of whose members, after all, would owe their election to a popular vote, or to the choice of bodies mainly composed of middle-class ratepayers. Certain it is that a County Parliament thus constituted would command general confidence, and since it would probably be too large for purely administrative purposes, it would naturally work, for these purposes, through Committees roughly corresponding with the present standing Committees of Quarter Sessions. But in many cases it might be expedient that it should delegate a part of its powers to District Councils, thereby investing these bodies with additional dignity and responsibility.

Such a reform of Local Government in Counties would involve the least possible disturbance of existing institutions, beyond the inevitable readjustment of Union and County boundaries. To prepare it would require no superhuman effort of constructive statesmanship, and, but for the supposed exigencies of party warfare, both parties might well unite to carry it. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a worthier object of Conservative policy than the erection of local barriers or breakwaters against the flood-waves of democratic centralization, or a worthier object of Liberal policy than the organization of local assemblies in which the well-nigh lost art of self-government shall be revived in rural districts. But can this art be regained under the conditions of modern politics, and can the advancing tide of democratic centralization be stayed by any expedients of human contrivance? These are questions which no wise man will answer too confidently, yet on which the future destiny of constitutional liberty in England must largely depend.

"Let it be confessed that political miracles are not to be wrought by safe methods in quiet times, and that even the ultimate result of such measures as have been considered would fall very far short of the heroic legislation ascribed to Alfred, or the imposing creations of the French Revolution. They could not galvanize into life the Local Government of those bygone ages, with their picturesque variety of provincial institutions, when the law of Gavelkind was but one of many customs which divided English counties from each other, when local and personal allegiance was often stronger than national allegiance, and when the Great Council of England was little more than a federation of local assemblies. They could not give back to English society the warlike burghers who upheld the Saxon traditions of self-government against Norman kings, or the sturdy yeomanry who fought at Cressy and Agincourt, or the

gentry who devoted their whole lives to county duties in days when London and the Continent were comparatively inaccessible." [1]

But we must not imagine that modern influences have been wholly unfavourable to self-government, or that democratic progress sets wholly in the direction of Imperialism. If the old county freeholders have slowly dwindled, tenant farmers are fast gaining in independence, and it is by no means improbable that impending reforms of the Land-system may again increase the numbers of the freeholders themselves. Country towns now contribute to Boards of Guardians a class of shrewd, though sometimes narrow-minded, shopkeepers, far above the intellectual level of their ancestors in past centuries. Popular education, the spread of newspapers, the constant development of railway communication, and the growing sense of equality, have quickened the intelligence and self-respect of the agricultural labourer until he once more claims to share the Parliamentary franchise with his employer. In a word, the country is richer than ever in the materials for a vigorous Local Government in Counties; it is poor only in the capacity to organize them and make use of them. Yet the secret of doing so is extremely simple; it consists in first concentrating local bodies and then investing them with an exclusive jurisdiction over interests, pecuniary and otherwise, which men feel to be worth defending. All classes resort to the new County Courts for the recovery of small debts, because they are the only courts in which small debts can be recovered; and if the principle were extended by erecting permanent tribunals in lieu of issuing periodical Commissions for the hearing of more important provincial causes, provincial Bars would soon grow up, and legal business would rapidly fall into the course prescribed by law. The same result might be expected to follow a comprehensive reform of Local Government in Counties, coupled with a bold extension of the functions now performed by magistrates and other local authorities in rural districts. The new governing bodies will attract good and capable men, when it is found that no individual can withstand their decisions, and that substantial power is to be gained by serving on them. But it is also worthy of consideration whether an organic connection might not be established between County Boards and the Imperial Legislature itself. If the coming Redistribution of seats needs to be guarded by any securities against the ascendency of mere numbers in electoral districts, it may be sound policy to provide it, not by inventing methods of cumulating or distributing the votes of minorities, but rather by allotting a certain moderate share of Parliamentary representation to elective County Boards.

(1) Brodrick's *Local Government in England*, p. 86.

GEORGE C. BRODRICK.

A PLEA FOR A BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS.

It has long been desired by friends of scholarship and archæology in this country that a British School of Classical Studies should be established at Athens, similar to the Institutes which France and Germany have for many years possessed there. In 1878 I endeavoured to draw attention to this subject, and to indicate some of the conditions for a successful attainment of the object. Since then much has occurred which is strongly favourable to the project; indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that its execution has become only a question of time. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, founded in 1880, has grown with a rapidity, and has worked with an energy, which strikingly attests the vitality in Great Britain of those interests which such a school would serve in the Levant. It would be difficult to adduce a better argument for the establishment of such a school than by simply reciting the chief heads of endeavour which the Hellenic Society of London has proposed to itself, with cordial support from a large and still increasing body of members. "To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments." "To collect drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains; and, with this view, to invite travellers to communicate to the society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest." "To organize means by which members of the society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation." All these are objects which would manifestly be promoted in the most direct and effective manner by the creation of a permanent agency at a central point of the Hellenic countries. The fact that a society professing these objects has been so widely and zealously supported, is a proof that the proposal for a British School at Athens would appeal to very various and active sympathies, if the idea was only embodied in a shape so definite as to invite their practical and united expression. Another circumstance of good augury for the project is the increased interest in archæological studies which is beginning to be felt at Oxford and Cambridge. One of those Universities has already recognised classical archæology as one of four special departments in the second part of the examination

for classical honours. It cannot be doubted that classical archæology is destined to stand henceforth in a closer alliance with literary scholarship, and that every year the spirit which such an enlarged conception implies will strengthen the feeling that a classical training cannot be better supplemented than by travel and study in the Hellenic or Hellenised lands. On October 2, 1882, an American School of Classical Studies was opened at Athens, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute of America, and by means of contributions furnished by a number of American Colleges. It was natural for an Englishman who was at Athens at that time, especially if he had long been interested in the matter, to ask himself why it was that British scholars had never yet been able to procure an advantage which those of France and Germany, with the aid of their Governments, had so long enjoyed, and which those of America, without any Government aid, had now attained simply by collegiate enterprise. On all these grounds, I venture to think that the present time is not inopportune for returning to the theme on which I wrote in 1878, and inquiring how the case now stands for instituting a British School of Classical Studies at Athens.

The question may be taken under these heads:—I. What should be the plan and the aim of the School? II. What would it cost? III. How are the funds to be raised?

I.

As a preliminary to considering how the School should be constituted, it will be useful to recall briefly the characteristic traits of the three Schools which now exist at Athens—the French, the German, and the American.

(1.) The École Française d'Athènes is a Government institution, subject to the Minister of Public Instruction, and supervised by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. It is essentially a French college in Greece, with six terminable fellowships. Two students, holding degrees equivalent to B.A. or M.A., are elected annually, after a competitive examination at Paris in epigraphy, palæography, and archæology. They are appointed for three years. The whole number of students is six. Thus at any given time two are in the first year, two in the second, and two in the third. The Director (who must be a member of the Institute, or one of the higher functionaries of Public Instruction) is appointed for a term of six years, being re-eligible. Through him each student sends annually a report to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. The tasks undertaken by the students, under advice of the Director, are of the most various kinds, according to their various tastes and capacities; one may be excavating, while another is studying Greek ceramics, a third examining manuscripts, a fourth working at the

Neo-Hellenic dialects. All the reports sent to Paris receive searching criticism from a committee of the Academy. Precise method and close supervision characterise the entire system, which, in its own kind, is a successful example of the French genius for exact organization. The Government defrays the whole cost, which is about £2,400 a year.

(2.) The general characteristic of the German Institute, in contrast to the French, is, that it leaves the student more to his own devices. The title of the permanent official, resident at Athens, is not Director, but Secretary. His chief duties are to take charge of the library, to superintend the publications of the Institute, and to prepare the agenda for meetings held during the winter months. Five travelling bursaries, of about £150 each, are awarded at Berlin, not by special examination, but on the strength of academic testimonials, of literary performance, and, generally, of warranted promise. The bursar is not under any control by the Secretary, but, at the end of the year, sends his report to the Central Direction at Berlin. While the French School is a college on foreign soil, the German School is rather analogous to a consulate for travelling students.

(3.) The American School lately opened at Athens may be said to represent an intermediate type. On the invitation of a committee appointed by the Archæological Institute of America, several American Colleges have, by joint subscription, provided an annual sum of £450. Thus endowed the American School of Classical Studies was opened at Athens on October 2, 1882. Graduates of the subscribing Colleges are eligible for admission on presenting to the Committee in America a certificate from their College that they are qualified to pursue a course of classical study at Athens under the advice of the Director. They pay no fees; on the other hand, the School does not lodge them, nor in any way contribute to defray their expenses. The Director is appointed by the committee for a period of one year, or of two years. He is chosen from among the Professors of Greek in the subscribing Colleges. His duties are—to advise and assist the studies of members, to hold periodical meetings at Athens for consultation and discussion, and to report annually to the committee. He occupies a house, which contains the library of the School, open to the use of members. The Corporation of Harvard University allows to its Greek Professor, the present Director, a salary of £600 during the year of his absence at Athens. Each member of the School is to submit yearly at least one thesis to the Director, embodying the results of his work. If approved by the Director, it is to be forwarded to the committee in America. On completing one full year of study, of which eight months (Oct. 1—June 1) must have been passed in the Levant, a member of the

School is entitled to a certificate signed by the Director, the President of the Archæological Institute, and the Committee. The American School thus approximates to the French type as regards the relation of Director to student, but differs from it by the absence of a collegiate system and of a triennial course.

In constituting a British School at Athens it seems clear, in the first place, that the German, rather than the French, type is that to which we should incline. It would be decidedly more congenial to the character and tone of our University life, and, generally, more suitable to the basis on which a British School would necessarily be founded. Next, while reserving details on which it would be unprofitable to enter at this stage, we may probably say that there are, at least, four general conditions which would be essential.

(1.) A British School of Classical Studies at Athens should aim at promoting archæological science by the exploration of sites, by the collection of inscriptions, and in every other branch of kindred research. But, in addition to its properly scientific function, it should also be a centre at which advice might be obtained and books consulted by British travellers, not specialists in archæology, who wished to supplement their classical studies by an intelligent survey of the classical lands, by studies in Greek geography and topography, or by a study of the modern Greek language and literature. In short, the British School ought to be not exclusively a school for specialists, but also, in the most comprehensive sense, a school of Greek studies in Greek lands.

(2.) The School should have a Director (or "Secretary," if that name is preferred) resident at Athens, among whose duties it should be to aid properly qualified applicants by information and advice in the prosecution of their studies. He should also have charge of the library, but he should not be required to give lectures.

(3.) The School should not provide lodging for its members, nor should it defray any part of their expenses.

(4.) Membership should be open, without payment of any kind, to any person accredited by a University or College of Great Britain or Ireland, or from the British Museum, as qualified to profit by the advantages of the school. It might further be desirable that British subjects, not so accredited, should yet be entitled to the use of the School's library at Athens on payment of a fee, which should confer temporary membership in a limited sense.

II.

What would the School cost? The principal heads of expense would be the following:—

(1.) A house would be required for the reception of the library and the accommodation of the Director in charge of it. Though a

house of modest size would suffice, it would be essential that it should contain, at least, one fairly large room, available for the studies of members consulting the library, and for occasional meetings. Now, speaking not without knowledge of house-hunting at Athens, I believe that such a house could not easily be found for a less rent than from £150 to £180 a year. House-rent is very high there, and the choice of houses exceedingly meagre. Building, on the other hand, is comparatively cheap. It is said that good sites are still procurable at moderate prices on the slopes of Lycabettus, where the French School is built. An adequate site in that locality could be purchased, it is believed, for about £700. A house sufficient for the purposes indicated above, and far more convenient than any that could be rented, might probably be built for £3,000. Provisionally, the cost of renting a house may be estimated at £180 a year, and that of building at an outlay of £3,700. The capital being available, it would, therefore, on the whole be preferable to build.

(2.) In the case of the American School the salary of the Director is at present furnished by the University in which the Director is a Professor. No similar arrangement could be anticipated in the case of a British School; nor could the salary offered to its Director be well less than £500 a year, representing, at 4 per cent., a capital sum of £12,500.

(3.) The cost of forming a library of reference might be estimated at £200, and of maintenance at £20 a year—at a capital sum of £700.

(4.) Miscellaneous expenses. The margin for these should not be less than £80 a year, or a capital sum of £2,000.

If we suppose, then, that the cost of the School is to be defrayed by the interest of capital invested at 4 per cent., the sum to be raised would stand thus:—

1. Purchase of site and building of house	£3,700
2. Fund for Director's salary	12,500
3. Library	700
4. Miscellaneous expenses	2,000
	£18,900

The rough calculation on which the above figures are based is intended, of course, merely to assist approximation to a distinct estimate. Some confirmation of its general correctness may be derived from a fact which has come to my knowledge since the computation was made. At a meeting on June 22, 1881, the Committee of the Archæological Institute of America proposed very nearly the same sum ($100,000 = £20,000) as the proper one for a funded endowment, if their School was to be instituted on that

basis—a plan afterwards abandoned in favour of a joint annual subscription.

Now let us suppose that the books for the library of the School had been provided at a cost of £200, and that it was decided to rent a house instead of building. The yearly expenditure to be met would then be as follows:—

1. House-rent	£180
2. Director's salary	500
3. Maintenance of library	20
4. Miscellaneous expenses	80
	£780

III.

Assuming, then, that the School would require a funded capital of about £18,900, or a guaranteed annual income of about £780, it remains to consider what the sources are to which we could look for the provision of such means. The first thing which must be clearly understood is, that no assistance whatever can be expected from Government. It is well to look this fact in the face at once, since attempts to blink it could only end in disappointment. When Government aid is asked for enterprises of this kind, the refusal always rests on one of two grounds, or on both together—that this is a country of enormous private wealth, and that the existence of Oxford and Cambridge, with their great endowments, constitutes a broad difference between this country and countries like France and Germany, in which such undertakings are defrayed by the State. It would be out of place here to examine this reasoning, and it is enough to remark that the stereotyped Government reply has a sufficient practical justification in the normal disposition of the British taxpayer towards such proposals. When Joshua Barnes was bringing out his edition of Homer, he extorted the consent of Mrs. Barnes to the investment of her fortune in that work by representing the Iliad as the composition of King Solomon. Similarly the British taxpayer can be induced to tolerate the application of public money to researches, such as the exploration of Sinai or Palestine, which can in any way be associated with the Bible; but there he draws the line. His mental attitude towards profane research is the same in which Mrs. Barnes would have persevered, if she had not been induced to believe that the poet who sang of Helen was the same who had attracted the Queen of Sheba. It is just ten years since the Society of Antiquaries, through Lord Stanhope, made an application to the Exchequer, asking that the tumuli on the plain of Troy should be examined at the public cost. Lord Sherbrooke (then Mr. Lowe) was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the reply which he made is very much to the point in regard to our present purpose.

"The question is," Mr. Lowe said, "are excavations undertaken for the purpose of illustrating the Iliad a proper object for the expenditure of public money? I am sorry to say that in my judgment they are not. But while I regret to be unable to accede to your lordship's suggestion, I submit that there is a way open by which the money may be provided. It is said that the school-boy enthusiasm of Europe liberated Greece from Turkey. Is not the literary enthusiasm of wealthy England equal to the enterprise of exploring scenes which are ever recurring to the imagination of every one who has received a classical education? . . . I sincerely regret that the spirit of Herodes Atticus has not descended to modern times, and feel convinced that if one half the energy which is devoted to attempts to obtain aid from Government were given to create a spirit of private munificence, this and many similar objects might be attained with the utmost facility and completeness."

We have lately been informed, on high authority, that Lord Sherbrooke's love of classical antiquity, "though sometimes dissembled," is "well known to his friends," and there is no reason for supposing that the reply just quoted indicates any want of sympathy with such researches in themselves; indeed, it implies the reverse. We might, perhaps, be inclined to ask in passing whether, the non-historical character of the Homeric poems being assumed, it would necessarily follow that nothing interesting to historians and archæologists could be found in the Trojan tumuli; and, on the other hand, we might be amused to note the almost prophetic manner in which Mr Lowe disposed of the very notion which has since given birth to so many confused "Ilian theories"—that it is possible to find the very house in which Priam lived, the very gate through which Hector went forth to battle, the very stone on which Palamedes gave lessons in the game of draughts. But this is by the way. An interesting train of thought is suggested by Lord Sherbrooke's regret that "the spirit of Herodes Atticus has not descended to modern times." Herodes Atticus was a Greek millionaire in the second century who lavished his wealth on works of public utility, as these were understood in the age of the Antonines. He constructed race-courses, he restored decayed towns, he built theatres and concert-halls, aqueducts and hospitals. The distinction of his munificence was versatility rather than originality. Now I should have thought that a good deal of the spirit of Herodes Atticus had descended to modern times, and that the United Kingdom, in particular, showed abundant evidence of this. The British Herodes Atticus is the very rich man who restores a cathedral at his sole cost, who provides a picture-gallery for the dwellers at Bethnal Green, who presents a public park to the toilers of some grimy town, who heads the subscription list whenever some calamity of exceptional magnitude appeals to the comprehensive

charities of the Mansion House—who, in a word, is foremost in all great works of national utility and benevolence. Of such men, happily, this country has not a few. What we seem to lack is scarcely the spirit of Herodes Atticus—the spirit of a generosity which flows in all the obvious and popularly recognised channels—but rather a more original and inventive instinct of munificence. In the wide fields of science, learning, and art how many great services—not the less great because the multitude does not apprehend their full importance—have their accomplishment indefinitely postponed, simply for the want of a sum which one rich man could easily provide from his annual income. The desire of personal eminence having grown with the diffusion of wealth, it certainly appears singular that no aspirants are found for distinction of a kind which would be really distinguished, and as nearly exempt from sneers as any distinction can reasonably expect to be. A man who gave £20,000 to found a British School of Classical Studies at Athens would have secured a place of unique honour in the regard of all for whom the study of the past has anywhere a charm or a meaning, and would have perpetuated his name, both at home and in Greece, by a living monument of the most splendid and enduring kind. It is quite certain that a new and very distinguished part might be played by the man of wealth who had sufficient originality and insight to perceive the real opportunities of a Victorian Mæcenas. Meanwhile I am far from sharing the despondency of some friendly counsellors who despair of an appeal to public subscription in favour of a British School at Athens. On the contrary, I am so sanguine as to believe that the proposal would conciliate a large measure of support, if a committee representative of the studies and interests concerned could agree on the draft of a practical scheme to be placed in a clear form before the public. In the first place, such a project would possess a direct interest for all educational institutions in the United Kingdom, from which students of classical literature, history, and art are likely at any time to visit Greece. With a proper organization there ought to be a good hope of obtaining support from the Universities and Colleges of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and from some at least of the great schools. In the next place, we might confidently reckon on the adhesion of a very large number of cultivated persons throughout the country, who, without being connected with educational work, have a keen interest in the pursuits of archæology, scholarship, and art. It is from the ranks of such that the Hellenic Society has been to a great extent recruited. In London alone there must be at least a thousand persons who would be both able and willing to give £20 a piece to an object of this kind, if they were once satisfied that it was of sufficient usefulness and importance. In regard to the Universities of

Oxford and Cambridge, even strangers can hardly now entertain the belief that the resources of those bodies are fabulously in excess of their own needs; and the present would be a particularly ill-chosen time for indulging the hope of ample contributions from that quarter. There is, however, one way, and that an effective one, in which any College or Colleges of Oxford or Cambridge which favoured the project might aid it. It has been seen that much the largest item in the estimated cost of establishing a British School at Athens would be the salary of the Director, which was put at £500 a year, or a capitalised sum of £12,500. Oxford has already furnished a precedent for a College Fellowship being held on condition of archæological research abroad. It is possible that some College might be willing to allocate a Fellowship to be held *ex officio* by the Director for the time being of the British School at Athens. Or, if no one College was ready to assume the charge in permanence, two or more Colleges might conceivably arrange to take it in turn. The School once established on a satisfactory basis, it might be anticipated that the Universities and Colleges of the United Kingdom would gradually create facilities for students desirous of proceeding thither. In the case of Cambridge it might be worth considering whether the Wort's "Endowment for Travelling Bachelors" could not be made partially available for such a purpose.

On the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, those who despair of seeing a British school at Athens have more than once suggested that an arrangement might be made for the admission of English students to the advantages of the French or the German school at Athens. It will be generally felt that, even if such an arrangement were practicable—which is very doubtful—it would be on several grounds most unsatisfactory, and could not in any case be permanent. The only proper and worthy mode of providing for British students who desire such advantages at Athens is by establishing a British school, as France, Germany, and America have done for the students of their respective nationalities. There are some persons, again, not adverse to the idea of a school, who yet prefer to advocate the creation of a fund by which some *one* archæologist should always be kept engaged on a definite special mission. Their preference for such a plan arises chiefly from the belief that it could be more easily and promptly executed. It is to be observed, however, that if (as I believe) it would be possible to raise funds for a British school at Athens, then such a school would become a recognised point of departure for just such missions as the other scheme contemplates. The school would itself be the best guarantee for the frequency and efficiency of special explorations. If, then, the school can be obtained, it is a preferable object of endeavour, since it includes the other as the whole contains the part. Some have

further questioned whether, if a British School is to be established, Athens would be the best seat for it. Athens, it has been feared, might be over-supplied with such Institutes. Is Athens, then, over-supplied with foreign Consulates? The French, German, and American Institutes exist exclusively for French, German, and American students respectively: a British School would exist for British subjects. Only two other places have been suggested as alternatives for Athens. Cyprus has a climate which most persons find trying in the long droughts; after the labours of General di Cesnola the local harvest could not be great; and, as a station for Hellenic research, the island is convenient only in respect to the south seaboard of Asia Minor. Smyrna is a commercial town devoid of the associations which surround Athens, and with a neighbourhood which has long been extremely insecure. A few days ago, in the *Times* of April 18, 1883, Mr. J. Russell Endean quoted a recent letter from Smyrna:—

> "It is next to impossible to go to Ephesus now" (the ruins are forty-eight miles south of Smyrna), "as the country is so very unsafe on account of the brigands; it is much worse than it has been for years. Even the streets of Smyrna are unsafe at night, and one is always obliged to carry a revolver."

Athens, thirty-six hours distant from Constantinople, rather less from Corfu, and only twenty-seven from Smyrna, is the best centre for the entire area which would fall within the range of survey, while in other advantages it has no rival.

It only remains to notice an objection of a special kind, which was raised when this subject was broached five years ago. The objection was that this country offers no career to archæologists, and that, therefore, there could be no future for the students whom a school at Athens could help to train. It may be replied, first, that the proposed school is not intended to be exclusively a school for specialists in archæology, but also in the most comprehensive sense, as was said above, a school of classical studies in Greek lands. Secondly, it might be replied that rewards *are* promised to future specialists in archæology, since their subject is now likely to count more in Fellowship elections at the English Universities, and since a demand will grow concurrently for men who can teach it.

R. C. Jebb.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF ITALY.

At a time when Italy, in the opinion of European statesmen, was considered merely a geographical expression, England alone recognised the possibility of transforming that medley of states and protectorates into one nation. More than twenty years have now passed since Italy became united and independent, and a quarter of a century of national life is a period long enough to justify the desire to look back and measure the length of road already travelled. The diplomatic understanding between Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Italy, and the recent declarations of Signor Mancini and M. de Tisza on the subject, render such a retrospect specially seasonable. In order to judge correctly of the external relations of a country it is necessary to know its internal conditions; for the foreign policy of a nation, or rather that part of it which is real and stable, is only the expression and result of the national character and institutions, the constitution of the political parties, the various industries—in fine, all the factors which make up the grandeur and power of a State.

To speak of Italy without making mention of its past would be like writing a treatise on the water-power in the valley of the Po without considering beforehand the geological conditions of the district. It is not, however, necessary to detail the whole process by which Italy was brought to a state which was expressed in language that conveyed the idea of political nonentity; there is no need here to recall the pretensions of the Empire and the Papacy, the rights acquired by the different dynasties, the treaties, the interventions, and all the motives which inspired European diplomacy up to the year 1855, when, for the first time in a European congress, Italy was spoken of as a nation. It is evident that the measures taken to reduce to zero the interests and sentiments of twenty-seven millions of people must have been as drastic as the attainment of the aim was difficult. These measures can be classed under two heads—force and demoralisation. Force was represented by the continual interference and the ultimate intervention of the great Continental Powers; demoralisation was the inevitable result of the egotistical and anti-national policy of the small States into which Italy was divided. History records numerous foreign occupations of parts of Italy. Men still living can recall the method of government which was imposed on the inhabitants of the seven or eight States of the peninsula with the one object of stamping out all love of liberty or longing for independence. We need not now consider all the effects of this long

and crushing pressure upon the national character; it is sufficient for our purpose to notice one result of this despotic rule, namely, the division of all Italians into two classes. The one class included those who habituated themselves to the yoke, and who became, so to say, identified with it; the other comprised all those who rebelled. Among the rebels was to be found the larger part of the talent, energy, activity, and courage of the country. When the hour struck for the renewal of the struggle, when the Italian question was supported by the House of Savoy, and so received its legitimisation in the eyes of Europe, then this group, or rather these groups—for each district had its own—became a political party, the national party. In old Piedmont almost every man distinguished by birth or by capacity had, even as early as the year 1848, followed the example set by the reigning House, and passed into the ranks of the national party. But in the rest of Italy only a few of the boldest and greatest men resolved to cast in their lot with the Nationalists, and in their wake came all the restless spirits—all those who thirsted for adventures; in fine, the most unruly elements of the various Italian States.

These men formed the first nucleus, but when event followed event with breathless rapidity, and the dream of centuries began to assume a substantial form, then the movement of revolt became visible throughout the peninsula, and the national party held the sympathy of a large majority of Italians. Armed with the fascination of success, this party grew in numbers from day to day, and in that brilliant period of the Italian revolution which lies between the battle of Magenta and the removal of the capital from Turin to Florence—that is to say, for seven years—it was beyond all question the master of the situation. By degrees, however, it separated itself into two sections, commonly called parties, the Right and the Left; but the observer who studies the cause of this division must confess that, in spite of a bewildering diversity of programme, the only real difference between the two groups was as to the choice of means best adapted to secure a common aim; and it may be added, hardly in the choice of means according to their intrinsic worth, but only as to their greater or less convenience or practicability. The difference was in fact so slight that in reality both groups formed but one party, nor could it be otherwise. Conscious of the importance and grandeur of the work which they had undertaken, men who found themselves drawn by different reasons and along various routes into the national movement, at first had neither thought nor leisure for any other political task than that of securing the independence and freedom of the fatherland.

Notwithstanding, however, that these two parties, from a political and parliamentary point of view, had no distinct *raison d'être*, there

did exist real and wide differences in the component parts. The Right had as leaders the whole official world of Piedmont, commencing with the most famous names, all men of proved integrity and inveterate loyalty to the monarchy of Savoy. Further, the most illustrious rebels of the other Italian provinces had ranged themselves on the same side; while, lastly, not a few of the timid and irresolute who only gradually resolved to break with the legal Italy of the past, found in the Right elements the least repugnant to their feelings. Round these as the kernel were collected all the really Conservative classes, if this word can be used in speaking of a revolution which brought not only civil but also religious questions into discussion. The Left, on the other hand, counted as its first recruits the most restless spirits in the Piedmont of the *ancien régime*; it next drew to itself the most daring rebels of all districts and states, and, as a consequence, all the republicans of old standing. So long as the period of enthusiasm lasted, the various elements remained fused as in a high temperature, and the tolerance on the one side was as wonderful as the abnegation displayed by the other. These virtues reached their climax in heroism on the day when the King Victor Emmanuel, sprung from Europe's oldest royal line, with a more than familiar simplicity received the kingdom of Naples from the hand of Garibaldi, the Captain born of all the revolutions of the world.

But when this period was over, the temperature again approached the normal point, and the real relations of men and things began to grow clear. Rome, having recovered from the surprise and disorder into which the war of 1859, the rapid annexations, the battle of Castelfidardo, and the loss of the Papal States of Romagna, Marcha, and Umbria had thrown her, summoned the faithful to her aid, and held the field throughout the decade which elapsed from the loss of those provinces to the final downfall of her temporal power. In that last attempt to uphold the political status of the Papacy, the real enemies whom the Catholics had to meet were those who sought the destruction of the temporal dominion. Accordingly no means were left untried to detach from the national movement all Catholics who had been drawn into it, and to hinder those from entering it who had kept aloof. This anti-national intrigue, which the so-called Catholic party set on foot in the most complete security under the ægis of the French intervention, had but one result; it kept a large party of Catholics apart from the national movement, and so closed for an indefinite time their entrance to Parliament.

On the other side the old sects of Republicans, and all the offspring of that state of constraint which had prevailed from the date of the treaty of Vienna downwards, renounced none of their hopes. The better spirits, indeed, of the Left joined the national party, which followed the banner of the constitutional king, Victor Emmanuel;

but the other did not follow this wise example. And, therefore, on this side, too, there was a band of violent men who had an extra-legal existence, and who, while the Catholics regretted the government of the past, placed their hopes in that of the future. There was, however, one difference between these two extreme groups, for some of the ultra-Republicans have continually been admitted into Parliament, where, by means of a mental qualification of doubtful morality, they take the oath without abandoning their aspirations.

The national party, however, put its own unity before everything. In order to keep the forces of progress together till the nation's freedom was achieved, it felt bound not to alienate any of the Liberal groups. It perceived the danger of becoming isolated between the Conservatives of the past and the revolutionaries of the future, and as it neither could nor would make terms with the first, it drew nearer to the second. Never leaving these latter to themselves, but always at their head, it passed through the days of Aspromonte and Mentana; and, aided at last by the catastrophe of 1870, it arrived at Rome as victor of this dangerous race and before all its rivals.

From the date of that memorable occurrence the situation changed completely. The supreme object once accomplished, the tension quickly relaxed; the great men and deeds which great passions produce gave place to more ordinary persons and events, and the strain of life returned to its natural course. Now that the dream of centuries—the independence of the fatherland—had been realised, the cause which had called the national party into existence and had kept the peace between its various elements disappeared. Nor were there any other principles or programme which could still hold the party together with the bond of a common idea. The several particles, therefore, tended necessarily to go each its own way, and to form new combinations more in harmony with the new conditions of a State which was now entering upon an ordered life. For a few years, however, the force of the original impulse was sufficient to keep the party in the same form as that in which it had reached Rome, and these years it devoted to the glorious task of paying back the debt which the conquest of her own freedom had laid upon Italy. This debt amounted in round numbers to 8,914,965,000 lire; and as there had not been time to develop the resources of the country, the balance was swollen by an enormous interest which the revenue did not cover.

Burdened by the expenses of organization and by the huge interest, the budget of the new kingdom for a succession of years showed a deficit, which at the most disastrous times, as in 1862, amounted to five hundred million lire. Even as early as the year 1865 the Minister, Sella, had faced this question courageously, and about ten

years later the Minister, Minghetti, was able to announce that the work was completed, and a proper balance was restored at the very moment when the Right went out of power.

We have said that the great national party was made up of two groups, improperly called parties—the Right and the Left. Of these two, the one which felt most keenly the change of circumstances was the Right. Eminently revolutionary when in open conflict with the Church, it was impossible for it to fulfil the duties suited to its name in a normal state of things. This was not the case as regards the Left. If this also, as a national party, had no longer any object to attain, it had at least, by reason of the elements which composed it, an aim inborn and imperishable—that, namely, of constant revolution (*rivoluzione in permanenza*). This field is inexhaustible. Commencing with the application of radical ideas to the existing system, and even evolving continual changes of government, the revolutionary mind recognises no resting-place on its road. It only stops at anarchy, in order to spring back with a bound and recommence its work, to the exhaustion of all the resources of the nation. The revolutionary elements in the Italian Left formed the first nucleus, round which gathered all the discontented and all the opportunists who derived their force and colour from the founders of the party. This was the reason why the dismemberment of the national party actually began with the fall of the Right in the sitting of the 18th of March, 1876.

At this other critical point in the Italian revolution it may be well to pause and consider what had already been accomplished. The seven States into which Italy had in the past been parcelled out had disappeared; Austria had retired across the frontiers; the French had evacuated the Eternal City; and the temporal power of the Pope had fallen. The different fragments had come together to form one kingdom under a Constitutional Government; this government had even already lasted fifteen years, and although surrounded by dangers and difficulties of every kind, external as well as internal, had guided the ship of state through a terrible storm into a safe port. In this most brief space of time all the complicated machinery of a state had been set up; the army had been organized and the fleet built; the civil code reformed; the taxes set in order; the magistracy appointed; all the provincial and communal administrations reorganized; the network of railways and the telegraphic service of the kingdom developed; two great wars had been carried through; brigandage had been stamped out, and the public security in the kingdom had been re-established. And all this had been accomplished without wrongfully shedding the blood of a fellow-citizen, and while performing scrupulously all engagements which had been undertaken—that is to say, while paying to the last farthing, an

unexampled feat, the whole cost of this radical and far-reaching revolution.

There was, however, a dark side to the picture. We have noticed how the Right, or so-called moderate party, had made it a rule never to part company with the Left, herewith including even the most advanced of the revolutionary groups. This policy continued up to the last moment, but at the cost of an endless series of concessions to the extremists. Whenever the germ of an idea showed itself on that side, before even it had had time to take root, the Right adopted it, and thus seizing upon the banners of the Radical revolution, converted them into trophies for itself. In this way the Right, sometimes by substituting itself for the adverse party, and often by fructifying the ideas of its adversaries by the prestige of its own authority, left to Italy a legislation fraught with danger, both in its external relations and in its internal consequences. By so making itself the unwilling instrument of the instincts innate in the cosmopolitan revolutionary party it did not confine itself, as it would naturally have done, to its proper task of struggling vigorously against the policy of the Vatican, but it gave to all its organic and administrative laws an anti-religious tinge, which had two effects equally pernicious. It long excluded from the service of their country a large number of citizens whose consciences were grievously wounded by those laws; secondly, it destroyed a valuable instrument for the moral development of the masses, and thus exposed them to some of the least happy influences of modern civilisation.

Similar objections may be made to their financial policy, which laid heavy burdens on property, industry, and commerce at the behest of democratical idealists. It is not denied that the larger part of the heavy taxation under which these different branches of public wealth groan was originally due to the requirements of the budget, and grew out of the laudable desire to fulfil the engagements entered into during the struggle for unity and independence. But since those first necessities were met the taxes have been applied to satisfying the new and ever-recurring wants of a system of government no less centralised than democratic. Under the high pressure of these requirements—so much the heavier because in Italy the whole work of civilisation had to be undertaken—property was and still is weighed down by a multiplicity of taxes which amount in no small portion of the kingdom to 40 per cent. of the income.

The incidence of taxation, depending upon the different "cadastres" of the various States into which Italy aforetime was divided, makes the proportion different in different provinces (and this also is an evil for which no remedy has yet been found), but even the most favoured districts—the exceptions are indeed rare—have been too heavily burdened.

Another grave result of the systematic indulgence exercised by the Right towards its political adversaries may be noticed in that branch of the executive which is charged with the public security. The condition preliminary to any alliance between the Right and the Left was necessarily that the latter should not be disturbed in its free development. Through this concession the Right has constantly found itself in difficulties, by which the party desirous of change has always profited in much greater degree than the party of conservation.

Nor has this been a benefit to public morality. Even in the midst of the gravest disorders, such as those which have at different times disturbed Sicily and the Romagna, rigorous justice was not done on the most guilty, who, although covered with blood, were called merry fellows (*I buontemponi*), and this weakness arose from the wish not to displease the Left. The result of these compromises was a general leniency in the administration of justice, which found its reward in a gradual increase of the crimes day by day committed.

These are shadows upon the fair picture which otherwise Italy in her renewed life presents; but no large part of them can be laid to the charge of the members of the Right, who have been almost to a man worthy of admiration for their patriotism and their self-abnegation; they really result from the situation itself. They were there, however, when the task fell to the Left of preserving and completing the picture. Since that party came into power on the 18th of March, 1876, it has been recruited by a number of elements, heterogeneous and ill-matched, and which have generally been admitted under a doubtful political designation; deserters from the Right, ecclesiastics (*clericali*) who, in the infinite expedients at the command of this Proteus-like party, have found means of reconciling the irreconcilable, business men who adore the rising sun, and men systematically ambitious who thought that to be the most direct way to power or to an office; together with a few monarchists grown old in habitual opposition; but the nucleus, having the greatest moral force, although of a surety in numbers the weakest, the mind, or rather the heart, by means of which all the other members have up to the present moment existed, was the most radical group, which tolerates monarchical ideas only when represented by its adherents, but never pardons them in its opponents. Such, in short, were the component parts of the party which triumphed on that famous 18th of March, and which for seven years has been arbiter of the destinies of Italy. We shall now consider how the party has borne itself, and examine the results of its activity in their external as in their internal relations; finally, we shall note the changes which since the last election seem to show themselves in the party itself.

When the call to arms sounded, the population of Italy could be

divided, as we have seen, into slaves and rebels, by which terms we merely wish to indicate that the qualities necessary for freedom and self-government were then altogether absent. On the one hand, men educated and accustomed to submit to absolute authority, as well in family as in religious matters, were naturally diffident and incapable of unfettered action; on the other hand were men who understood liberty to mean the attainment of their own ends, and the satisfaction of passions exasperated by much injustice and long oppression. The first class did not desire even the most moderate amount of freedom for any one; the second demanded that it should be unlimited, and for themselves alone.

Accordingly those two habits of thought still stand in mutual opposition, and as soon as the national party, which by the attraction of a most noble aim had animated the one class and moderated the other, disappeared from the political stage, the former fell back into diffidence and inaction, while the latter once more gave free rein to their aggressive and warlike instincts. It followed that, as the Conservative elements withdrew from political life, their more active opponents remained masters of the situation and obtained the sole direction of public affairs. This explains not only the enormous majorities of the Left from 1876 onwards, but also the increase within this party of the numbers of the Radical group.

What was lacking therefore in the last Italian Chamber was the Conservative element; for while the Left extended to and comprehended the most advanced Radicals, the Right had no such corresponding wing, but, with the exception of a few men of the *ancien régime*, no longer representative of the real Conservative feelings of the country, stopped at what may be called the centre. Commencing on the extreme left of the late Parliament, one met first of all a small group of Republicans, and then a larger group of Radicals, and although these two did not make the same professions, they yet acted according to the same instincts in respect of the present state of things. Next to these came a group of Monarchists who belonged to the old opposition which dates from the time of Cavour, and who have no other *raison d'être* than that of having been. Adjoining these was the long file of deputies who sit on the left only because they were elected under the banner of that party. This group presented a curious aspect, for it contained noblemen of ancient lineage, rich tradesmen, employés or clients of the governments of the past, and all such augurs who are able to meet without laughing. The gap between the collection and this centre was filled by men who either by calculation or by nature professed no fixed opinions. Lastly, the Chamber was completed by the middle circle, the centre, men of the old days and of the new, together with some survivors of the former Right. All these taken together are nearly as strong as the opposition of the Left.

The existing Chamber, such as it was formed by the elections of 1882, differs but little from that which, following the crisis of the 18th of March, resulted from the elections of 1876. The only noteworthy difference consists in the increase of the numbers of the Radical party, an increase due to the recent electoral law by which a vote is given to the lowest classes of society. Whatever opinions may be professed as to the utility and value of a widely-extended suffrage, there can be no doubt that its adoption in Italy has been a mistake. Briefly speaking, the effect of the electoral law of 1882 is to give a vote to every man who can prove that he knows how to write. This at once increases the number of electors from 617,000 (the number under the old law) to 2,050,000. All classes of voters, under whatever title they claim the suffrage, such as civil servants, holders of administrative posts, soldiers who have completed their term of service, and those who are admitted by any special qualification, have also received a large accession of numbers, but the one sweeping clause which comprehends them all is that which we have mentioned.

Now the real spirit of this reform would have been adhered to were the suffrage accorded to all those who had satisfied the requirements of the law which makes education compulsory. Compulsory education does not in truth insure much more than a knowledge of reading and writing; but had the law remained even within these limits, one benefit at least would have resulted, in that the number of electors would have increased gradually and in proportion as the country became accustomed to political life. Not content, however, with this, another clause, since become famous in Italy, was added, Clause 100, which confers the suffrage upon all citizens who are able to write their own request before a public notary. By this clause alone 761,000 new electors were created; that is, between a third and a fourth part of the whole electoral body. Now in Italy, for reasons already given, the classes from which these electors are taken have not only no idea of the necessities of the compromises of political life, but also being habituated to a passive existence, one too which is seldom prosperous, they have no clear and practical conception of their own interests. Of this mass passivity unlimited and rebellion uncontrolled are the two poles; and the danger to society of the meeting of these two currents is evident. Besides this original fault, the method according to which the so-called qualification is determined is equally objectionable. Under the test of school-attendance, the certificate of capacity comes from the authorities, but under this clause there is no judge. The notary is merely a witness; he receives from the candidate for his services the sum of sixpence (fifty centesimi); and the nickname of "sixpenny electors" already given to this class of voters proves the value of this qualification in the eyes of the people. As a class, they generally manifest complete

indifference to their privilege; those only go to the polling-booth who have been told to go, the others stay at home. The consequence is that any agitator can by means of a lira or two throw a number of electors, varying in exact proportion to his expenditure, into the political balance. It is the application to elections of the system formerly prevailing with the band of mercenaries called "free companies." One last reflection, but not the least interesting, is that a large class is excluded from being enrolled even among these mercenaries, viz. the country people, who are generally Conservatives, and who frequently enough do not know how to write, and if they do, find still greater difficulty in proving it. These enlisting-booths, however, are always opened with great success among the lowest and most turbulent classes in the large cities. Fortunately this clause remains in force for only two years; but it must be remembered that those who have once been allowed to vote remain electors during their whole lifetime. After the two years have elapsed the right to vote will only be accorded to those who have fulfilled the obligations required by the system of compulsory education. But it is easy to see how for the present the Radicals have been able to reap a large harvest.

This, however, is not the only evil consequence of the new electoral law. The extension of the suffrage has so increased the authority of the elective Chamber that the latter has acquired a preponderance of power out of all proportion to its place in a constitutional monarchy. As soon as the Left seized upon the helm of State this tendency of the elective Chamber to extend its influence became marked. It may, indeed, be said that in Italy this Chamber governs; it considers every question to be within its jurisdiction; it discusses everything, and by means of the system of interpellation and the voting to which this system gives occasion, nothing is secure from its interference. If one considers, further, the influence which the deputies exert outside Parliament on every branch of the public administration—a thing which has become so customary in Italy that the importance of a deputy is determined rather by his power outside Parliament than by the influence he possesses in the House itself—it is impossible to deny that the power of the elective Chamber is not in fair relation to the place designed for it in the constitution. The Chamber with life-occupancy, the Senate, consists of nominees of the King, and so is a compromise between the hereditary Chamber of the old monarchies and the elective Senate of constitutional republics. The reason why this right of nominating the senators was given to the King evidently was that the hereditary throne, being above parties, might be able, in the first Chamber of the State, to maintain the necessary equilibrium and just distribution of power. But in reality the absolute responsi-

bility of the Government in an omnipotent elective Chamber has transferred the power of nomination from the King to the Government—that is, to the majority of the Chamber—and the number of senators not being limited by law, the Government can, and does, nominate at will as many as may be sufficient to give it a majority in that body.

That this omnipotence of the elective Chamber should lead to weakness in the Government is inevitable, because the latter cannot defend itself against the changes which the successive majorities bring about—majorities, too, which form themselves on any and every subject within the majority itself. For, as we explained above, the men who are comprehended under the generic and vague title of the Left are really united neither in their interests nor in their origin; a selfish desire in each man for the realisation of his particular ends is, with most of them, the only reason for sitting with that party. The Republicans join it in order to prepare the way for their republic, the Radicals desire only to forward their schemes of social reform; this one has a plan by the adoption of which his district must benefit, that one has simply a weak longing for power. All these men are ever in motion; they form small groups, which again they leave, in order to make new alliances, as their insight suggests or their interests require. Under these conditions the Ministerial majority only maintains its position by satisfying, turn by turn, the greatest possible number of these groups. And as these combinations are continually fluctuating, so, turn by turn, all receive concessions, at the cost of the unity and solidity of the Administration. It is by means of these incessant manœuvres that Radicalism, in spite of the dominant opinion of the country, has gained so much ground.

In this state of things, a government cannot be strong; and in the last six years its weakness has shown itself most clearly in home as in foreign affairs. At home it appeared in the abolition (as yet inopportune) of the tax levied upon the grinding of corn, while nothing was done to reform the rest of the fiscal system which cripples the industrial power of the country; it again made itself felt in an excessive expenditure upon railways, in the construction of public works, to the amount of a milliard, in order to satisfy different districts; in the increasing relaxation of the administration of justice, in the tolerance of all anti-monarchical aspirations, and finally in the adoption of the electoral law, which, although placed before the Chamber in a much more modest form, was yet accepted by the Government with the clauses whose effect we have described. Similarly in external affairs, all those unhappy attempts at foreign policy which Europe has attributed to the country, but with which the country has had nothing to do, are due to the weakness of the

Government. Each experiment was the work of a group, often a small one, which by reason of a certain combination of members, acquired a temporary importance; and the attempts themselves have been as different and as opposed one to the other as the ideas and the interests of the groups who set them on foot. The weaker a government, the more vehement grow the demands made upon it, and any one acquainted with the inner history of Italy's foreign policy during the last few years will recognise how often the smallest sparks have produced the greatest flames.

That this falling away from our former high position and reputation has occurred in the brief period which has elapsed since the dissolution of the national party is beyond denial. A further proof, however, may be given in a comparison of the financial condition of the country at that date and at the present time. At the fall of the moderate ministry the Italian public debt amounted to 8,455 million lire; it now stands at 9,846 millions. By the natural operation of the sinking fund, the former total would have fallen by the present time to 8,502 millions; it follows therefore that the real increase of the public debt in these seven years amounts to 1,734 million lire, or an average growth of about 250 millions a year. Meanwhile taxation, without having been lightened by the abolition of the grist-tax, has, in view of the benefit to accrue from that abolition and under various pretexts, been largely augmented. Thus, the impost upon sugar, alcohol, coffee, and petroleum, by means of certain changes in the register and in the tariff, now brings in about 63 millions more than it did formerly.

If this, then, is the result of government by the party of the Left, it is no wonder that a certain vague dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs is beginning to show itself among the people, and threatens to take the place of the unlimited confidence of the days of Cavour and of the undefined hopes shown during the honeymoon of the Left. At home, they see that the condition of morality, of public security, and of the administration of justice has deteriorated; while they perceive that in foreign politics the glory of our former international successes has been dimmed by a series of failures, fairly enough deserved, of desires which have led to nothing, of reproaches directed against us which have wounded the patriotic feeling of the country while exciting apprehension as to the ultimate results of a foreign policy systematically badly directed.

This widely-spread feeling of uneasiness, although instinctive rather than defined, has influenced the elections of 1882, and has neutralised as regards this first experiment the effects of the extension of the suffrage. Not that this influence has been felt so much in the official distribution of parties or in the choice of members; it appears rather in the different position the deputies now hold, and jus

in the totally different mandate they received in 1882 from that given to them in 1876. This was seen in the programme which the Prime Minister, Signor Depretis, unfolded in a speech made, prior to the elections, to his own constituency of Stradella. Although in 1876 he proclaimed a series of reforms, all conceived in a radical spirit, in 1882 he ventured to set absolute limits to this voyage of discovery; and that the Prime Minister was not mistaken in calling for a halt upon the downward path of radical change was proved by the elections, which resulted in an immense Ministerial majority. The feeling of discontentment, which had during the rule of the Right been limited to dislike of the heavy but necessary taxation, had become greatly confirmed and intensified during the seven years of government by the Left, and the strength of this feeling in 1882 is now a proof that the country desires, in a truly constitutional way, to return to its former rate of progression. For reasons, however, above indicated, this return cannot take place under the Conservatives; and accordingly the nation must in returning make use of the same force which guided its outgoing.

It is probable that the small success in these same elections of the old Right has helped to produce this change of front in the Chamber. As long as this party had any real power a ministry with progressive tendencies was forced to seek for its majority in the Left of the Chamber, and could not afford to slight even the most advanced groups. Since the proof afforded by the last elections the Right, or rather the eminent men of the old Right, impelled partly by the conviction of the impossibility of fighting any longer upon the old lines, and partly by the universal feeling of apprehension as to the results of the hazardous policy of the past seven years, have laid down their arms as a party, in order still to be able as individuals to defend the ideas in which they believe. Their resolve has freed the Ministry from the yoke of the extreme Radicals by enabling them to rely more upon the votes of the moderate members of the Right.

Thus, conscious of the feeling of the country, strengthened by the result of the elections, and supported by the eminent men of all parties, the Ministry has initiated the new legislation by the vote upon the political oath; that is, by a solemn determination to uphold the existing institutions, whose utility has been of late questioned on every occasion. So, too, in its foreign policy the Ministry has seemed to show greater firmness by its conduct as regards these Radical aggressions which tend to render the country responsible for a series of offences directed, turn by turn, against every nation in Europe. *A quelque chose malheur est bon*; a long series of mistakes, of good opportunities wasted, of dangers provoked at home and abroad, has led the young nation to this stopping-place. But the question arises whether one can be confident that from this

point of departure the progress will be upwards towards a stable and prosperous condition of affairs, and not again downwards on the slope already proved dangerous. The task of a prophet is difficult, but not altogether impossible; it is in every way agreeable when one can fulfil the duty of a soothsayer by prophesying a happy future.

The symptoms which seem to herald a return to a more normal and stable condition of things are due, it is true, to circumstances which are by their very nature temporary. As nothing really new has taken place in the internal political situation, one might seem compelled to believe that the same causes would sooner or later again produce the same results. If, however, the two causes already indicated of the abnormal state of things which has lasted in Italy ever since the acute period of her revolution are certain to disappear, in this case, even though the waiting may be long, there is room for hope. Now they can be defined as being, first, the abstention, and consequently the absence, of nearly all Conservatives from public life; and, secondly, certain attitudes of mind peculiar to despotisms and little adapted to a state of freedom. These attitudes of mind (the one all too rebellious, the other all too tame) still show themselves in the Italian people in spite of the incontestable progress which they have already made. And, as we have said, the two causes concurred to make the revolutionary party master of the situation.

The first of these two causes being, as it is, mixed up with a religious question, will be the more difficult to remove, and more time must elapse before it completely disappears. Notwithstanding, however, the obstinate resistance of the Church, the force of circumstances and their own self-interest must at length compel the Catholics to come out of their tent, were it only to fight *pro aris et focis*. They have already, as a party, taken part in the communal elections, and not a few of them too have already under this or that pretext re-entered the public life of their country, frequently by going into the army, sometimes by entering Parliament. The number of such men is increasing from year to year, especially among the younger generation. In this way the individuals are becoming numerous enough to form a party, and one which by reason of the common feelings and common interests which keep it united, exercises an appreciable influence not only upon the Government but also upon the Church. As regards the attitudes of mind above noticed, they also must modify themselves according to the interests and practical necessities of public and private life. They will, therefore, in time follow in the footsteps of the causes which produced them. In a free country which has no other legal base than that furnished by a numerical majority, where, too, radicalism is ever encroaching, all

men who feel themselves threatened will be compelled in self-defence to spring upon the chariot which is about to crush them. This is the one advantage of the Car of State in a free country, an advantage which weighs against many reproaches, viz. that it is open to receive all alike. It is, therefore, only a question of time; the period may be long and may bring with it difficult and dangerous vicissitudes; but in time these two causes of the abnormal state of things in Italy must of a surety disappear. As soon as this constitutional process completes itself, the natural character of Italians—that is to say, a character both conservative and prudent, little disposed to run risks or to be led away by seducing prospects, a character simple, sober, and temperate, must resume its natural place in the guidance of the country.

It may well be that Italy will not appear at the head of the contemporary social movement, but neither is it probable that she will retard its advent. The question turns upon the possibility, or rather upon the greater or less difficulty, of guiding this newly-built ship of State through the tempests, uncertainties, and dangers of this transition period, which must be devoted to internal consolidation. The whole art, therefore, which is needed in Italian statesmen may be said to consist in keeping on the beaten track and skilfully avoiding all shocks, whether internal or external, until the constitutional equilibrium is once more established in the domestic political life of Italy. Time must be given in order that all the elements in the country may settle into their respective places, and in order that all real forces may come to operate normally. Among these, the economic forces are not the least important; they have been absorbed of late years by the necessity of balancing the budget of the State, and in supplementing the deficits in the provincial and communal accounts. They must now be strengthened by a better incidence of taxation, and by diminishing those imposts which are draining the very sources of production, so that the industries of the country may be restored to such a state of health as is now enjoyed by the public finances.

The chief obstacle which may hinder the execution of this programme is the possible action of the Radical party. The Radicals have, according to the opinion of an eminent Italian statesman expressed in a speech to the electors, two dangerous weapons in their hands which may be used against the safety of the State: in foreign politics they have the Irredentist agitation; in home affairs the Papal guarantees. With the former, while exciting the patriotic feeling of Italy, they provoke the resentment of both Austria and Germany. In declaring war upon the second, while they humour the anti-religious feeling of all the liberal groups, they set in alarm and separate from Italy all conservative elements at home and abroad. In proportion as the Radicals feel themselves removed from

the direction of affairs, just so much the more averse to the existing order of things will they declare themselves, and so much the greater exertions will they make in order to overturn it. The common experience of all European States goes to prove that the absence of scruple is at once the characteristic trait of the extreme parties and the bond which unites them all against the existing system. This is the gravest difficulty which stands in the way of the reorganization of Italian policy. As regards the institution of a better industrial régime, the chief difficulty consists in the demands of a great number of deputies who sit in the Chamber rather as representatives of the needs and hopes of their constituents than as public men and members of a party. The elections, therefore, of these men may be said to be generally paid for out of the revenues of the State.

The terms of the problem being so stated, what is the probability of arriving at its solution? Taking the Chamber as the last election formed it, it is now composed as follows:—About 100 of the whole 514 deputies belonged to the old Right and now represent this party. About 300 constitute the ministerial Left, which, as regards the actual formation of the Chamber, only belongs to this party by name; by this we mean that between it and the Right there is no real difference of programme. A few more than 100 belong to the opposition of the extreme Left, of whom about 30 are known to profess Republican principles. We have already seen that the old Right is almost unanimously disposed to abdicate as a party at least for a time, and this on conditions which cannot be repugnant to a large part of the ministerial Left. If, therefore, the programme, and above all the conduct of the Government, is not such as to run counter to the deepest convictions of the patriots which compose the Right, they on their side will not put too much store by mere matters of conservative sentiment, and so the Government can count upon the large majority of the votes of the Right on the most important questions. This reasonable calculation (having been besides already justified by the first divisions in the Chamber) would give a nominal majority in favour of the Government of 400 out of 514. With this majority the Government could completely dispense with the help of the Radicals.

But there remains a second question in regard to this subject of more immediate interest and of greater practical importance than the other. The Ministry, as it is now composed, is as yet the same as that which held the reins in the last legislature, and accordingly still numbers among its members the representatives of the Radical party who, by means of the intestinal disputes of the progressive party and the successive changes it has undergone, have entered the Cabinet, and still sit there as pledges and guarantees for its Radicalism. The friends of these ministers sit among the 100 of the

extreme Left, and not among the 400. And, in fact, in the most important division which was taken on the Oaths Bill—that is to say, as to the conservation or abolition of the Parliamentary oath—the Right and the Ministerial majority went into the same lobby, while the Republicans of the Left formed an Opposition, which numbered 26. The 400 upon whom, as was said, the Ministry can count belong to the Right and to the progressive party—that is, to the majority of the Ministry, and more especially to that of Signor Depretis; but save on some altogether exceptional question, such as that of the oath, these two parties, viz. that of the 400, and that of the extreme Left, numbering 100, are irreconcilable. For every vote which the Ministry could gain on the side of the 100, it would lose two on the side of the 400, or would more probably lose all the votes of the Right, who would be compelled to return to the Opposition. Although, therefore, Signor Depretis disposes of so large a majority, yet, in order to be able to govern as he likes and for any length of time, he will be forced to make a choice. If he separates from the Radicals, he must sooner or later re-form his Cabinet. Only at this cost can he count upon the support of the more moderate part of the Chamber.

The Radicals, on the other hand, already alarmed at the turn of public opinion, have had their fears confirmed by the unfavourable results of the by-elections which have taken place since the general election. They now fear to see themselves oppressed by the majority, and, wishing to remain in power, signify their intention to abate something from their pretensions in order not to lose the places which they hold in the Cabinet. This manœuvre tends to prolong the equivocal position which has lasted up to the present moment, and to preserve the ties between the Ministry and the Radical group in the Chamber. Will the Prime Minister, who is the arbiter of the situation, allow himself to be ruled by his past, by his character, which has shown itself pliable even to the large oscillations which have taken place in these last years in the uncertainty both of the measures and of the ideas of the Ministry, by the bonds of gratitude towards all those advanced groups which placed him at the head of affairs and maintained him in that position; or will he, comprehending the interests and the real and true opinion of the country, break with his past, and, uniting all the governing elements which the Chamber offers, undertake to form a government, if not Conservative, at least capable of being conserved?

We have indicated the favourable conditions in which the Government, or rather say Signor Depretis finds himself at this moment. He disposes of a majority, both large and independent, upon the support of which he can count in all questions of importance, and

thus he has no longer any need to pay court to the groups of the extreme Left. Given these hypotheses, which are based upon the actual conditions of the present elective Chamber, although we can neither hope for a normally strong government, nor are we secure from the surprises arising from the divisions which continually spring up within the majority itself; yet, without doubt, there is reason to hope that we may see a limit put to the progress of Radicalism in Italy, which, whatever may be said of it elsewhere, would in a short time bring the nation to civil war, or involve it in a foreign conflict, the result of which would of necessity be doubtful, as no one could foretell the conditions under which it would be made.

There is, however, no doubt that a man, or rather that some men, could manage to form a government from the groups of the Right, of the ministerial party, and of the Centre, without having anything to do with the extremists; and to do this requires neither the genius nor the heroism needed to found the kingdom of Italy; the leaders must simply be men of intelligence and of character, and all they have to do is to gain time, improve the morale of the administration, lighten the burdens which now crush public prosperity, diminish all friction, and so facilitate the development of a healthy political life. The prophet, to be successful, must know one secret—he must not be too precise in the terms of his prediction. It may nevertheless be asserted that such a régime would very quickly re-establish in home affairs the moral and political equilibrium which has been disturbed throughout a long period by successive storms. The new conditions so produced would in their turn make new plans necessary. Further, this régime would clear the way for an immediate treatment of all questions of foreign policy, which often press for a prompt decision. Whether or not circumstances grant time for discussion, matters but little, since in no case does it lie with the nation to choose its own time. Since history came into existence Italy has played a part in all the great events which it records. It seems to be fated to feel the effects of all historical events more keenly than any other nation. External questions have always been of real importance to the country, as much by reason of its geographical position as of its historical antecedents. Italians must not lose sight of this fact. In Europe to-day many and various questions await an answer; but the great question which since 1846 has agitated Europe, viz. that of nationality, so far as Italy is concerned, has been already decided and set at rest for ever.

But the question which to-day takes the place formerly filled by that of nationality, and which therefore, like the former, will for a certain period decide all alliances, declare all wars, and be the cause of all the phenomena of international political life, is the social

question, using the term in its widest significance. In Europe there is on the one hand an old monarchical world, which is, however, continually modifying and assimilating itself to the modern civilisation, of which it has assumed the characteristics, used the intelligence, and vigorously favoured the development. But this old world has not rebelled against the ancient moral order, it still believes in the written morals of tradition and in the duties and rights prescribed by that code. Its manners of thought show themselves on the field of politics in faith in the monarchical principle, in obedience to the laws, in respect for treaties; indeed its whole political programme can be traced out in a long series of beliefs. On the other side stand men who would make an *auto-da-fé* of all the past, who would rebuild the social structure *ab imis fundamentis*, willingly doing without the monarchy, and who recognise no other limits or laws than that which they call the popular will; which expression must be used because they differ widely among themselves as to the best method of consulting this tribunal. In all great European questions these two powerful tendencies are found facing each other, and the European States, in spite of the differences and interests which may for a time modify their sympathies and their alliances, are beginning to group themselves accordingly as they favour the one or other of these two systems.

Italy can either choose, by leaning on the most ancient throne in Europe and by holding fast to its natural alliances, to found its position in the world upon order and discipline in a stable and definite manner; or, by abandoning itself to the revolutionary parties, to run the risks of social and political experiments. Its choice will have an immediate and direct influence upon its fate, and therefore the men who direct it at this critical moment must bear all the responsibility of their actions. The country has still a great mission to accomplish—that, namely, of keeping alive in Europe the faith in and the prestige of the ideas which it represents. If it should possibly fail in this mission, Italy must fall from the favoured position which its successful re-birth won for it in the opinion of all the Liberals in Europe, and must go to swell the number of failures ascribed to the régime of liberty on the Continent.

THE MARQUIS F. NOBILE VITELLESCHI,
Member of the Italian Senate.

JOHN RICHARD GREEN.

As we turn in the eager press of our modern life to take leave of the friend who has borne on the torch to the farthest limit of his strength, there is granted a moment in which our thoughts may dwell upon the course he has run, the distance he has traversed, the difficulties through which he has urged his way, the failing strength upheld by force of will unto the end. John Richard Green was more than the student and the writer of books of whom the world knew, more than the affectionate and winning companion who drew the hearts of his friends so closely to him, much more than the witty and brilliant talker. Indeed, the bright recklessness of his lighter writing and his lighter talk were the mere reaction of a mind weighted at all solitary and serious moments with an abiding sense of responsibility, of duty, and of human sympathy. As an East-end clergyman, as an ardent social and political reformer, he had bravely borne his share of many of the burdens of this age of stress and transition until his health broke down and forced him to husband the energies of a maimed life for his History.

It requires an effort of the imagination to realise how vast are the changes that have swept over the generation now middle-aged. The new conditions of labour force upon us problems which have tried none so heavily as those who, like John Richard Green, have devoted themselves, whilst strength for the unequal task remained, to minister to the working classes of a great city. Scores of the brilliant men of college days have disappeared from the race. Others have been protected either by their egotism, or their dulness, or their deliberate limitation of their interest in the problems around them, or by the gigantic nervous power which in some cases has been developed in the struggle. Green had not the former safeguards, and, though much, too little of the last. It was beyond the power of his keen and sympathetic nature to protect himself by indifference. Every matter with which he came into contact interested him to the full. It was this wide and liberal interest that gave him his grasp and his insight as an historian, and after many experiments it proved that only in the all-embracing interests of history his varied powers could find adequate expression.

"I had great dreams for awhile of ambition," he writes, "and then Andrew Clark met me in the street and told me I might die in six months! And now that life has come back again, it has come in such a way that all thought of *active* life is over. I must be a student so long as I live, and nothing more—and all that capacity for active life which I feel, for influencing men by speech, by will, by personal impulse, must remain idle. It is the failure of a whole

side of one's nature. But I feel none of the old bitterness now. Work is left to me, and noble and good work, and I want simply to try and do a little work before I go to I know not what. One gets at last to value the small work of every day—the work of making things a little more right, a little more true than they were, of removing some small falsehood that stopped the way, in bringing out some little nobleness in men or things that the world had missed."

"I find it a little hard to face the truth," he writes to another friend from Capri, "that I must resign myself, if I live, to the life of an invalid, the μετρίως ζῆν that is so out of harmony with my natural temper. I don't grumble, for after all such a life is no obstacle to quiet writing, and may perhaps lead one to a truer end of life than one had planned. But sometimes there comes on me a rebellion against the quiet of the student life, a rush of energy and longing to battle, and then it is hard to beat one's wings against the cage the fates have made for me."

In College days he was deeply moved by the theological questions of which Oxford was the centre. He was born there, and all the famous figures of the High Church party, Pusey, Newman, and the rest, had been familiar names and familiar figures to him throughout his youth. He had listened to the charm of their eloquence, he was touched by the new grace with which they invested religion, he bent by nature to the historical arguments which they urged for their mediæval revival. It was not long before he carried their historical researches farther. He became a great student of the heresies, and formed conclusions of his own as to the solidity of the Puseyite foundations. Amongst the buildings and the associations of Oxford he revelled. From boyhood he spent his holidays in noting the details of the architecture and the monuments of every church within his reach. He plunged into the old Chronicles, and into the College records. He collected from an old inhabitant memories which even then lingered of Dr. Johnson and the sages of his time, and caught the idea of the papers on "Oxford in the eighteenth century," which he contributed as an undergraduate to the *Oxford Chronicle*. In the Schools he did nothing, but by accepting academic failure he laid the foundations of his historical knowledge. To him "a turn down the High," as he said in a youthful paper, was "a tour through English history." To his mind each spot of ground and each building came to convey the complete sum of its historical associations. He returned to the subject later in various detached articles and in his History, and but the other day, as he lay ill, he conceived and developed the plan of an "Oxford Historical Society," the object of which was to "collect materials of every sort for a picture of Oxford University *and Town*" (the italics are his own in the draft given to the present writer), "at every age from 700 to 1800." Meanwhile, even as an undergraduate he came to know the ins and outs of the Welsh foundation to which he belonged as no one else did. Shortly after his degree, he contributed, in 1862, to a College magazine, *The Druid*, an article upon Vaughan,

the Welsh poet of Stuart times, which leads off with a learned and facile account of the rise of Jesus College. How "by its very name it took its stand as the first Protestant College of the University," who built this part, and who that, whence the money came, what said the University wits of the day—as sardonic doubtless as to the young foundation as modern Oxonians are as to Keble—and then off at a tangent into a general sketch of the discipline of the University under Charles I. and the "fussy energy of the Chancellor Laud." All this was the fruit of his own study as an undergraduate, unaided but for one friend, Dean, then Canon, Stanley, who met the shy young student upon the common ground of history, and in whom he, for the first time, found sympathy and direction.

After taking his degree Green endeavoured to stir up the undergraduates whom he had left behind him to pursue the same interests. He urges them not to rest contented till they had discovered all about earlier Welsh foundations which existed in Oxford.

"As for the College itself, its greatest want is the want of traditions, of a chain of great names ennobling its localities, and linking its past with its present. Let each member do a little towards supplying this void. Then again, each part of the College might be made interesting by a little research, the chapel with its epitaphs, the hall with its portraits, above all the library with its books and manuscripts—each has its little history to tell. There is a history even of the very site of the College, the ground on which it stands and the streets which run round it."

"In my time," continues the young B.A. to those whom he had left behind him, "there was not a single Jesus undergraduate who knew anything of his country's history. Yet no chapters in history are more curious, few more ennobling. What a field, too, does the religious history of the Principality present—its early Christianity, tangled in a jungle of myths; its old heathen superstitions, coexisting with and partly dying into the mediæval saint-cults; how Reformed Church passed it by, how the Methodists found it and did God's work among its masses. . . . . Every vacation Jesus throws the meshes of a great net over every nook and cranny of Wales; every term gathers it up again. Why should not the net bring back something with it for your magazine —old legends, old customs, old words? . . . . What in past times has the College done—what does it do now, for Wales? . . . . As a mere feeder to the Episcopal Church in Wales, how does it feed it? Does it raise its tone, does it contribute learning or devotion in any special degree, does it introduce the breadth and tolerance of which Welsh religionism, from the very nature of its excellences, stands so greatly in need? . . . . Are its schools, is it in itself, models of Welsh education? What does it do for Welsh literature, Welsh history, Welsh archæology, Welsh philology, Welsh patriotism, in its higher and nobler sense?"

Few subjects interested him so closely as education. "The most comforting thing I know," he writes in 1874, "is that Gladstone's 'Greenwich Manifesto' has made the University question a question for the Liberal party whether it likes it or no." He had a great belief in the educational value of history, and undertook his *Short History of the English People* primarily as a "Book for Boys," to correct and vivify the dull tradition of the accepted school text-books.

The brilliant papers, read before various societies during the few years after he left Oxford on Dunstan, London in the reign of Stephen, and other historical subjects, display him not only as a student whose own enthusiasm for his subjects was irresistible, but as an attractive lecturer. He had a free and persuasive gift of eloquence. For such a man, however, caring chiefly for real learning and real teaching, Oxford had no place; and Green went out into the world, only able for ten years to come to snatch his studies fitfully amidst the press of other work, and only able to touch with his stimulating influence the few younger friends whom their good fortune threw across his path. "He was," writes one who has since borne the fruit of his help, "really the first person who interested himself in my studies, and gave me real help and encouragement."

None, indeed, will remember him with a deeper affection and regret than a few young men and girls who, touched with some enthusiasm, yet perplexed how rightly to beat out the music of their lives, found in J. R. Green, not only the most charming of friends, but the most earnest and inspiriting of counsellors.

"One no sooner grasps the real bigness of the world's work," he writes to such an one, "than one's own effort seems puny and contemptible. Then again one comes across minds and tempers so infinitely grander and stronger than our own, that we shrink with a false humility from any seeming rivalry with them in noble working. And then again, in the very effort to do anything, however small, one is hampered by circumstances at every step, till we are inclined to throw up the fight in despair. It is just the souls that long to do the noblest work that feel most their own immeasurable inferiority to it. No people tumble about so despairingly in the Slough of Despond. Moses felt himself a man of stammering lips, Elijah sank under the juniper, Burns went silently and moodily about his farm-work, longing for the song that never came. But it came at last! The thing is—I think—to think less of ourselves and what we are to our work, and more of our work and what it is to us. The world moves along not merely by the gigantic shoves of its hero-workers, but by the aggregate tiny pushes of every honest worker whatever. All may give some tiny push or other, and feel that they are doing something for mankind. 'Circumstances' spur as much as they hinder us. It is in the struggle day by day with them that we gain muscle for the real life-fight. And the sense of the superiority of others is a joy to those who really work not for themselves, but for the good of man—what they cannot do, they rejoice that others can. *Respice finem*, the old monks used to say in their meditations on life. 'Consider the end.' And so it must be. To work well we must look to the end—not death—but the good of mankind; not 'self-improvement' in itself, but simply as a means to the improvement of the race. Don't think this is too big an end to look to, we must look greatly forward to be great. In the light of it one sees how the very patience of a thwarted day may be one's 'work' towards the end."

At other times the counsel would be on more commonplace subjects.

"Good English is like good sense, not got at in a day. Simplicity is half of it—I think—and in simplicity I am as far to seek as anybody (1870). But the true way to write well is to write constantly; ease of style can only come by habit, and grace of style can only come of ease. . . . . Grace of temper, beauty of tone, are of the essence of life as they are of the essence of style."

And such things were said even to those much younger than himself, not with any air of patronage, but as the counsels of a comrade. "Forgive this practical talk," he concludes, after mapping out a course of historical work for another friend, "from one who has had hard work to make himself practical, but who knows now how needful it is."

However, with all these gifts, Green found no place at Oxford, and had little to say to it for many years; yet he always looked back to it with much affection.

> "With all its faults of idleness and littleness," he writes from the Union, when an Examiner, "there is a charm about Oxford which tells on one, a certain freshness and independence (it has never given itself over to the Philistines, as Matthew Arnold says); besides a certain quality of life such as one doesn't get anywhere else. Perhaps its very blunders (and one meets a blunder at every step if one regards it as a great educational institution) save it at any rate from falling into mere commonplaces."

He applauds the Oxford spirit for its freedom from—

> "A Liberalism which is a mere matter of association and sentiment, and not of any consistent view of man in his relation to society. It is just as well too that there should be one place in the world where 'practical considerations' have less than their real value. In every other place they have far more than their value. I am afraid I am hobby-horsing about Oxford, but it is an odd world, and has a strange attraction for me."

To the last, however, Oxford dealt grudgingly with her brilliant son. His old College did, indeed, elect him an Honorary Fellow, and a Proctor with an opinion of his own nominated Green as an Examiner in Modern History. But for the rest it was not considered judicious to speak of the *Short History* without great reserve. The younger men, however, formed a very different opinion of the genius shown in the "little book," and as they grow older they have not receded from their opinion. It has, indeed, materially contributed to that new popularity of the study of history at Oxford which is gradually filling the benches of the Houses of Parliament, and reinforcing the lists of public writers, with young men whose politics are based, not on theory, but on consideration, and which, also, is freshening with the historic spirit the slack waters of the older academic studies. It used to be said that when men leaving Oxford wished to improve their minds, if they were rich they travelled, and if they were poor they read Green's *Short History*. Projects were at one time mooted of recalling Green to Oxford as a lecturer, but his health made this impossible. In the last year of his life a spontaneous desire sprang up to honour him with the only mark that he could then receive from the University—the honorary D.C.L.; but, though proposed by the proctors and supported by the history-tutors, there were potentates of the older generation who grudgingly denied

thus much of recognition to the talents of one about whom, fortunately, the world outside them had long since made up its mind.

We must revert, however, to the moment when Green left Oxford and plunged into a far different life in the world of London. He had at one time thought of going to the Bar, but in his last year at Oxford he had caught from the writings of F. D. Maurice a high and liberal conception of the sphere open to him as a minister of the Church of England in her mission of civilising and spiritualising the neglected masses. His tender and sympathetic nature was profoundly touched by the condition of the population of East London, by its squalor, its poverty, its ignorance, and its sinfulness. The Church of England seemed to him, as he constantly repeated,

"The avenue, and the one avenue, through which moral truth and moral enthusiasm can be diffused through the mass of the people;"

and a lofty conception of the work he might accomplish as a minister, side by side with the pursuit of history, impressed itself upon his spirit. Imbued with these ideas Mr. Green left Oxford behind him, and presented himself before his old friend Stanley, then examining chaplain to the Bishop Tait, as a candidate for ordination within the diocese of London. But eager as he was to plunge into the battle, at the very outset his keen exacting truthfulness in all matters of intellectual fact asserted itself, and he professed his inability to offer for examination certain subjects prescribed. In his affections, his humour, his style, his vivid imagination was supreme, and he revelled in its exercise. But let it come to a fact of history or the result of a process of thought, and at once you would find imagination held in fetters, and its place usurped by the coldest, the most precise, the most exacting conscientiousness. The immediate difficulty was easily removed, and in 1860 he was ordained to an East-end curacy. From beginning to end of his clerical life he never relinquished his set idea of Christianizing the masses. Dean Stanley, recognising his social charm and his oratorical power, destined his former pupil to a fashionable West-end cure. But he hailed the invitation of Bishop Tait to take, at five-and-twenty, the difficult charge of a desolate parish at Hoxton, from which the vicar was suspended, and where the whole parochial fabric had collapsed in a general disgrace in 1863. "If you are in trouble," said the Bishop to the young curate, "come back to me. If you succeed you will be doing me a great service. If you fail in so difficult a post I shall not be disappointed."

Stimulated by the Bishop's confidence, Green fell tooth and nail upon his work in 1863. The clergy were in such discredit that a shoemaker, from whom he ordered a pair of boots, would not send them home to the vicarage till he had seen his money. The whole neigh-

bourhood was against him. His church was in shameful disrepair. His congregation was non-existent. "In a few months, however," writes his successor, then the Rev. T. W. Fowle, "he had gathered a number of people round him who regarded him to the last with affection and admiration." The restoration of the church was taken in hand, and a congregation was gathered by the charm of "his beautifully sensitive voice," and by the ornate services which his love for music led him to establish wherever he went. Indeed he proved himself in all his different work in the East-end a most attractive preacher.

"I believe," he wrote at the close of his work, "'high thinking,' put into plain English, to be more likely to tell on a dockyard labourer, than all the 'simple Gospel sermons' in the world."

It was his experience that "appeal to their higher nature seldom remains unanswered. In the roughest costermonger there is a vein of real nobleness, often even of poetry, in which lies the whole chance of his rising to a better life."

He preached, with the deepest thoughtfulness and most serious utterance, upon the problems of the daily conduct, and morals, and aspirations of the men before him, reasoning chiefly of temperance and justice rather than of judgment to come.

"I preached on the sins of electors," he writes, "apathy, immorality, selfishness, party-spirit, which has not found a single friend and sent the offertory down to zero. If only their irritation sets them thinking a little, I shan't object."

The religious temper of the young parson is well shown in the paper on the poet Vaughan which he sent from London to the magazine of his old College. After dwelling with sympathy upon "the religion, peculiarly tender, personal, and impassioned," which breathes in Vaughan's poems, he concludes—

"Time has rescued from ages of disputation all that was worthy and true: and the jewels which it has selected harmonize well with one another. The great epic of an Arian, the great allegory of a Baptist, the 'Temple' of George Herbert, and the Saint's Rest of a Presbyterian, the 'Silex' of Vaughan and the hymns of Wesley, the divine verse of Keble and of Father Faber, all stand side by side on the same shelves, speak the same tongue, and express the emotions and experiences of the same One Church."

But all the practical and spiritual interests that now crowded upon him and absorbed him, could not quench the historian's instinct that seemed born within him. He spent every moment of his leisure working at the history of the Angevin Kings in the British Museum. He contemplated, what to most men seemed nothing but a barren wilderness of dingy brick, mortar, and paving-stones, with the same interest that had made his youth at Oxford a romance to him, and that enabled him to read its history in every spot he visited. A

paper which he sent to *The Druid* opens with a quotation from Canon Stanley which responded precisely to his own feelings.

> "The pleasure which a botanist finds in the flowers along the common pathways of his daily walks; the pleasure which the geologist finds in hills, valleys, roads, and railroads" (two pleasures which Green himself knew well and keenly enjoyed), "the same pleasure is given to the historian as he looks at the buildings, as he sees the names of the commonest streets in London."

"Setting aside the poetry of life which is everywhere," he writes again in a most characteristic passage, years later, at the conclusion of his East-end life,

> "There is poetry enough in East London, poetry in the great river which washes it on the south, in the fretted tangle of cordage and mast that peeps over the roofs of Shadwell, or in the great hulls moored along the wharves of Wapping; poetry in the Forest that fringes it to the east, in the few glades that remain of Epping and Hainault, glades ringing with the shouts of school children out for their holiday and half mad with delight at the sight of a flower or a butterfly; poetry of the present in the work and toil of these acres of dull bricks and mortar where everybody, man, woman, and child, is a worker, this England without a 'leisured class'; poetry in the thud of the steam-engine, and the white trail of steam from the tall sugar refinery, in the blear eyes of the Spitalfields weaver, or the lingering faces of the groups of labourers" (he was thinking of the dark days of East-end distress) "clustered from morning till night round the gates of the docks and watching for the wind that brings the ships up the river; poetry in its past, in strange old-fashioned squares, in quaint gabled houses, in grey village churches, that have been caught and overlapped and lost, as it were, in the great human advance that has carried London forward from Whitechapel, its limit in the age of the Georges, to Stratford, its bound in that of Victoria."

With this seeing eye he went up and down the London streets, and in and out amidst the London corners, till he had learnt the whole city as he had learnt Oxford. The smallest details of the parochial boundaries or of the course of the main roads were pregnant to him with interpretations of the annals of the city, and he forgot nothing.

With interruptions, caused by ill health, Green spent what he always called "the best ten years of his life" in fighting the battle of religion and civilisation amidst the teeming social chaos of the East-end, and in a hopeless effort to impress that ever-changing, ever-swelling tide of population with which the industrial transformations of our age are drowning the modern city. For a nature so sensitive, so alert in its sympathy for suffering, so ardent in its desire to help, the strain was killing. Green broke down, as many another is breaking down in similar toil, under the hopelessness of overtaking the work, the inadequacy of the support, the solitude, the discouragement, the squalor. His was a nature which could not take rest whilst any work remained to be done, and in the East-end the work of a parson of genius was no less than infinite. Into each position to which he was appointed—St. Barnabas, Holy Trinity,

Hoxton, a mission-curacy at St. Peter's, Stepney, and finally the neighbouring vicarage of St. Philip's—he threw himself with the whole energy of his nature, and from each in turn, after an effort more or less prolonged, he withdrew with shattered health.

"It was the one thing that held me so long to Ecclesia Anglicana," he writes, "that an official position in it gives one openings for doing social good which no other position does." But the drag upon such a man was that the official position compelled him to do his work with his hands tied by institutions, both ecclesiastical and municipal, which had not yet learnt to stretch and adapt themselves to the changed conditions of the new generation.

The varied strain of the responsibilities which he undertook is well told in his account of an East-end vicar's Monday morning.

"It is the 'parish morning.' All the complicated machinery of a great ecclesiastical charitable and educational organization has got to be wound up afresh and set going again for another week. The superintendent of the Woman's Mission is waiting with a bundle of accounts, complicated as only ladies' accounts can be. The churchwarden has come in with a face full of gloom to consult on the falling off in the offertory. The scripture-reader has brought his visiting-book to be inspected, and a special report on the character of a doubtful family in the parish. The organist drops in to report something wrong in the pedals. There is a letter to be written to the Inspector of Nuisances, directing his attention to certain odoriferous drains in Pig and Whistle Alley. The nurse brings her sick-list and her little bill for the sick kitchen. The schoolmaster wants a fresh pupil-teacher, and discusses nervously the prospects of his scholars in the coming inspection. There is the interest on the penny bank to be calculated, a squabble in the choir to be adjusted, a district visitor to be replaced, reports to be drawn up for the Bishop of London's Fund and a great charitable society, the curate's sick-list to be inspected, and a preacher to be found for the next church festival."

Meanwhile his restless energy and his readiness to take upon his own shoulders every burden that others refused, his inability to sit down with any abuse unremedied, any possible opening untried, committed him to a scale of expenditure far beyond the income of the benefice. "I get £300, and it costs me £700." If money was wanted for a new curate's stipend, or any parochial undertaking, he sat down to earn it with his pen.

"And so began article-writing late at night when parish work was done, and the shutting of the hall-door at two and three in the morning was the sign to us," writes the brother who was then living with him, "that he had gone out to post the paper for the next morning. Yet his parish work did not suffer. He was regularly up for the early service. Few could stand this. It was only the intense spirit which kept him going."

"It is these money matters which wear my life out," Green writes to his fellow-worker, Edward Denison, before the days of Mr. Forster's Education Act. "Imagine my having to pay out of my own pocket a deficiency of £43 in the school accounts. . . . How can I do my book (the *Angevins*) when to escape sheer parochial bankruptcy I shall have to send in two articles every week to the *S—R.*, and write an article for——, besides my parochial engagements? What between the parsons and the Government, all sense of local responsibility for education seems lost."

Those, however, who read the bright results in the *Saturday Review* of those days little realised that they were the fever of an overtasked physique. "My wits are getting blunted," moaned Denison, who worked alongside with Green at schools, and sanitation, and sick kitchens, and poor relief, "by the monotony and ugliness of this place." But in Green the day's worries and overtoil led at night to a scarcely less wasting fever of reaction. Once that the study door was shut for the night, all the surroundings of the day were flung into the crucible of his most reckless humour. The tension of patience and sympathy with which he had met the difficulties of the day relieved itself in quizzing everything and everybody. He would narrate the "Curate's Progress" into the confidence of the other sex, or make his sally against a "Woman in Orders," or play with not unkindly satire upon the weaknesses of the "District Visitor," the "Sister," and the "Deaconess." But there was plenty of more serious work done too, when the first reaction of frolic had passed off. Materials were steadily accumulating for the *History of the Angevin Kings*. There were careful and scholarly reviews in the *Saturday Review* of Historical works, and when occasion called, very grave and forcible papers on the serious social problems which were arising in the East-end.

The short but fierce crisis of the cholera in August, 1866, met him soon after his entry upon St. Philip's. The scourge had been expected. All was in readiness for the terrible enemy. The *mot d'ordre* had been issued to remove every case at once to the hospital, to isolate it with the utmost promptitude, to destroy on the moment every channel for fresh infection. Within an hour from the first seizure in his parish Green himself met the dying patient in the London Hospital, and thenceforward, while the plague lasted, Green, like other clergy in the parishes attacked, worked day and night amidst the panic-stricken people, as Officer of Health, Inspector of Nuisances, Ambulance Superintendent, as well as spiritual consoler, and burier of the dead. His only dread was for his friends. He almost burst into passion when he met the wife of a neighbouring clergyman visiting, like himself, the sick of her parish in the London Hospital. He implored her, for her children's sake, to withdraw from such a post of danger, and only acquiesced in her remaining upon seeing how her presence steadied the overwrought and frightened nurses. At last the plague was stayed, and its sole record was the list of orphans for whom homes had to be found.

A far more serious problem of the time was East-end distress. There had been good times of high wages and free expenditure. There had been poverty in some quarters, but not overwhelming distress, and the East-end guardians had been betrayed into the delusion of meeting such distress as did arise with outdoor relief.

The rates fell heavily upon the upper margin of the population which paid them, and the guardians, considering that a family in the workhouse was a costly burden, rashly concluded that it was more humane and far more economical to give the dole that would keep the poor in their own homes. The commercial crisis which followed upon the failure of Overend and Gurney in 1866 had led to a very serious stagnation of trade. There was a general shrinkage of wages. Class after class was thrown out of employment, and the deluded attitude of the Trades-unions completed the general collapse. They had grown conscious of power in the days of prosperity, and now had not the intelligence to perceive that the conditions were changed. They resisted reductions in wages, when reductions were inevitable, and the strike of the shipwrights—

"Gentlemen-artisans," as Green called them, "who feel it to be their duty to decline to take 34s. a week,"

drove out of East London the capital which had supported them and their labourers, and all the little trades which had ministered to their wants. It only remained for the shipwrights to follow the capital at their leisure, and for the dependent handicrafts to seek other openings. But the lax administration of the Poor Law made this a painful and lingering process of slow emaciation. In the winter of 1867–68 the distress grew appalling. The poor-rates mounted higher and higher. The small struggling shopkeepers who paid them, called on to contribute a heavier impost out of reduced profits, collapsed under the strain, and the area of rate-payers itself began to dwindle. The West-end was startled by the accounts of a vast and once active population sinking into nerveless and hopeless inanition. Funds were set afoot at the Mansion House and elsewhere. Thousands were subscribed, yet the profuse and erratic generosity of the benevolent did but increase the mischief. Their doles might avert starvation whilst they were maintained; but they did not create work for the population where it stood, nor move it where work was to be had.

"Some half a million of people," cried Green, in the *Saturday Review*, "have been flung into the crucible of public benevolence and have come out of it simply as paupers."

All the elements of a great social catastrophe were ripening. In one district bread-riots broke out, which the guardians met by distributing tons of bread amongst the clamouring crowd.

In this crisis a little knot of East-end clergy, amongst whom Green was a moving spirit, seemed alone to keep their heads; and the articles of Green, who was appointed by the Poor-law Board an *ex-officio* guardian, were largely instrumental in instructing public opinion and arresting the flood of pauperism. He insisted that it was not the Poor Law that had failed, but its administrators. He

declaimed against their "ignorance, incapacity, and inaction." He asserted the "necessity of keeping distinct the almoner and the minister of religion." He demanded that all regular relief should be left in official hands, insisting that "the labour test lies at the very foundation of all sound and healthy poor relief," and reserving to private alms only the exceptional cases of such a season. The alms of the charitable available for such purposes were to be administered solely by local committees, such as the representative one in Stepney, which he helped to form; while he asserted the methods which have been embodied in the Charity Organization Society as the only course by which to avoid the two great evils—"overlapping charities" and "pauperising relief."

Great as was the strain which the varied anxieties of such a life threw upon his delicate frame, it was not these only that wore him out. He and his friends had also to work out anew the relations of the National Church towards the East-end proletariat. Had it any? Amidst all the other burdens that fell upon them, Green and his Broad Church neighbours thought to solve at a blow a great problem still in the course of its slow solution. The religious even more than the social institutions of the East-end had been distanced by the conditions of the new democracy. That the democracy was becoming brutalised and materialised under the squalid stupor of its surroundings was obvious. That the National Church was the designed and fitting instrument for its elevation to a loftier conception of the import and significance of life and duty was to the Broad Churchmen likewise a proven fact. It was in this belief that they had thrown themselves into their work, and had established themselves in their dingy quarters. They saw that the Church had failed; they were persuaded that it should succeed. But the problem could only be solved by experiment, and meanwhile their enthusiasm had to bear many a blow as they groped their way to causes and remedies.

Somewhat earlier the authorities had been persuaded that the real lack was churches. The efforts of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were reinforced by the magnificent effort of the Bishop of London's Fund. Churches had been built by dozens, new parishes had been carved out as spheres of clerical work, but the East-end would not enter the churches nor recognise the ecclesiastical re-arrangement of the old civil parish. Then the idea was to carry the churches to the people; and earnest men laboured weekly like Green in little iron mission-houses. They got hold of the children in their schools, and some of the women in their meetings, but the men held as far aloof as ever. If they did enter a church door, it might be for the music, it might be for the sermon, it might be, as Green often used to say, out of personal politeness to return a neighbourly call made at

their homes during the week; but it was not to join in the one form of worship upon which the Act of Uniformity insisted. It became very palpable that the preacher must go far afield out of the liturgical fold if he looked to gather in the lost sheep upon the mountains.

"Starting with the idea," says one of Green's comrades then, "that Christianity as a spiritual power ought to attract the people, we could not but see our failure. Brimful of work, eloquence, and power, Green, I have no doubt, felt that he could make no commensurate impression upon the masses about him. Those were awful days. Protestantism in its most repulsive aspect denounced every attempt to improve services, while we know that an imbecile had only to put on a green garment one day, and a red one the next, to attract more people than all the arts of humanism. We certainly failed in so far as we attempted to appeal to the people by an application of Christianity which not one of us by the way had thought out."

Green fell back on personal influence, and instinctively endeavoured to win the poor to him individually by the same personal charm which surrounded him with cultured friends. He made friends with whomsoever would be friendly, tended them gently in their sickness, counselled them in their trouble, and when they had no cause to demand his sympathy, he planned amusements for them, took them by the boat-load to Rosherville, got up penny readings "without the penny," and poured out for their entertainment his rare powers of humour and conversation. With individuals he succeeded wonderfully, and they still hold his memory in affection. But such efforts, which exhausted him terribly, were yet but a drop in the ocean.

"The parson," thus he betrays his feelings in an anonymous paper, "never gets very close home to the poor. Their life is not his life, nor their ways his ways."

"I not only did nothing," he wrote in after years with unwarrantable despondency, "but more and more felt that if anything was to be done, that was not the way to do it, and more and more I doubted even whether there was anything to be done—I mean through the agency of personal contact."

Meanwhile the harassment of being called on to pursue his mission to the people in what he gradually grew to feel very straining fetters, was a terrible addition to the burden he had to carry. The keen, unresting intellect gradually worked through the charmed circle in which Professor Maurice enfolded his disciples, as it had worked through the Anglican tradition which had so deeply moved him in his youth. His position grew more and more unsatisfactory to him. He still retained—

"A great faith in the capacity of Ecclesia Anglicana to meet the national requirements of England in a way that no sectional action can do;"

and then, as later he urged upon his friends, that—

"In a time of transition, when the Church of England seems moulding itself into new forms, and when at the same time it finds new possibilities for exert-

ing a nobler influence upon religious and moral thought, a man is bound to set little scruples aside, and to hold on as long as he truthfully can."

For himself he came to the conclusion that the Church was no longer the sphere of work for him, and in 1869 he resigned his living. There was to be no more toiling after impossibilities, no more tilting against prejudices and stupidities with the daring, delicate lance that shattered itself upon them in vain, no more self-squandering upon people whom he could not deeply touch, and upon ephemeral journals that were forgotten in a week. He would henceforth write his book. But he retired from the post he had so bravely held a broken man. The seeds of consumption had been sown unsuspected by himself in those arduous years, and almost immediately declared themselves. Henceforward he was doomed, as he said, to the life of the student and the invalid, flitting winter by winter to those southern shores, whence came back to his friends in England the sheaves of charming letters he has left behind him.

Of those days, the days of his travel, the days of his best historic work, the days of perfect happiness in married life, the days over which hung always the close shadow of the end which now at last has come, there is no space to speak. Despite the depression of illness and of waning strength, they were perhaps his happiest days, not only on account of the dear companionship in which he dwelt, but because he was giving what remained of life undividedly to the work he held to be his duty. Indeed, he never ceased working. Years before he had truly, though half-lightly, forecast his own epitaph, "*He died learning.*" When he was too weak to sit, his toil went forward on the sofa, and when he could not rise, it still went forward on his bed. Amidst all the vivacity and the merriment which no inroads of disease impaired, he felt, like his favourite Bede, the responsibility of knowledge, and would fain have passed it on before the end came. But for that, and for the love of a few, he never cared to live.

"Neither toil," he wrote, "nor the end of toil in oneself, or in the world, is all vanity, in spite of the preacher; but there is enough vanity in both to make one sit loose to them. What seems to grow fairer to me as life goes by is the love and grace and tenderness of it; not its wit and cleverness and grandeur of knowledge—grand as knowledge is—but just the laughter of little children and the friendship of friends, and the cosy talk by the fireside, and the sight of flowers and the sound of music."

"My love for those I love never falters, and I live in their love for me." Thus ran his last written letter, and in that certain assurance the common parting came, and the worn spirit passed onwards to its rest.

PHILIP LYTTELTON GELL.

ENGLAND'S DUTY IN EGYPT.

PARLIAMENT and country alike have taken but a languid interest in the recently published Egyptian papers. In one sense this is not surprising. The Government has throughout the entire episode tried to persuade itself, and has habitually taught the people to consider, that our presence in Egypt is a mere passing incident. As recently as the opening of the current session Ministers assured us that our task in Egypt was well-nigh at an end, that in six months or so from then we should be able to withdraw our troops from the valley of the Nile, and leave the Khedive and his ministers to their own devices. Such manifestations of terror among the European population of Egypt followed this strange announcement as might have satisfied the public mind, and the Government too, that there was no justification for so optimist a view; but we are accustomed to rely on official statements until they have carried us where we never dreamed of going. The mass of people, therefore, probably still believe that arrangements are in rapid progress to insure our departure as a military dictator from the land of the Pharaohs.

A more mistaken faith has never existed. So far are we from making progress towards a state of affairs that will allow us to leave Egypt, that each day we stay there roots us more and more to the spot. Without us there is no authority, and hardly a semblance of authority. Our entrance into the country killed the Turkish Government of the Khedive quite as effectually as it put down rebellion against his authority, and since our military triumph we have been attempting to rule the country behind a corpse or mummy which only moves as we galvanise it. There is absolutely no initiative in the Khedive and his ministers in any direction, and they openly disavow all responsibility. What we order they do, or say they do, and where our arm does not reach their power to govern is nearly as extinct as that of the Ptolemies. Every petty official does as he likes. This is a fact that cannot be too much insisted upon or too soon realised by the English people. We dream away about setting up a philanthropic government of all the "goody" qualities in the Nile valley, and because we dream we remain oblivious alike to our immense responsibilities there and to our dangers.

Every despatch which comes from our representatives in Egypt dealing with the affairs of the country serves to demonstrate the folly of the expectation our Government seems still to entertain that it will be as easy to leave Egypt as to enter it. Were it possible or expedient, one could fill a number of this magazine with proofs of

the accumulating confusion and administrative impotence with which we now stand face to face. But quite enough may be gathered from Lord Dufferin's lengthy despatch, dated Cairo, 6th February last, to serve the purpose of this article. In that wonderfully drawn state paper his lordship reviews the situation, and points out the reforms which, in his view, are needful to place the country in possession of a good and stable government. There is no "gush" in the letter, and very little straining after sensational effects, although the style is decidedly rhetorical; still less is there any effort to bring home to our own Government the startling contrast between the state of affairs it imagined to exist when it made war on the Egyptian people and that with which we are now called upon to deal. But calm and in a sense impassive as his lordship may be, his despatch is in effect one of the most remarkable indictments against the illusory optimism of the British Government that it would be possible for a man to draw up. The Egypt he puts before us is an absolute blank so far as any inherent governing force is concerned. We destroyed the last vestige of such a force when we took the side of the alien Turkish and Circassian overlords of Egypt against the people, and in the result have drawn to us the bitter hatred alike of the men we supported and the masses we put down. The "Egyptian Ottoman," as Lord Dufferin calls the Khedivial party, is in a small minority, and would disappear at once before popular vengeance along with the hated Europeans were our troops withdrawn. Yet this being scorns us and secretly thwarts us with an implacable persistence that makes his very impotence almost sublime. From this state of tension on either side, it follows as a matter of course that, though we are the sole fountain of power in Egypt, we can make no law that works, raise no institution that lives or moves a yard beyond the range of our rifles. It therefore follows that we everywhere and of necessity either dominate everything or reduce all other governing forces to a state of paralysis.

Let us take Lord Dufferin's proposed Egyptian "institutions" one by one, and viewing them in the light cast upon them by Lord Dufferin himself, try to realise the unspeakable unsubstantiality of our whole position. We are always told, for example, that Egypt has "no army," nor men capable of forming an army except by our assistance. But she longs to have one, it seems, and her wish is to be gratified in a modest way. A fighting force of 6,000 men is in course of formation, whose task shall be to guard her frontiers from the Bedouins, &c. But this cannot be accomplished without first "introducing a certain amount of professional backbone into the invertebrate ranks of the fellaheen soldiery" (the "backbone" is to consist of "descendants of those hardy warriors who carried the standard of Mehemet Ali," &c. &c.—of the fellah's bitterest foes,

that is); and secondly, "at the earnest desire of the Khedive and his ministers"—a perfectly spontaneous desire Lord Dufferin assures us, and we readily believe him—these heterogeneous and unmixable materials are to be put under an English general and "a few English officers." A long explanation is given for this determination, the truth being that without English domination the army could not be formed at all.

Next to the army comes the "constabulary," which appears to be a sort of second army—a gendarmerie of "a semi-military character," destined, in the benevolent purpose of England, to keep order in the provinces, and to watch the 2,000 miles of Egypt's desert borders. Great care is to be taken, Lord Dufferin assures us, that the curious hybrid forming this police army is not to be allowed to think himself too "much of a soldier." The business of the force will be to keep the peace, not to make war, and in order to attain this end satisfactorily the leaven of eighteen European officers is to be put on the top of the mass—or shall we say contemplated mass? for it, like the "army," is still to a great extent a paper institution, destined on paper to attain the strength of 5,600 men, all "Arabic-speaking native-born Egyptians." "His Highness the Khedive" has requested that this "semi-military" body shall be placed under the command of a European inspector-general, a deputy, and four other Europeans acting as inspectors and sub-inspectors, and of course his august wish will be obeyed. The idea, in short, seems to be to constitute a force in provincial Egypt very similar in character to the Irish police, and the fact that Tewfik should spontaneously desire such a thing is a striking proof of his acquaintance with English politics. And the creation of instruments of order destined to act in freedom when we leave the land does not end here. A force of 1,600 men is required as "urban police" in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, and other Delta towns, and this likewise will contain a "small European element." In other words, the bulk of the privates in Alexandria and other coast places are, or are to be, either Europeans or nondescripts, and the whole force is to be presided over by "European" officers. These "for the present," till Egypt is educated, will control everything and arrange everything. They will be the brains and moving spirit of the "vertebrate" armies now in process of manufacture from elements as antagonistic as fire and water. Can any reasonable being imagine that Englishmen—for they are mostly Englishmen—would remain in this position were there not 8,000 European troops in the country as a reserve force to maintain the people in their abject subjection and the late masters of Egypt in tutelage?

The whole population is admittedly hostile to us, and as for Tewfik Pasha, the attitude of the great bulk of the people towards

him and his surroundings cannot be better described than in the words of that "extremely liberal and well-educated Egyptian" with whom the Cairo correspondent of the *Standard* held converse in the end of March last:—

"The Egyptian people at large," said this candid friend, "cannot understand the pledges of honour by which England declared herself bound to maintain Tewfik Pacha. They only saw in him a representative of a hated race and the head of a detestable government. In wishing to dethrone him they had no desire to meddle with the interest and rights of foreigners. But when Europe announced the intention of supporting him by force if necessary, Europe naturally came in for a share of the odium, which at once increased tenfold around the name of Tewfik Pasha."

It is all very well to play at composing native armies and constabulary forces on the Irish model—much, perhaps, to the Khedive's amusement and pleasure—but what will the English leaven do against a feeling like this when there are no English bayonets behind it? What will the Khedive do? We prefer not to prophesy, but it is impossible not to think of Afghanistan and the results that followed our efforts to coddle and "educate" a fanatical people there into meek subjection to our domination. Hatred and oppression may make even the fellaheen one day as terrible avengers as the wild Afghans. At all events that side of the Egyptian question ought not to be shut out by our administration in the systematic way that it now is. Why prophesy smooth things when the dominion of chaos widens day by day?

But our task is not by any means to terminate with the formation of castigatory forces. Egypt, it seems, lacks also civil "institutions." She has not even the germ of government by popular assemblies, and outside the international tribunals—a foreign imposition—there is no such thing as justice in all the land. "The native courts," Lord Dufferin tells us, "were perhaps never more imbecile and corrupt than they are at present." Such is the strange quality of the government we rushed last year to support. Many instances are scattered through the recently published Egyptian papers which sufficiently prove the truth of this astounding confession. For one thing, the low-class Europeans—and above all the Greek element—took a widespread advantage of our victory last year to blackmail wealthy natives through the medium of the corrupt native dispensers of injustice. For native and foreigner, indeed, that is the principal use of these "courts," as witness the following history, also told to the correspondent of the *Standard* by his Egyptian friend:—

"The other day a man had been accused before the Tanta Commission of murder. It was notorious that the accusation and the evidence were equally false; but he was condemned to death. At the last moment a reprieve was sent to the governor. He took it with him to the place of execution, but arrived after life was extinct. It was said that he had received the reprieve

many hours before, but had purposely delayed giving it effect. The wretched victim died with a solemn declaration of innocence on his lips. His father died two days afterwards of grief, his wife was carried to a mad-house, and his brothers are waiting for their revenge. Do not think that this is a solitary instance. Not one, nor two, but a hundred cases of the wreaking of private spite occur every day. And they are perfectly well known to the authorities, who trade on the lives of the helpless and grow rich in a year on ten pounds a month."

Statements of this horrible complexion are abundantly confirmed by official papers. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Lord Dufferin sees a necessity for purifying and elevating the internal administration of the country. So impressed is he by this need, that he has elaborated or helped to elaborate a "constitutional scheme," notwithstanding the warnings of history as to the futility of this kind of "reform." His first idea is to give the people some semblance of representative government. An elaborate constitutional structure is to be erected, with a "village constituency" for base and "eight ministers responsible to the Khedive" at the top. Universal suffrage is not to be admissible at any point but in the election of the "village spokesman." This spokesman, as an aggregate, will in turn choose "provincial councils," numbering four to eight, and the "provincial councils" will, in like manner, exercise the arduous functions of choosing sixteen out of a total of twenty-six members of a "legislative council," the other twelve—Lord Dufferin says twelve, but we can only make it ten—being nominated by the Khedive. As if this were not enough administrative machinery to set the country in order and preside at law-making and keeping, there is to be a "General Assembly," consisting of eight ministers, twenty-six legislative councillors, and forty-six delegates elected by the "spokesmen" of the villages. This last august body will not sit often, and cannot do anything in particular, but it is to enjoy "an absolute right of veto" on fresh taxation, if that can be of any use to it.

There seems hardly any necessity to observe that all this neat machinery of government is to be manufactured practically out of nothing. The Egyptian people have had no experience of this sort of thing, cannot conceive what delegated power means, and would therefore no more comprehend the uses of these various functionaries than they could forge eighty-ton guns out of Nile mud. The crowd of bodies composing this pretentious scheme of domestic self-management would therefore be entirely without value either as checks upon despotic power or as initiators of legislation. They are not meant to be of use, however, for at the very threshold of their existence they are met by a "thus far and no farther shalt thou go." The "law of liquidation"—or, in unofficial language, the agreement forced upon Egypt by France and England, in virtue of which the Egyptian people have nearly £5,000,000 a year to find for the foreign creditors

of the ex-Khedive—is placed entirely outside this constitutional scheme. From the Khedive down to the "village spokesman" no one can touch it. The foreigner is therefore supreme over the most sacred "constitutional right" a people can have; and for all that, our Government talks of being able to leave Egypt in a few months' —or, as some now say, at most in a few years'—time. Could anything more conclusively show that they live in a fool's paradise about this business? Bodies so created and limited would serve as the tools of oppression, the masks of crime, and that only if they lived at all. But they could not even live. And had those who guide the foreign policy of the country not been blinded by the phrases which form their principal stock-in-trade, they might have discovered ere now that this one stipulation regarding the "law of liquidation" destroys every chance of progress or reform in Egypt. By upholding that law also we virtually declare our position there a permanent one. It imprisons our soldiers and rulers in the Nile valley as surely as if all the soldiers of the Turk kept watch and ward over them within prison walls.

Suppose the constitutional machine sketched in these despatches duly made and started on its course by our experienced hands, and *then* that we quit the country, what is the first and most natural thing for the Egyptian people to do? Surely what they did before —kick away the financial bonds that bind them more gallingly now than ever, and stop payment on Ismail's debt, the debt for which we now declare ourselves responsible. Could any English Government face that possibility and hope to live? And is it not evident, on the other hand, that while we remain in Egypt and hold this law of liquidation over the heads of the Egyptian people the most rudimentary germs of constitutionalism must die rootless? We may hatch as many pretty governing bodies as we please, and the more enlightened Egyptians may "cordially" desire to see our offspring live and work; but to the mass of the people they can never represent anything except the dominance of the cruel foreigner, who compels them to welter in debt in order to pay his heavy taxes, who forces them to work in corvée without tools, scraping the earth up with their feeble hands and, hunger-stricken, cleaning out canals which water no fields of theirs. Under that foreigner only aliens grow rich; the miserable native has to exhaust the soil he cultivates until he and it grow poorer together every year of his life. Constitutional institutions offered to a people ground to the dust, tied hand and foot in this fashion, seem like the perpetration of a ghastly joke. What good of any kind could "spokesmen" and "councils" and "assemblies" do the fellah? Lord Dufferin does not seem to know, but the words are sweet to the ear.

The same European element or European dominance is to be

engrafted upon still another division of the plan, which is to do more for Egypt than any of Abbé Sieyès's constitutions did for France. It is to dominate the reformed native tribunals for the dispensation of injustice. At present one of the principal uses of native courts of justice, next to gratifying private spite and blackmailing those who may have the misfortune to appear rich, is the facility they afford to a mortgagee to foreclose and sell up his debtor's property. This is most laudably to be checked, though the wholesale recommendation issued some time ago by a Turkish official, perhaps in jest, to debtors not to pay at all has been withdrawn. But, says Lord Dufferin, "servility and corruption are so intertwined with the habits and traditions of indigenous tribunals" that nothing but the introduction of the 'European element' here also can redeem them. Judges must be trained by 'high-minded' Swiss, Dutch, or Belgian lawyers, selected and deposited in Egypt as a regenerative force to elevate the corrupt mass of incompetent natives. Courts of first instance, three to form a quorum, and one of the three to be a European, will be set up in every Moudirieh, and there are to be two appeal courts, also dominated by Europeans. The mere enumeration of these provisions prove, like those relating to the fighting and peace-keeping forces, the complete absurdity of the professed belief that our "sojourn" in Egypt can be temporary. It may in one word be said that no single proposal that Lord Dufferin makes could live for an hour in the present or in any conceivable temper of the Egyptian population were our controlling force withdrawn. We are even obliged to stoop to regulate usury where we can, and under our wing a new Egyptian loan is about to be raised to pay for the damage caused by our interference. And next to getting that floated, one of Sir A. Colvin's principal tasks in coming to Europe is stated to be the establishment of an Egyptian Crédit Foncier, which shall lend to the fellah at lower rates of interest than the local usurer, native and foreign, now does. It was high time, one must admit, that something were done, if it be true that the unfortunate cultivators are nine to ten millions sterling behindhand on their private account. But how is all this to be reconciled with the doctrine that our stay in Egypt is only a passing visit of benevolence? Would Turk or Arab pay these loans if we were away?

This, in short, is the one great question; and since at all points the absurdity of the temporary occupation legend discloses itself, one is forced to ask, Why does not the English Government frankly and honestly recognise facts? Of what use is it to complicate the difficulties that surround us in our new conquest by dealing in illusions and shams? The pretences of a Khedive's government, of "Tewfik's intentions and desires," of giving the Egyptian people an education in the art of governing themselves, might all be

highly amusing as political comedy were there nothing behind them, did they not hoodwink the English Government and people. But they become repulsive and dangerous exhibitions of diplomatic chicane when we consider what our true responsibilities in Egypt have come to be. We have conquered the country, unhappily for us, and it is our plain clear duty to treat it as a direct dependency of the British Crown now that it is conquered. We owe the Khedive little except protection for his life and private means, and we owe his Turkish and Circassian surroundings nothing at all. The sooner they are all got rid of, then, the better. Why should we permit these people to do all manner of injustice in our name, and to make us a mockery and byword to the Egyptian people by the success with which they can bring about the utter failure of every administrative reform we attempt to establish by their vicarious agency? There does not seem to be any intelligible answer to questions of this kind. If, however, the Government shambles along and refuses to face the conclusion to which they point, further troubles in Egypt cannot be long kept back. The Soudan is at this moment straining that country's slender resources, and threatening, as we might from the first have seen it would threaten, to involve us in a costly Central African war; the foreign creditor is paralysing the springs of national well-being, and rendering abortive all attempts to improve the condition of the people, to check the inroads of the desert, or to augment the productiveness of the soil. What the foreign creditor leaves the domestic usurer snaps up before our eyes. Injustice, rapine, oppression of every kind infest the land, and all we do to meet them is to "request" the issue of such circulars as that of Ismail Eyoub, the Minister of the Interior, against the use of the bastinado, which is printed at the end of Egyptian papers No. 6, 1883. A prayer to the sacred beetle would be just as effective in stopping the crimes of lawless underlings.

One is loath to believe that this kind of shilly-shally, would-and-would-not policy, is the outcome of mere political hypocrisy; but it is very difficult to account for it on intelligible grounds. Unconsciously, perhaps, but none the less certainly, the English Government is closing its eyes alike to the consequences of our plunge into Egypt and to the duties which our successes there have thrust upon our hands. Egypt cannot be governed from London, Lord Dufferin avers, echoing the Foreign Office maxim. Perhaps not, but we can at least try to govern it frankly and openly at Cairo. It was never our duty to enter Egypt, but having done so in mad haste we must submit to the consequences, and these involve above all the open and avowed government of the country we have subdued. Ultimately, this truth will probably be recognised by statesmen, but not, it would seem, until our present policy has drowned the Egyptian people

in the depths of misery and despair. One wonders what strange spirit of folly can possess our Government that it is able to sit still and quietly see this consummation of its work draw near.

What ought to be done is to garrison Egypt almost entirely with Indian troops, and to place an English Viceroy there with strictly defined and limited powers, distributing under him all over the land selected English administrators. They might not govern very well, for the English never do govern well except by fits and starts; but they would do much better than the existing hypocrisies ever can. One of the first acts of this administration—having got rid of Khedive and Turks together—should be to declare that England would be bound by no foreign engagement of any kind, but would study the welfare of the people before all and usurers' interests afterwards. In other words, the resources of Egypt ought to be devoted to the improvement of the population. Instead of paying nearly £5,000,000 a year to foreign creditors, the canal system ought to be improved and perfected under skilled engineers and by *paid* native labour, rents ought to be everywhere reduced, and the whole study of the conquerors be to make the people prosperous and happy. Were any surplus left after doing these things, the foreign creditors of Ismail might perhaps get that, but the policy of putting those creditors first and above all other interest is a short-sighted and most foolish policy, which ought to be instantly abandoned. In the end, there is good ground for believing, even the foreign creditors might gain by this liberal treatment of a crushed people, for the course now pursued serves no end but to exhaust the country, to undermine its forces, and to prepare the way for a collapse so great that the boldest and most callous politician we have will be horror-struck at the sight of it. Year by year the condition of the working population grows more hopeless, their want and misery more intense. Sterility, the desert as with the remorselessness of fate, creeps in upon the cultivated fields, and either by the desert or by the mortgagee the tiller is dispossessed of his acres, until ere long there will be but two classes in Egypt—a small knot of foreign plutocrats and a multitude of abject slaves. The late Khedive forcibly took away at least 500,000 acres of the best land of the Delta from its owners—and, by the way, a proposal has been made graciously to permit the dispossessed people or their successors to buy this filched land back again in lots knocked down to the highest bidder—but Ismail's oppression was a trifle to the systematic robbery that goes on every day beneath the shelter of British domination. What can be said of us if we sit still and suffer these things to be done in our name?

Let the matter be put in another way, since it may be said that benevolence and sentimentality of this sort have no place in politics. If there be any plausible excuse for our interference last year in

Egypt—any ground for calling our attack other than a levy by bailiffs in force—it is that quiet in Egypt is necessary for the security of our road to India. On that ground, little meaning though it have, one can recognise that many people may feel satisfied that we did right. But how can we possibly have rendered our road to India more safe if we hold Egypt down by the sword alone? Never a week passes that proofs of the popular hatred of Turk and Englishman alike do not come home. Where, then, would our "native army" be found, and our "native constabulary" also, in the event of danger arising within India itself? Could we rest satisfied that these armed and drilled bodies would obey their English superiors were they not overawed by British bayonets, and if not, would not the holding of Egypt weaken instead of strengthen our line of communications? Responsible statesmen can give but one answer to these questions. As matters now stand, the forces we are trying to set up in Egypt would be a standing menace to our supremacy and an acute danger in time of war. In one way, and one alone, can we utilise our new acquisition so as to justify to any degree our holding it, and that is by making the people prosperous, by teaching them to love and trust us, so that neither Turk nor Christian could induce them to rise upon us in our hour of danger. On the most selfish ground possible, then, we may safely urge the Government to pause and consider. Why should it bring the British Empire to the brink of an abyss, why nourish scorpions and sustain political hypocrisies in Egypt merely because it thinks the "powers" or the diplomatic conventionalities compel it to do so and so? If we have not the courage to act independently in Egypt, and with a single eye to securing our position there in the best way possible, the sooner we escape from it, bag and baggage, the better. Our associates there, the men we pet and the men we suffer to crush the people till they unite Turk and Christian in one curse, would be only too delighted to help to cut our throats should an opportunity arise, and if we have nothing better to do than sustain them, why on earth do we remain in Egypt playing at soldier-making, constitution-hatching, debt-collecting, and so forth? The *rôle* is, to say the best of it, ignoble, and it cannot by any possibility be profitable.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

INDEPENDENTLY of the Explosives Act, which passed through both Houses at a single sitting, on Monday, April 9, or of the Affirmation Bill, the debate on which is now proceeding, events of importance in themselves, and of still more significance for the future, have taken place in Parliament during the past month. If the political student would read aright the signs of the times, it is less to the accomplished or the pending legislation of the Cabinet that he should look, than to the debates and the divisions on Mr. Stansfeld's motion, or to the reception accorded to the proposal for pensions to Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester. The acceptance by the popular chamber of a resolution pledging it to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, is a novel and striking illustration of the power of the constituencies directly to assert their will and judgment in the House of Commons. It is the clearest symptom yet recorded of the growth of an educated opinion on political matters among the multitude. If the question itself be grave, the moral which it points is graver still. The Judge Advocate General frankly said that in resisting Mr. Stansfeld's resolution he risked a safe seat. It is, indeed, extremely doubtful how the debate would have issued if the House of Commons had recorded its vote by ballot; it is even probable that Mr. Stansfeld's motion would have been defeated. Ministers were not of one mind upon the subject; there was a strong prejudice against the repeal of the Acts in the House itself. But members, however reluctantly, had realised the truth that the Acts were disapproved of by their constituents, and they gave their votes accordingly.

On such a matter as this, as on the question of a pension to the two commanders of the Egyptian expedition, there must, of course, be, associated with the men who represent the mature convictions of the constituencies, a little group of political fanatics. This does not alter the fact that we are now at the beginning of a movement which is destined during the next generation to affect the whole course of English legislation. The House of Commons will transact its business and pass its measures with ease, in proportion as it is the reflection and instrument of the national will. Household suffrage, and the political organizations which have been established for making household suffrage a reality, will find their immediate expression at St. Stephen's. Measures may still be delayed or shelved. Directly, however, the electorates are conscious that there is before Parliament a project in which they have a vital concern, and which is exactly adapted to some pressing necessity of the time, any

appeal made to them will receive a swift, sure, and effective response. To those who hold that unless the collective majorities in the constituencies have a machinery which can secure the legislation they want, popular government is a nullity, the division on Mr. Stansfeld's resolution must seem of hopeful augury.

The debates and the division on the Alcester and Wolseley pensions differ from those which have preceded them on cognate topics in the temper of the speeches delivered,—in their moderate and practical tone, and the representative character of the minority. Popular opinion draws a clear distinction between a money grant for distinguished services to the State and hereditary pensions even for two lives. The distinction is analogous to that which is seen to exist in the case of sinecures and official salaries. There is no reason to believe that as regards the latter the English democracy will ever err on the side of niggardliness. It will carry to the farthest extent the doctrine of a fair wage for a fair day's work. It has too strong a sense of justice not to insist that the labour, whether of a Lord Chancellor, of a Minister, or of any other public servant, shall be remunerated at the highest market rate; but it will peremptorily demand that the emoluments of office shall cease with the performance of office, and if it tolerates money grants as rewards of and incentives to patriotic achievement, it will not sanction their taking the form of an income to be transmitted from father to son.

The position of the Government in its relation to the business of the session is less unambiguous and satisfactory than the significance of the foregoing Parliamentary incidents. We may dismiss as nugatory the criticisms passed upon Ministers for making the disposal of the Contagious Diseases Acts an open question. It has always been the practice of English Governments to allow the politicians of whom they consist a liberal area of neutral ground. A dozen or fourteen men who think absolutely alike on all questions that can come before them is, happily, a moral impossibility. On one subject, indeed, it is to be earnestly trusted that Ministers have arrived at a unanimous conclusion, and the sooner that this conclusion is communicated to Parliament and the country the better. Ministers owe it to themselves and to the constituencies which placed them in power three years ago to press forward the business of national legislation with all the energy they can muster. If they fail to do this, and the domestic legislative record of 1883 should be as barren as that of the two preceding years, their credit will be seriously injured, and their capacity for beneficent action in the future vitally impaired.

How stands the case at present? The Affirmation Bill is dragging its slow length through the House of Commons. There is not the slightest pretext for prolonging discussion. Every argu-

ment for and against the measure has been reiterated *ad nauseam.* Upon the singularly unpleasing spectacle of the hypocrisy and cant which characterize many or most of the objections to the measure—on the disingenuousness with which political partizanship and faction masquerade as religious devotion and theological orthodoxy—we need not dwell. The true answer to the opponents of the Bill is that it is designed to abolish the last remnants of the religious test, and to prevent future scandals such as that of which the Bradlaugh business has been the occasion. Nor should it be forgotten that Sir Stafford Northcote, as the leader of the Opposition, has distinctly declared himself in favour of settling the difficulty by legislation. He at least, therefore, is to a great extent out of court. One thing is certain. If at the present moment the stage of obstruction has not been reached, it very shortly may be. It was right that every argument against the measure should have a fair hearing. But it is for the Government to prevent vain and vexatious repetitions. The rules of the House of Commons give ministers the power to do this, and they will incur a grave responsibility if they decline to avail themselves of the authority.

There can be no doubt that public opinion is strongly bent upon some, if not all, the chief measures of the Government becoming law before the prorogation. The Bankruptcy Bill is already safe. The experience of the Grand Committees so far as they have yet gone is distinctly favourable. That devoted to Law has not transacted its business with the same rapidity as the Committee of Trade. The latter has done its work thoroughly and rapidly. One point is plain; without the machinery of Grand Committees it would have been hopeless to attempt to get such a measure as the Bankruptcy Bill through Parliament. Their machinery may not be infallible. If those who sit in them are desirous of causing delays and of reducing them to impotence they will have it in their power to do so. On the other hand, so long as a fair determination on the part of their various members is forthcoming to make them really instruments of legislation, they will be effectual. But the Bankruptcy Bill is only one of those measures which are imperatively demanded by the constituencies. The Corrupt Practices Bill, and the Tenants Compensation Bill, are equally regarded as a part of the programme to which the Government are pledged, nor will ministers have any insuperable difficulty in redeeming this pledge if they make a wise exercise of their power. The Patents Bill must also be added to the list of the measures accomplished before the prorogation takes place. As regards the Government of London Bill, that, too, ought to become law, or if this be impossible, the ground for a settlement of the question in the immediate future should be cleared. The task that ministers have to perform is to rescue the

House of Commons from the disgrace of its own idle garrulity. This will be done if the Government make it plain that the session shall be prolonged till the measures which they deem necessary and on which the country insists are passed. Resolution in this matter will remove mountains. The difficulties, delays, obstructions, will vanish before the drastic action of a determined ministry. The Liberals will rally round their leaders with renewed spirit; the country will support them with fresh enthusiasm. It is not yet too late, and the fact cannot be too strongly stated that it depends on the proved capacity of ministers to carry their measures whether Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues will stand before the country next autumn in the full glow of success or with the shadow of failure, prophetic, it may be, of impending collapse, falling athwart their path.

There is another consideration that should weigh with ministers. Any legislative failure or irresolution on their part constitutes the opportunity of their opponents. True it is that the Conservatives are just now to a great extent disorganized and demoralised. Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote may pose together upon popular platforms and may protest that they hold identical views upon all conceivable topics. That is nothing to the point, and the real question is, whether the Conservative party is controlled by the discipline born of the supreme influence of a single will. Obviously it is not; for if it were, none of the discordant notes raised by Lord Randolph Churchill would have been struck. On the other hand nothing can be easier than to magnify the practical consequences of such internal dissensions. If a general election were precipitated, or if a series of by-elections were to be won by the Opposition—and certainly the latter event would be facilitated by any further display of legislative feebleness on the part of the Government—Ministers must know perfectly well that the ranks of their opponents would close up, and that they would have to encounter at the polling booths the formidable antagonism of a combined party, and not of a loosely coherent aggregate of factions.

The vigour which the Government have shown in dealing with Irish crime and dynamite conspiracies will do them infinitely more good in the country than their Egyptian triumphs or any number of military enterprises of that character. It is enough to say that they have struck terror into a gang of desperadoes and assassins, and that, thanks especially to the promptitude, courage, and intelligence of the police, they have obtained a clue to, and are now investigating one of, the most alarming plots ever concocted in this country, or elaborated abroad for importation into it. The authorities had no sooner got upon the right track, and arrested the

principals of the Phœnix Park butcheries of a year ago, than information and informers came in from every side. Seldom, or never, has the history of criminal outrage been marked by such an entire absence of any gleams of self-sacrifice or courage, to relieve the blackness of its iniquities. During the last few weeks the only impulse of the captured miscreants has been to vie with each other in betraying each other, and to purchase their own life, every man at the cost of his neighbour's blood. The arrests effected in Birmingham and in London have caused the panic which the outrage upon the office of the Local Government Board threatened to produce, to subside; the trials in Dublin and the verdicts of the jury have sounded the death-knell of political assassination as a trade.

The Transvaal question still remains unsettled. Speaking on Tuesday, April 24, Lord Derby declared that our relations with the Transvaal Government were unsatisfactory, and used language which may be justly regarded as foreshadowing the end of the Convention. Its reciprocal obligations and rights have not been recognised. There is no prospect of its proving a valid or useful instrument in the future. On the other hand, the information received from the Transvaal during the past fortnight has abundantly justified the view taken by us a month ago. The whole tenor of the telegrams goes to show that the Bechuana chiefs possess the power of uniting for the duties of self-defence, and that when once this power is exercised they are able to repel the aggressions of the Dutch freebooters. Mr. Froude, who cannot be accused of lukewarmness in his championship of the imperial idea, has shown, in a cogent and able letter in the *Times*, that if the Imperial Government were to take any such action as that urged upon it by Lord Grey, we should arouse the jealousy of the entire Dutch population in South Africa, and should be face to face with a problem, and perhaps a war or a series of wars, of the most appalling dimensions. Thus far, therefore, results vindicate the action or inaction of ministers. The native chiefs have developed a power and have learned a lesson which could not be taught by any English intervention on their behalf. The most politic course has proved to be the most generous and merciful course. The native tribes are stronger at the present moment—and there is every reason to believe they will be infinitely stronger a little while hence—because they have been left to work out their own salvation, than if the policy urged upon the Government by such counsellors as Mr. Forster had been adopted.

Elsewhere than in South Africa we have a colonial complication confronting us. The annexation of New Guinea is as yet, and is likely to remain, only an ambitious phrase. The Imperial Govern-

ment cannot be expected to increase the burden of empire by assuming authority over an island, considerably larger than France, and inhabited by unknown savages. On the other hand, the apprehensions of the Government and the inhabitants of Queensland are not to be disregarded. So long, they maintain, as New Guinea remains in its present state it may pass into the possession of Germany or France—which, it is urged, would be seriously detrimental to English interests—or it may be converted by either of them into a penal settlement, which would be not less detrimental to the social welfare of the Queenslanders. Admitting the justice of these apprehensions, does it follow that the annexation of New Guinea is the only method of obviating the possible danger? By no means. The practical conclusion would seem to be that such steps should be taken as, while they would render the annexation of the island unnecessary, would be safeguards against the realisation of any one of the contingencies.

From the colonial affairs and imperial responsibilities of England the transition is, unfortunately, but too easy to those of France, and to the position and prospects of the French republic generally. France is now engaged in ventures which may involve a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, on the Congo, on the Niger, in Madagascar, and in Tonquin. At only one of these points—on the Congo—do French and English interests clash. Of this matter it is enough to say that whatever arrangement may be arrived at, or however menacing may be the relations between Mr. Stanley and M. de Brazza, it is impossible for England to allow France a monopoly of the sovereignty of the Congo—a river which, as has been well said, "cleaves the ponderous mass of South Africa, as the Ganges cleaves the mass of the Indian peninsula, or the Yangtse-Kiang the huge bulk of Eastern China." The other enterprises to which France is committed affect no European power except herself. The latest accounts which come to hand show that she aims at little else than the reduction of the ruler of Annam to the position of the Bey of Tunis, and that if the ultimatum in which this demand is embodied is not granted a French army will forthwith make a descent upon the country. It is therefore quite possible that before long France may find she has brought down upon herself the whole military strength of the Chinese Empire. Many years have passed since the Chinese have been called upon to display their prowess by the side of any European nation. During that interval they have made much progress of every kind, and it is highly probable that France if she courts a contest with them will not find them the easy antagonists she anticipates.

On the whole it is to be feared that for our nearest Continental

neighbour the month closes in a gloomy and menacing manner. The new diplomatic understanding which exists between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy—intended at its formation last summer to be a guarantee against the infraction by England of the territorial rights of any of the three contracting powers—may be an effectual bulwark against French restlessness or aggression in Europe. But as for France, if she cannot become embroiled in Europe she insists apparently in embroiling herself in Asia and in Africa. Much may be said on economical grounds in favour of the conversion of the French five per cent. Rentes into four-and-a-half per cent. stock. But with the socialistic schemes which the French Government has undertaken at home for the relief of the working classes and with the foreign expenditure of which she has incurred the liability abroad, it would look very much as if the real motive of the step were not financial prudence, but the determination to pursue a domestic policy which has proved disastrous before, and to endeavour to realise dreams of imperial aggrandisement which may land her in difficulties alike alarming and unforeseen.

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THE

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LOUIS BLANC.

THREE SONNETS TO HIS MEMORY.

I.

The stainless soul that smiled through glorious eyes;
The bright grave brow whereon dark fortune's blast
Might blow, but might not bend it, nor o'ercast,
Save for one fierce fleet hour of shame, the skies
Thrilled with warm dreams of worthier days to rise
And end the whole world's winter; here at last,
If death be death, have passed into the past;
If death be life, live, though their semblance dies.
Hope and high faith inviolate of distrust
Shone strong as life inviolate of the grave
Through each bright word and lineament serene.
Most loving righteousness and love most just
Crowned, as day crowns the dawn-enkindled wave,
With visible aureole thine unfaltering mien.

II.

Strong time and fire-swift change, with lightnings clad
And shod with thunders of reverberate years,
Have filled with light and sound of hopes and fears
The space of many a season, since I had
Grace of good hap to make my spirit glad,
Once communing with thine: and memory hears
The bright voice yet that then rejoiced mine ears,
Sees yet the light of eyes that spake, and bade
Fear not, but hope, though then time's heart were weak
And heaven by hell shade-stricken, and the range
Of high-born hope made questionable and strange
As twilight trembling till the sunlight speak.
Thou sawest the sunrise and the storm in one
Break: seest thou now the storm-compelling sun?

III.

Surely thou seest, O spirit of light and fire,
Surely thou canst not choose, O soul, but see
The days whose dayspring was beheld of thee
Ere eyes less pure might have their hope's desire,
Beholding life in heaven again respire
Where men saw naught that was or was to be,
Save only death imperial. Thou and he
Who has the heart of all men's hearts for lyre,
Ye twain, being great of spirit as time is great,
And sure of sight as truth's own heavenward eye,
Beheld the forms of forces passing by
And certitude of equal-balanced fate,
Whose breath forefelt makes darkness palpitate,
And knew that light should live and darkness die.

A. C. Swinburne.

THE SOCIAL DISCIPLINE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

The past month has witnessed some energetic attempts at what, for lack of a better term, may be called the social organization of the two great political parties in the State. The opening festival of the National Liberal Club has been held with signal success at the Westminster Aquarium, and a similar enterprise on the part of the Conservatives has been celebrated, with much abuse of the enemy, at the Duke of Wellington's Riding School, in Knightsbridge. The former of these occasions enabled a mighty influx of Liberals, fresh from the provinces, to make the personal acquaintance of Mr. Gladstone's oratorical powers, and at the same time to form an idea of the collective strength of Liberalism for club or other purposes. In the interests of Liberalism it is earnestly to be trusted that the new establishment may answer the object of its founders, and that it may constitute a focus and rallying centre, where men, representative of every section of the party, may meet together; that it may, in a word, be something more than a larger and cheaper edition—I would speak with all due respect of both of those excellent institutions—of the Reform and of the Devonshire. There was never a time at which it was of more importance that persons who have any influence in the councils of the Liberal party should pay attention to a matter that they have too long neglected or underrated; and should understand that there are elements of political strength and conditions of party success outside the societies and machinery on which they have hitherto been accustomed too exclusively to rely. They will, if they are wise, take a lesson from their opponents, and borrow a page out of the Conservative book of progress.

That the Liberal party should be assimilated to the Conservative, in all its methods and operations, is neither possible nor desirable. Whatever exception may be taken to the description, the truth is that Conservatism is only, in a secondary sense, a political organization. Liberalism, on the other hand, is political or is nothing. The Liberals have definite aims to accomplish and changes to effect. They desire certain modifications in the social and political structure. It is their pervading anxiety to effect these, and the degree of unanimity existing among them on the subject, that keep them together. Beyond the tie which is purely political they have no guarantee of union. Directly, to vary our metaphor, the political cement loses its cohesive power, there is no social cement to take its place. This is not the case with the Conservatives. Under Lord

Beaconsfield, who was the true founder of modern Conservatism, the party became the reflection and the organized embodiment of the prejudices, the aspirations, even of the follies and the foibles of English society. The great man who gave it the semblance of a political system has passed away. The forces that make it a powerful social combination remain. Even now the first question which any measure or new advance in policy suggests to the Conservatives, is whether the step is desirable in the interests of the social unity of the party, and how, if taken, it will affect the party. That there is such a unity, the Conservatives have been singularly successful in impressing upon themselves. Such an establishment as the Carlton Club, supplemented by the Junior Carlton, is alone worth thousands of votes to them at a general election. Of the deeper and more serious facts—as, for instance, that the Church, the Throne, the Peerage, society and property themselves, afford a natural framework for party organization—I will now say nothing. The subject would raise broader and more serious issues than can be conveniently discussed within the limits of a few pages of this Review. The Liberals have many good clubs, but they have no club which is politically so good and useful as the Carlton. Brooks's is more exclusive: the Reform is more catholic: the Devonshire is comprehensiveness itself. The distinction of the Carlton—and a very valuable one it is—is that it combines the social *cachet* of exclusiveness with the fact of catholicity. Every member of the Conservative party who by credentials of opulence, achievement, it may be even of conviction, is properly accredited to it, is reasonably certain of being received within its fold. Once there, he finds himself the member of a society socially more than respectable, and, politically, representative in a brilliant degree.

When the conqueror of Austerlitz was leading his army on one of the most exhausting and perilous of his marches he made a point of personally addressing the soldiers on his rear rank. The enthusiasm which this simple act of politic affability excited was immense. "Napoléon m'a parlé," said one; and though the French private was compelled to admit to his interrogator that the great man's words were only "Out of the way, imbecile!" the reminiscence was not the less gratifying on this account. Now, whatever the Liberal leaders may say to the rear rank of their followers in the smoking-room and tea-room of the new National Club, it is quite certain that they have not thus far, even in the Reform Club itself, followed the Napoleonic example. It is currently reported that the hall porter at this institution was so unacquainted with Lord Hartington's face, when the then Secretary of State for India passed through its portals on his way to an extraordinary meeting held a year ago, that he asked his lordship whether he was a member, and in his subsequent speech Lord Harting-

ton frankly stated that he was not in the habit of using the club. Mr. Gladstone has probably not, in his capacity of guest, crossed its threshold half-a-dozen times in his life, and though Mr. Bright and many other eminent members of the party are constant *habitués*, no opportunities of frequent contact with the recognised leaders of Liberalism are to be found within its precincts at all comparable to those which the most humble Conservative enjoys in his relations to the Conservative leaders at the Carlton. The explanation is simple. While the men at the head of the Conservative organization use the Carlton daily, the club patronage of the Liberal chiefs, so far as they affect clubs at all, is distributed over half-a-dozen clubs. The result will show whether the new foundation at the corner of the Thames Embankment is likely to effect this arrangement. At present those must be sanguine prophets who are persuaded that it will.

Perhaps at some future time we shall hear of yet another club experiment made by Liberalism, and few persons who attach any weight to these matters will deny that a new Brooks's, however impracticable, is at least a desideratum. It is indeed of extreme importance that the Liberal leaders should attach the rank and file of their followers to them not only in Parliament but in the country at large, and if the new National Liberal Club enables them to do this it will fulfil a want; but it is not, in my humble opinion, the most pressing necessity of the moment, and it is, I would submit, rather among the upper than the lower section of the Liberal party that the unifying process should be conducted just now. It is clearer every day that the plutocratic elements, which might be an essential source of strength to it, are, in an increasing degree, becoming detached from Liberalism, and thus the party of political progress is losing something which its opponents are gaining. The loss may be trivial and the gain unworthy; but the phenomenon is indisputable. During the last thirty or forty years not merely the superstructure but the foundation of English society has changed. The plutocratic has gradually been substituted for the aristocratic principle; many of the prejudices and sentiments of the latter may have been assimilated by the former, and it is for this reason that there exists a tendency to ignore or to minimise the fundamental character of the metamorphosis. The *Spectator* a few days ago published a list of the enormous sums left by a selection of rich men who have died during the last decade, and the large proportion of these consisted of persons belonging to the class of *nouveaux riches*, or *parvenus*. Before the Crimean war the number of families who had attained a conspicuous position in London society by dint of mere wealth was extremely small. Successful stockbrokers, colonial Crœsi, financiers, and speculators of foreign origin did not then give or aspire to give banquets to the great, nor did their wives throw

open their reception-rooms to a brilliant company. Grosvenor Square, Park Lane, Belgrave Square, and Grosvenor Place, St. James's Square, and Carlton House Terrace were each of them a species of exclusive Faubourg Saint Germain. The palaces of South Kensington were either not in existence or were tenanted by persons who were not and did not affect to be of any great social account. Since then everything has changed, and the change has not received the notice it deserves at the hands of the Liberal managers, or the social critics, of the period. It has not, however, escaped the notice of the Conservatives. They have recognised the development of a new social order, and therefore of a new political force. They have striven assiduously to enlist its energies on their side, and they have been far from unsuccessful.

It is an old saying in the manufacturing districts of northern England that when a Methodist keeps a carriage he turns a Churchman. There is certainly at the present time a strong tendency for families, Liberal by birth, interest, and occupation, no sooner to have laid securely the foundation of their fortunes than they become Conservative. Numbers of instances might be mentioned in the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire in which the sons of parents who were Radicals and Chartists, profess themselves followers of the late Lord Beaconsfield. The reason is not far to seek. At the time of the last general election we heard a good deal about the moderate Liberal —the arm-chair politician, as Sir William Harcourt called him—who was to hold the balance of parties and to save the Conservative Government. The contest came, and the moderate Liberals proved to be as the dust in the scales. Yet it is true that a large proportion of the electors are as politically indifferent as the Gallio of the Pall Mall journalist. They are, however, in their hearts, as little zealous for moderation as they are for extremes. If they tread the *vià media*, it is not because they believe it to be the safest path, but because it is that indicated to them by circumstances. The English are just as much, and just as little, a nation of politicians as they are a nation of shopkeepers. The average Briton of the prosperous middle, or, as he would call himself, the upper-middle class, is often not a politician at all. The only points at which he comes into contact with party politics are social or economical. However melancholy it may be, it is indisputable that the political faith which he professes is coloured and decided by circumstances that in themselves are not political. Social pressure is one of these. The ladies of his family gradually abjure the Liberal connection, and the worthy fellow is imperceptibly and irresistibly led by his wife and daughters. The latter are for the most part keen business persons in their way; they expect an equivalent for their expenditure, whether that expenditure be one of money or time. They see that this is more likely to be

realised with the Conservatives than with the Liberals. That is enough to decide their own political sympathies, and thus it is that the father and the husband becomes the accident of an accident, and by circumstances which may seem and may be contemptible enough in themselves, but which he is impotent to defy, is driven into the Conservative camp.

These things, it may be said, are unworthy the attention of the chief of a party, on the side of which the masses are. Exactly; and really enthusiastic Liberals are so passionately persuaded of the inherent vigour and energizing vitality of their principles that they will treat such considerations with contempt. Time is on their side, and therefore it is a small matter in their judgment that their social outposts should be carried by the Conservative enemy. The epithet "social" is necessarily used here in a contracted and a somewhat unworthy sense. Of wider questions, such as the housing of the poor in towns and country districts, it is impossible now to speak. I am concerned exclusively with the relations of the managers of the Liberal party to the wealthy recruits who ought constantly to be drafted into their ranks, and who, if they do not find a place there, will find one in the ranks of the enemy. Unfortunately the social gulf which separates the new Liberals and the old Whigs is infinitely wider than that which divides either Whigs or Liberals from Conservatives. The social tactics and attitude of Conservative peers and other important members of the party contrast characteristically with Liberal, or, as they should rather be called, Whig personages, in a similar station. Social exclusiveness is the note not of the Conservative, or even Tory, nobility, but of the Whig or Liberal. To some extent this is, perhaps, to be explained by the fact that the Conservative magnate, holding what he is secretly aware is an unpopular political faith, is privately convinced of the necessity of showing that his social ideas are liberal and comprehensive. On the other hand, the Whig or Liberal peer presumes upon the popularity of his political faith, and thinks, or seems to think, that he can indulge his social pride with impunity. It is very well to affect to despise trivialities of this kind, but whatever exercises a popular influence is of importance. Men for the most part do not wait to analyse, and do not exactly appraise the importance to be attached to each of the component parts. A political system impresses them as a picture does the uninstructed observer. They see that the Conservative régime secures for those who live under it a large amount of social recognition and enjoyment, and of other pleasures dear to the vulgar, and especially dear to the feminine mind. The reasons which impel the class now spoken of, the *nouveaux riches*, into Conservatism are tangible and clear. Who, asks the Roman poet, would follow virtue if there were to be no rewards for doing so? And when all the visible

inducements for joining any party are on the side of Conservatism, it is scarcely to be wondered at that there should be a general movement on the part of the newly-enriched in that direction.

Men who have succeeded in trade or business, who can command all the pleasures, pomps, and luxuries of life, and who have achieved a certain position for themselves, are beginning, not unintelligibly, to resent the treatment they receive at the hands of the Liberal managers. To act as warming-pans in the representation of boroughs or counties for the scions of Whig families, to play the part of second candidate in a hotly-contested election, and to bear the pecuniary brunt of the struggle, in order that a young gentleman, through whose veins courses the purest Norman blood, may be borne to victory, is a noble aim, but does not satisfy, after a certain period, the cravings of those who wish to feel that they are a power in the State. So long as the Liberal who has the good things of this world can be useful to his betters, he is patronised by them, and allowed to spend his money on their behalf, but when that is over he is shelved. He is utilised as an instrument and tool, and he is made to feel that he is being so employed. Perhaps it will be said that this is all he is good for, and that the Liberal party can afford to be independent of him. It is something new to hear that a political organization can dispense with the money which constitutes the sinews of war, and certainly this is not the time at which the alliance of the moneyed classes can be of insignificance either to Liberals or Conservatives. The Whig managers must remember that in the present day territorial wealth has diminished absolutely, and still more relatively. The Conservatives are thoroughly alive to this fact and to the responsibilities which it imposes upon them. To use an expressive colloquialism, "They go for money." When Mr. W. H. Smith was rejected at the Reform Club he was received with open arms by the Carlton, and he is only one of many such instances that might be mentioned. Or a colonist, in Lord Beaconsfield's happy phrase, "finds a nugget or shears a thousand flocks." He returns to his native land, and starts anew in life on a scale of comfort and splendour. He and his wife are immediately subjected to a judicious course of Conservative manipulation. One young peeress undertakes the management of the lady's entertainments; another guarantees that the family mansion shall ere long be graced by royalty. The colonist himself is at once installed as a member of the Carlton Club, and an opportunity is soon found for him of contesting a parliamentary borough, not in the capacity of second horse, but on his own account. He may not be successful, but he is gratified at the consciousness of his own importance, and he and his family perceive immediately the immense advantage of belonging to the Conservative connection. Now, if it is worth the while of the Conservatives to secure, by hook or by crook, these allies,

it cannot be wise on the part of the Liberals to neglect them. Either new adherents of this sort are valuable or valueless. If they were the latter, it is tolerably certain that the Conservatives, whom no one has yet accused of lack of social acuteness, would not move an inch to get them.

The practical point to which these considerations lead is, that the social discipline of the Liberal party can no longer be conducted upon its traditional lines. The necessities of the time have outgrown the organization. The present system is an anachronism, and the Liberal managers must do what Conservatives have long since done. Equality is the law of Conservatism in its social aspects: inequality that of Liberalism. The old Tories have years ago socially fused themselves in the new Conservatives. The Whigs have never fused themselves in the new Liberals. The Conservatives have with equal wisdom and boldness accepted the fact that the foundation of society in the present day is, as has been already said, plutocratic and not aristocratic. Their opponents have failed to do anything of the sort. To illustrate this by a single instance it would be almost enough to take the list of guests at one of Lady Salisbury's and one of Lady Granville's parties. In the former there is not a single section, social or political, of the Conservative party unrepresented; tradesmen and manufacturers, whose names were strange to their hosts a year ago and are probably not familiar to them now, mingle with landed gentry and nobles of ancient descent. It is the story of the Carlton Club over again. Granted that the desire to appear at these assemblages and to be *en évidence* generally is unworthy, sycophantic, snobbish, and much more to the same effect. But as Burke insisted long ago, it is the business of statesmen not to engage in a series of futile attempts to revolutionise human nature, but to make its materials yield the best possible product. So long therefore as these aspirations exist, call them by however contemptuous a name you will, they must be recognised and treated. The problem is to transmute social vanity into a political force. The Conservatives have solved the problem. When will the Liberals, profiting by the success of their enemies, do the same thing?

Nothing could be more compact and exclusive than the social organization of Whiggism. To those who have thoroughly entered it, or who have been born to it, no society is more agreeable, but it has shown an inability or a disinclination that is nothing less than a political misfortune, to assimilate to itself the new social growths. We may take another concrete instance which will help to illustrate our meaning. One of the great festivals of the fashionable world out of London is at hand, and in the course of the next fortnight society will flock to Ascot. There are few privileges which are more

anxiously coveted than that of admission to the royal enclosure on the most picturesque racecourse of England. It is one of those opportunities which the politician who is responsible for the Queen's buckhounds has of rendering social service to his party. Under Conservative administrations these greatly-desired cards were dispensed with signal judgment. They were distributed, as it was right they should be, on social and political grounds, and though there were necessarily many refusals, with much consequent mortification, there was no reasonable dissatisfaction. In a word, the system was sound, and the company in the enclosure, however select, was not culled from any social or political coterie. The buckhounds are now in the keeping of a Whig nobleman, and the principle on which admissions to the enclosure have on more than one occasion been allotted has excited much criticism and not a little intelligible complaint. The representatives of what is or ought to be one of the strongest, as it is one of the most indispensable, of Liberal interests, are of opinion that they have been very generally excluded. If this be so, it is at least impolitic, and an analogous error was seldom committed by the Conservatives.

Mr. Gladstone is a man of too consuming an earnestness, and too deeply occupied by higher thoughts, to bestow much attention on matters like these, and if they were mentioned to him he would probably express himself upon them in the scornful language that they may deserve. The Prime Minister, indeed, cannot be accused of any lack of catholic sympathy. It is to him, and not, as is generally supposed, to Lord Beaconsfield, that the credit belongs of having invited representative men of art, letters, and science to his State banquets in Downing Street. This is a step in the right direction, and one can only wish that he had gone a little farther. But in social matters, for the most part, as in not a few official matters, Mr. Gladstone still remains what he was when Macaulay described him as the hope of the rigid and unbending Tories. His associations are aristocratic; his most intimate political friends belong to a narrow and privileged caste, and although he admits to his confidence a few gentlemen who do not come under this category, he has never thought it worth while to cultivate any signs of favour to the important and numerous class which is now, there is reason to fear, becoming alienated, in spite of its natural promptings, from the Liberal cause. Lord Beaconsfield excelled in social finesse and adroitness. There is probably no instance on record of a statesman to whose personal influence over his friends and opponents, to whose knowledge of the world, to whose mastery of the foibles of human nature, to whose discreet ministering to the least worthy of the social instincts of humanity, so much of the political success of his organization was due. Mr. Gladstone has had a soul above

all this kind of thing. He has ever been incapable of stooping to the chicanery and the allurements of his dead rival, and the consequence is that, precisely in proportion as he has shown himself a consummate leader of men in the country, he has failed, or at least not achieved any conspicuous success, as a leader of men in Parliament and in society. Much of the admirable social discipline of Conservatives was due to the qualities possessed by Lord Beaconsfield as a man of the world, and to the advice given by him in that capacity to his lieutenants. How useful this was it is unnecessary to say. When a party is in the full swing of its political triumphs and is proudly conscious of having the whole nation at its back, the considerations that have now been suggested may without serious inquiry be ignored. But as time goes on and the strain upon the component parts of the structure becomes more severe, the need of this social unity discloses itself, and its absence is felt to be a source of political weakness. It is open to the Liberal managers to despise the comments I have now offered and the moral I am desirous to point. I am fully conscious that, even if this moral is laid to heart and influences the action of some of the Liberal leaders in London, it will not perhaps greatly affect the position of the party in the country. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the regard paid by great Whig or Liberal personages to the representatives of popular constituencies is interpreted as a compliment not only to the representatives, but to those whom they represent. The latter notice, and are gratified by noticing, that their member receives honour, and reflect with complacency that that source of honour is themselves. No political party was ever yet so strong in the national support that it could afford to discard any opportunity of becoming legitimately stronger. What I would now impress upon the leaders of Liberalism is the expediency of economising all the force at their disposal, and if they are of opinion that what I have indicated as an actual source of weakness in the present and a possible cause of strength in the future is beneath them, then I have no more to say. It will not, however, follow that they are right in their depreciation, or that this depreciation will be justified by results.

A Liberal.

BLASPHEMY AND THE COMMON LAW.

Two or three trials have of late brought into prominence the Common Law relating to blasphemy. It had for some time slept in obscurity. Only a few prosecutions have ever taken place under it. Important in the sense of being frequently applied it has never been. The official judicial statistics, which rarely tell one anything worth knowing, are silent as to the exact number of such prosecutions; but there is no doubt that in this century the law has seldom been put in force. It was set in motion against the publisher of Paine's *Age of Reason* in 1812, and against the ribaldry of Hone in 1817. A series of prosecutions were instituted in 1819, 1821, and 1822 against Richard Carlile, his relatives, and his shopmen; and Mr. Moxon, as the publisher of Shelley's *Queen Mab*, was prosecuted for the same offence in 1841. The law relating to blasphemy then remained dormant until 1857, when Thomas Pooley, a labourer at Liskeard, was tried and convicted at Bodmin assizes for scrawling on several gates foul and vile words respecting Christ. Some astonishment was then expressed at the existence of such a law; and the late Mr. Buckle was so carried away by indignation at what he conceived to be a revival of persecution, that he denounced the judge who presided and the counsel who prosecuted in intemperate language which, if befitting a "high priest of the altar of liberty," as he called himself, did not speak well for the accuracy or calmness of that functionary. Then came a period of abeyance. Persons may from time to time have been prosecuted at assizes for this offence; but nothing occurred to make the mass of men aware of a special law against blasphemy until last March, when Foote and Ramsey were put on their trial before Mr. Justice North at the Old Bailey, and were, on their second trial, convicted and sentenced, the one to twelve, the other to nine months' imprisonment. For the same offence Mr. Bradlaugh was indicted and acquitted. Foote and Ramsey were again tried for a further offence; the proceedings ending abortively owing to the disagreement of the jury. Such trials have been rare; and there is no reason to think that they will be soon repeated. There are times when a cry not to be silenced rises against scoffers as the Korahs, Dathans, and Abirams of the hour, and when a prosecution may prevent a riot or a breach of the peace. That is not so now. Devout religious people, who would be profoundly shocked at the caricatures of the *Freethinker*, have shown no desire to preach a crusade against aggressive, proselytising

infidels. No prominent religious organization has called for the interposition of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Perhaps many of the sympathisers with the proceedings against the *Freethinker* would be vexed to have it supposed that they were at all fanatical or squeamish. We read of official mediæval apologists of orthodoxy who took care to give to their disciples private assurances in some esoteric treatise, or hint quietly dropped, that they were not so strict as they seemed. A Janus-faced championship of the faith is always common; and it is often found that those who have been busy in valiantly defending religion by secular arms are ready to make, in candid moments, modest disavowals of all pretensions to believe more than their neighbours. The law as to blasphemy will again in all probability pass out of notice. But it has a speculative interest. It forms a not unimportant chapter—never, so far as I know, fully told —in the history of opinion. Expounded as it has been by certain judges, it reminds us how far men of to-day have travelled from the habitual thoughts and deepest feelings of their fathers. While Toleration, Catholic Emancipation, Jewish Disability, Affirmation Acts have been passed; while rationalism has been permeating theology; while *Essays and Reviews* have been written by ecclesiastical dignitaries and condoned by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and while wave after wave of new influence from physical science has been moving over every church, this part of the Common Law has been hidden away. Chance compels us to turn to it. We scarcely know its language, it sounds so unfamiliar. Once the perfect expression of men's sincerest thoughts respecting what was dearest to them, it now fills us with amazement. It is a strain on our charity to condone what was unhesitatingly done in its name.

Shortly before the first of the trials relating to the *Freethinker*, Sir James Stephen's *History of the Criminal Law of England* was published. In that remarkable work—perhaps the most important contribution to legal literature since *Blackstone's Commentaries*—is an account of the laws relating to heresy and blasphemy. On a review of the authorities, the writer's conclusion is that any one who denies Christianity, no matter how temperate and decent his language be, may be criminally punished for blasphemy. Renan's *Vie de Jésu* and Auguste Comte's works, for example, are, in this view, blasphemous libels; and "every bookseller who sells a copy of any one of them, every master of a lending library who lets one out to hire—nay, every owner of any such book who lends it to a friend, is guilty of publishing a blasphemous libel, and is liable to fine and imprisonment." "A long and uniform course of decisions" has, says Mr. Justice Stephen, confirmed this opinion, startling though it is. I have examined as carefully as I could the judicial expositions of the nature of this offence given from time to

time, and I have failed to find this uniformity. It appears to me, after studying these decisions, that the law has not been uniformly laid down; that it has been changed, not once only, but often, not by one judge, but by several; that it has been made the voice of the morality and also the passions and prejudices of the hour; and that the interest of the history of this law lies in the nature of these fluctuations.

In legal reasoning it is assumed that judges sit, like the gods of Epicurus, above the clouds and tempests of this mortal state, undisturbed by what goes on below. They are supposed to be exponents of immutable principles; and for the exigencies of a legal argument this may be all very well. But it is a fiction, and a palpable one, when law touches the margin of morals or religion. The ordinary practitioner may not have occasion to notice this; but any lawyer who looks a little into the nature of his business finds that there is no dissociating the history of the common law from the general history of thought and speculation. They are two dials of the same clock. The most enlightened and impartial of judges are of their own time. Nowhere is this truth more pressed upon one than in studying the trials of persons charged with the crime of blasphemy. From the speeches of counsel and the summing up of judges one might surmise the direction of the great currents of thought on philosophy and religion.

How have secular courts ever come to have had jurisdiction over blasphemy? The question has received too little attention. The answer is to be found in one of the most singular usurpations of authority which English history records. Until 1640 many ecclesiastical courts with large and irksome power existed all over England. These were not merely the provincial or diocesan courts, there was also a multitude of "peculiars," that is to say, courts exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary of the diocese.

These tribunals did very much what they liked. The sole check was the jealousy of the Courts of Common Law, which frequently interposed with prohibitions. No part of conduct was safe from scrutiny. The ecclesiastical courts took notice not only of crimes, but of sins. They presented an alliance of Sir Benjamin Backbite or Paul Pry and St. Dominic. These courts were destroyed in 1640. They could not co-exist with the new order of things which then arose. But, hated though they were, a substitute for these censors of morals and opinions was sought by the Puritans; and much of the legislation of the Commonwealth, supposed to be significant of a new spirit of extraordinary fanaticism, seems to have been due to a desire to enforce such discipline as had been exercised through the diocesan and consistorial courts. So literally true in Milton's experience was it that presbyter was but priest writ large. The

difficulty experienced by the lawyers of the time in dealing with ecclesiastical cases during the Commonwealth was illustrated in the trial of James Naylor. That enthusiast, whom we now know to have been a gentle visionary, was led astray by followers more foolish than himself, and in particular by certain "women of high imaginations," as his friend Ellwood says, who greeted him on entering Bristol as a second Christ. He was prosecuted for blasphemy, in a wholly illegal manner, by the House of Commons, and was condemned to suffer the most cruel torture which a cruel age could suggest. Sad warning at the threshold of the subject of the dangers which attend prosecutions for such offence. From Whitelocke's opinion in Naylor's case one can see that the lawyers of the time were puzzled to know what punishment should be imposed for an offence outside the Common Law. And such was, in fact, the position of heresy, and that aggravated and execrable form of it known as blasphemy.

These offences lay wholly outside the Common Law as then understood. Statutes had indeed been passed empowering the secular courts to punish Lollards, Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, and men who depraved or despised the Book of Common Prayer. But at Common Law heresies of all kinds were cognizable only by ecclesiastical courts, whose business it was to deal with them *pro correctione morum et salute animæ*. The reader is emphatically warned in Caudrey's case that the determination of heresies, schisms, and errors in religion does not belong to the Common Law. No writer on criminal law previous to the eighteenth century, so far as I know, states that blasphemy was one of the pleas of the Crown cognizable by secular courts; and there are many explicit sayings to the contrary.

This is the first stage: blasphemy within the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts only, regarded as a sin more than a crime, and punished chiefly by reason of the calamities which it was believed God did not fail to send upon communities in which it abounded. At the Restoration the ecclesiastical courts were revived, and in the natural course of things they would have exclusive cognizance of all heresies. But they did not exercise their old powers. They could no longer order heretics to be burnt; that power which was last exercised in 1612 against certain Anabaptists was expressly taken away by Parliament in 1677. The Court of High Commission, the most potent as well as most odious of all the ecclesiastical tribunals, was abolished, and the oath *ex officio* was taken away. What heresy was, what was the binding character of the canons as to laymen, had become doubtful; and for many reasons the ecclesiastical courts were but feeble copies of what they had been. Heresy and blasphemy were consequently not in practice punishable. And yet the times

were wicked, and strange opinions displeasing to heaven abounded. People saw in the plague and great fire meet punishments for the immorality and damnable doctrines which prevailed. In 1675 Parliament appointed a committee to take measures to "prevent the abominable sin of blasphemy." The following year a decision which was the turning point of the law on the subject was given in the King's Bench.[1] An information was filed against one James Taylor for uttering foul words respecting Jesus Christ. It was objected that the court had no jurisdiction to try him. Sir Matthew Hale overruled the objection, observing "that such kind of wicked and blasphemous words were not only an offence against God and religion, but a crime against the law, State, and government, and therefore punishable in this court; that to say religion is a cheat is to dissolve all those obligations whereby civil societies are preserved, and Christianity being parcel of the laws of England, therefore to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of the law." These may not be Hale's exact words; the reporters of his day were particularly loose and inaccurate, and given to recording what Chief Justice Holt called "scimble scamble." They had a way of quoting with little intelligence and without all the necessary qualifications pithy, sensational dicta which struck their fancy; and if Hale ever uttered the famous and obscure dictum about Christianity being part of the law of the land, he probably showed more clearly than we now can see in what sense it was at all true, and that his inference from it, taken in any sense, was correct. No doubt there is much loose talk in the Year Books to the same effect. Coke speaks of the law as to the yard and ale measures being the law of God. The profoundest lawyers of his time had a way of lumping together Deuteronomy, Bracton, and the last statute, and could not be got to see that Moses was not a legislator for England. It is remarkable that nowhere, so far as I know, in Hale's voluminous writings, legal or theological, is to be found this celebrated proposition, about Christianity—a proposition which, if literally true in Hale's view, must, one would say, have appeared to him too important to be passed over. It is still more remarkable that Hale in his elaborate work on the Pleas of the Crown does not mention blasphemy as one of the crimes cognizable by the King's secular courts. Apparently he ranked it as a form of heresy, so that he regarded it as matter for the notice of ecclesiastical courts. Yet one can understand why he, a theologian as much as a lawyer, a man of pure life in an age of corrupt and dissolute manners, a stern censor whose maxim was *perimus licitis*, struck with the prevalence of unbelief, and witness-

(1) Atwood's case is earlier (1617); but of the two imperfect notices extant, one, and that the more intelligible, says that the King's Bench thought it had no jurisdiction in regard to blasphemy.

ing as he thought God's judgments upon a guilty land, should be anxious to lengthen the arm of the secular courts so as to smite the scoffer and derider of sacred things. The encroachment might seem especially expedient at a time when the discipline once exercised through the ecclesiastical courts had grown slack.[1] It was in accordance with the policy which led the King's Bench about this time to assume to itself the jurisdiction previously exercised by the Star Chamber, over misdemeanours offensive to morality; but it was an innovation, and one full of serious consequences. When dealt with in the ecclesiastical courts blasphemy had a definite meaning. Calvin, in his *Institutes* distinguishes it from other sins as sharply as a lawyer would distinguish the various kinds of bailments or trusts. In the *Reformatio Legum*, the first attempt to reduce English ecclesiastical law to order, it is expressly defined; and before the High Commission it would have been punishable only if one of the forms of heresy condemned by the first four councils. In secular courts, on the other hand, there was no stable definition of the offence; it was apt to vary with the judge or the jury.

This was the second stage: blasphemy had become a secular offence. The ecclesiastical courts did not entirely relinquish meddling with it. They occasionally in the end of the seventeenth century compelled an anti-Trinitarian to do penance. But from Hale's time the denial of the doctrines of Christianity by a layman has been in practice cognisable only in criminal courts. Convocation did indeed occasionally hurl its feeble anathemas against Toland, Chubb, or other eminent heretics; but it did so diffidently, and with a dread that the penalties of *præmunire* might descend upon it. The secular courts which thus acquired jurisdiction over unbelievers or scoffers at Christianity did not understand it as it is now understood—Christianity wide as charity itself, embracing the strictest Calvinist and those who sit under Mr. Frothingham, those who think the Bible is literally inspired, and those who view it as a series of touching fables, and whose faith is but a hope and an aspiration. It was Christianity such as Hale himself, or the divines of the Savoy Conference, understood it—Christianity elaborated as much as a code, with a long list of fundamentals, and with terrible comminations pronounced upon all who transgressed them. Certainly it was Christianity in a sense which excluded Unitarians. The most conspicuous fact in the early history of the law of blasphemy is, that the first victims of it were not Atheists, Deists, or "Hobbists," but those who held heretical views respecting the Trinity. At the close of the seventeenth century and

(1) "He (Hale) often wished there might be some law to make all scurrility or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. . . . He looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age."—*Bishop Burnet's "Life of Hale."*

the beginning of the eighteenth, the controversies as to the natures of the Father and the Son, which had shaken the Church in its early history, were renewed with animation and an amount of *odium theologicum* worthy the days of Athanasius and Arius. This war was not waged merely with the weapon of the Spirit. The ultimate test of zeal in these days was a readiness to put one's opponent in prison, and there was no reluctance to apply it. Unitarians were expressly excluded from the amnesty granted to Nonconformists by the Act of Toleration; and we know that in the reigns of Anne and the beginning of that of George I. deniers of the doctrine of the Trinity were imprisoned as guilty of an offence at Common Law. The best-known prosecution for this crime was the trial of Thomas Emlyn, a learned Dissenter, who had settled in Dublin as the minister of a Presbyterian congregation. Having avowed Unitarian principles in a *Humble Inquiry*, which he published to the world, he was put on his trial for blasphemy and convicted. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for a year, and to pay a fine of £1,000; the Chief Justice telling him that he might be thankful that he did not live in Spain or Portugal, where he would have been burned.

Irritated at the appearance of so many anti-Trinitarian tracts, the clergy and the Commons petitioned the King in 1698 to shut the press to this pernicious literature; and in accordance with this request, perhaps also owing to an uneasy feeling that "Rex *v.* Taylor" was not sound law, the 9 and 10 William III., c. 32, was passed. It enacted that, if "any person having been educated in, or at any time having made profession of, the Christian religion within the realm, shall by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or shall assert there are more Gods than one, or shall deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be of divine origin," he shall labour under certain civil disqualifications; and for a second offence he shall suffer three years' imprisonment. That Act, so far as Unitarians were concerned, was repealed in 1813. Then for the first time, in a ministry of forty years, said Belsham, the leading Unitarian of the day, as he addressed his congregation in Essex Street Chapel, could preach under the protection of the law. Yet his congratulations to his flock were premature. Their legal position was still dubious. As late as 1817 Lord Eldon had his doubts whether anti-Trinitarianism, the religion of Priestley and Belsham, was not punishable with the pillory.[1] Subsequently, when Richard Carlile was prosecuted, eminent Unitarians, such as the late Mr. W.

(1) It is stated, in "A. G. *v.* Pearson," 3 Mer., p. 387, that a prosecution of a Unitarian took place in 1817. The fanaticism of the Irish Church against anti-Trinitarianism lasted long. As late as 1757 steps were taken to prosecute Robert Clayton for attacking the doctrine of the Trinity.

J. Fox, took alarm at the doctrines laid down from the bench, and declared that their civil rights were again in jeopardy. In Waddington's case, which was decided in 1822, Best, J., was careful to say that the repeal of the statutory disabilities against Unitarians left the Common Law intact; and not until the judges gave their answers to the questions put to them by the House of Lords, in Lady Hewley's case,[1] in 1842, was it clear that Unitarianism was no longer illegal. They did not state their reasons for this conclusion. Had they done so, they could scarcely have refrained from declaring that some of the decisions of the early part of the seventeenth century were no longer sound in law.

A third stage in the history of the development of the law is marked by the trial of Dr. Woolston in 1728. This forgotten writer, who united considerable ingenuity and unusual, though incoherent, knowledge of the Fathers with a turn for a low form of buffoonery, spent his life in turning the Scriptures into crazy allegories. In six *Discourses on the Miracles of Christ*, addressed to the most eminent bishops of the day, and full of his eccentricities, he sought to show that the narratives of miracles were not true, but were to be understood in a highly mystical sense. The book was wild and extravagant, and the language was often scurrilous. The assurance that "at bottom" he was "sound as a rock" seemed too much like irony to be credited. Reluctantly, and against protests of Dr. Clarke and Dr. Lardner, he was at last prosecuted for blasphemy and convicted. No perfect report of Chief Justice Raymond's charge exists; but from the accounts of it which we have, it may be inferred that the ambiguity and inadequate character of Hale's ruling were appreciated. The Toleration Act had in the interval been passed. The protracted Trinitarian controversy, the hubbub of pamphleteering, known as the Bangorian controversy, had revealed deep dissensions within the Church itself. The high tide of the Deistical controversy was approaching; and the Court, though not composed of theologians, seems to have been sensible to the changes in opinion, the growth of toleration, which had taken place since 1676. "Christianity in *general*," said Chief Justice Raymond, "is parcel of the Common Law of England. Now whatever strikes at the root of Christianity manifestly tends to a dissolution of the civil government." "I would have it taken notice of that we do not meddle with any difference of opinion, and that we interpose only when the very root of Christianity is struck at." This was anything but precise. It permitted judges and juries latitude in future prosecutions, and the presence of a new spirit of toleration made them rare. Unitarianism spread. Many Presbyterian congregations slid into it. Writing in 1723, in his *History of the Athanasian Creed*, as to

(1) "Shore *v.* Wilson," 9 Cl. and Fin. 355.

the controversy about the Trinity, Waterland says that it was "spread abroad among all ranks and degrees of men."[1] Yet prosecutions of Unitarians were scarcely thought of; and when they were instituted the judges seem to have set their faces against such proceedings—witness the trial at Stafford assizes in 1726 of Elwall, charged with writing a book against the doctrine of the Trinity; Mr. Justice Denton did his utmost, and with success, to get him discharged. Though the Deistical writers published book after book which struck at the root of Christianity, and attacked it "in general," rarely was there any attempt to apply the Chief Justice's doctrine. Leslie was not the last orthodox writer to propose "a short and easy method with Deists;" but divines scorned to propose what, in the preceding century, had seemed the shortest and easiest method of all—putting one's adversaries in prison as blasphemers. A Middlesex grand jury might occasionally present Toland's or Chubb's books as nuisances; divines preferred to answer them. It was the lot of the Church to possess then a race of fighting bishops, leviathans of controversy, ready to meet all comers, liking nothing better than hustling a Dissenter in print, smothering a Deist in texts, or insinuating that an adversary's slips as to Greek were so serious that he must have lived a dissolute life. To do the Gibsons, Hoadlys, Horsleys, and Watsons justice, they did not want the aid of the law in repelling an opponent. They boldly grappled in argument with Priestley and Paine.

If the works of the latter did not escape prosecution, it was not so much that the world was shocked at his cavils at Genesis or his doubts as to the morality of massacring the Canaanites. Written in quiet times or by a writer whose political views were not detested and feared, even *The Age of Reason* might not have incurred the notice of the Attorney-General. Some dean would have composed a bulky refutation which would have succeeded in procuring the writer preferment, if not in demolishing Paine. But the part which he had played in the French revolution, the fear caused by that event, and the hatred which his political opinions inspired, made the Government think that Bishop Watson's arguments should be supplemented by a prosecution; which was instituted with success in 1797. As to the details of that trial, the trial of Eaton in 1812, of Hone in 1817, or the group of prosecutions directed against Carlile's publications, I would only say that in none of them, apparently, was any clear direction given to the jury. All the judges cited Hale's barely intelligible dictum, but they left it unexplained. In charging the jury empannelled to try Hone, Lord Ellenborough told them that "the Litany and the Prayer Book were in the Statute

(1) Quoted in Mr. Pattison's essay upon "The Tendencies of Religious Thought in England."

Book as much as the law of inheritance, which gives a son the estate of his fathers," a statement which will not bear too close examination. One fails to find in any of the charges—in the patronising acknowledgment of Kenyon of the superiority of Christianity, in the stolid and evasive truisms of Abbott, and in the animated harangues of Ellenborough—any precise rule of guidance. The fact is, the judges of that time do not seem to want to come to the point. They take back in one sentence what they have laid down in the last. They talk about the benefits of unfettered discussion, and proceed to inculcate the solemn duty incumbent upon juries to send to prison those who discussed certain matters in a certain way; and they appear to endeavour to pursue a *via media* by stating, with equal emphasis and felicity, contradictory propositions. Almost all the charges, so far as I have found reports of them, are vitiated by the fault of non-direction as to the law. Asked by a juryman, in Waddington's case, whether a bare denial of the divinity of Christ was a criminal offence, Chief Justice Abbott cautiously answered that a denial in the words of the defendant was an unlawful libel. Consummate rhetorical skill was shown in avoiding saying in plain terms whether the matter or the manner, the denial of certain doctrines or the discussion of them in needlessly offensive language, was the gist of the offence. These acute judges must have been conscious of an ambiguity which is so palpable to us. Perhaps this coyness was not accidental. In their reluctance to determine the exact limits of legitimate discussion of religious themes they were of their age—a time when persons in good society hated cant and enthusiasm; when they prized freedom of discussion for themselves without being certain as to the results to property and the constitution of a general enjoyment of it; and when Christianity was regarded, if not as part of the law, as a precious means of preserving quiet and contentment among the lower orders. Kenyon, C.J., upon the Christian Evidences and "Julian and other apologists," or Best, C.J., upon the Beauty of the Christian Religion, is not a spectacle of unmixed edification.

In tracing the changes of judicial opinion upon this subject, I am anxious not to give a pedantic appearance of sharpness and precision to alterations which were, in fact, gradual and often imperceptible. But there can be little doubt that the latest exposition of the subject marks another phase of opinion. In the Lord Chief Justice's charge to the jury in "The Queen *v.* Ramsey," a charge marked at once by learning and rare liberality of spirit, it is laid down that if the decencies of controversy be observed, even the fundamentals of religion may be attacked. That is a clear rule, perhaps the first clear rule on this subject expressed from the Bench by an English judge. In the state of the authorities it was open—if I may be

permitted to say so—to adopt such a view; it perhaps accords with what most persons would desire to be the law. Hale's contemporaries punished damnable errors; the equivalent crime in these days is to offend against charity and the *bienséances* of society.[1]

There is some force in the remark, often made of late, that it matters little what may be the letter of the law as to blasphemy; the good sense of juries will prevent mischief being done, at all events except in times of excitement, or when political objects may be served by prosecutions. That is a partial reassurance as regards the direct effect of the law of blasphemy. It is none as regards the indirect civil consequences. When property is at stake; when estates may be won, or burthensome contracts may be broken with impunity by raising objections to the legality of contracts or trusts, there will be rarely any hesitation to make use of these weapons. It requires self-denial of which few are capable, for a person who is entangled in an irksome engagement to peremptorily enjoin his solicitor not to raise a defence which he is advised must be successful. Here we come to a possible deduction from the law of blasphemy which the courts may some day be invited to draw. Suppose—what is not impossible or far-fetched in these days—that any one left by his will a sum of money to trustees in trust for the circulation of Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff*, Strauss's *Der Alte und der Neue Glaube*, the works of Ozolbe, Moleschott, or any of the aggressive materialists of modern Germany. Suppose that an educational institution were founded for the purpose of bringing up pupils in purely secular principles. These are not violent hypotheses; and if the legality of such trusts be ever questioned in a court of law, it will be urged that Hale's maxim is still, in a sense, true, or that, if the Common Law does not render them illegal, they come under the ban of the unrepealed portion of 9 & 10 Will. III., c. 32. An actual instance will illustrate this. The secretary of the Liverpool Secular Society hired rooms in which to deliver lectures. One, with the title, "The Bible shown to be no more inspired than any other book," was announced. The owner of the rooms thereupon refused the further use of them. The

(1) Another development of judicial opinion is to be found in one of Baron Alderson's charges. It fell to him, in 1838, to try at York a clergyman who was charged with publishing a foul libel upon a Catholic nunnery established at Scorton. "A person," he said, "may, without being liable to prosecution for it, attack Judaism, Mahommedanism, or even any sect of the Christian religion, save the Established religion of the country; and the only reason why the latter is in a different situation from the others is, because it is the form established by law, and is therefore a part of the constitution of the country. In like manner, and for the same reason, any general attack on Christianity is the subject for a criminal prosecution, because Christianity is the established religion of the country." I say nothing of the implication that one may not attack the constitution of the country in the sense of criticising it, or of the alarming bearing which the ruling has upon all active members of the Liberation Society. Obviously we are here far away from Hale's view; reasons and conclusions differ.

secretary brought an action for breach of contract, but the Court of Exchequer declined to aid him, the object of the lecture being unlawful. And it is not only Mr. Bradlaugh and his followers who might suffer from the application of such a doctrine. Unitarians are indeed in a position of safety. Property bequeathed in furtherance of Judaism has been secured by legislation. Roman Catholic trusts are also protected, though, drawing a distinction which it would be difficult to defend, the courts will enforce a trust for the circulation of the works of Joanna Southcott, while they will treat as void a bequest to say requiems and masses for the soul of a Roman Catholic. Outside these bodies are others whose exact legal position is very obscure. It might be hard to justify, according to the old authorities, the validity of a trust created for the purpose of circulating Hume's philosophical works.

The luminous and acute statement of the criminal law in "The Queen *v.* Ramsey" must for the present be taken to be the authoritative exposition of it. Is it, however, final? Is there no other stage in the development which we have traced? It is laid down that one must not insult the religious feelings of the community, that is, of the majority. Christianity, as generally understood, must be reverently discussed. But for the religious feelings of individuals or minorities—of a Jew, a Brahmin, a Swedenborgian, and Comtist, for example—there is no protection. That is not the law of other civilised countries such as France or Germany,[1] and it is difficult to see how it can long continue here to be the law, now that it is recognised that piety, not theology, religious feeling, not dogma, merit protection. And this brings one to an essential point. What, here and elsewhere, is and always has been the most common form of open, arrogant irreverence, meriting some of the penalties if not the name of blasphemy? When we pass in review the religious movements which have stirred England—the labours of George Fox, the preaching of Wesley, the Tractarian movement, the various Evangelical and revival movements—we see one fate befalling their authors. They are loaded with insults. They have to pass through a furnace of contumely and abuse. "Ridicule will do them good; it is the test of truth," say those who keenly resent the application of this doctrine to their own opinions. And so the history of the gentle Ellwood, and the saintly Edward Burrough, of Whitefield and Wesley, is a history of persecution in its most coarse and vulgar, if not most cruel form; respectable people standing by and letting the mob work its will. All this has happened so often and so regularly, that one knows that whenever a few men come out from their fellows through a desire to lead purer lives, or expound a loftier faith, or fancy they have obtained a brighter gleam

(1) *Strafgesetzbuch*, 166—168; Code Pénal, 260—264.

of divine approbation than falls upon the rest of the world, they will meet, whether they be mechanics or philosophers, Ritualists or the followers of General Booth, with cruel ridicule, if they be not maltreated. This is the form of irreverence which it might be well if law could oftener reach; irreverence which may dwarf or even destroy what it despises. It is the faith of the feeble minority which needs protection. The majority may be annoyed by ridicule; it cannot be greatly injured. One man cannot laugh a million out of their beliefs, but a million may easily laugh him out of his, and a new truth, a new impulse to a higher life, may be weakened or lost for ever.

In India, legislation for which is often a solvent of English prejudices and the precursor of what is ultimately enacted here, the principle of toleration and protection to all is carried out impartially. Called upon to consider this problem in presence of many conflicting forms of worship, and obliged to keep the peace at the great festivals when the votaries of many creeds meet together, the Indian Government has recognised the right of the professors of all religions to be shielded from insults and outrages. After providing for the punishment of those who profane or defile sacred places, or disturb religious assemblies, the Penal Code proceeds (Article 298) to impose severe penalties on any one who "with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word, or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person" That law, which is no doubt required by the circumstances of India, is based upon a fair and just principle. It is preferable in several respects to the corresponding articles in the Criminal Codes of Germany and France. It seems to me to mark the next stage in the development of law as to religion. But if administered in England by juries, as is generally proposed, it would, it is to be feared, be ineffectual. It is vain to expect that juries will send to prison, with equal impartiality, one who ridicules the Mormon Bible and one who reviles the Christian Scriptures, those who shout ribald jests at the Salvation Army, and those who display placards displeasing to the general body of Christians. For the trial of such offences, a tribunal which will not be swayed by prejudices, and which will be likely to remember that minorities have their feelings, is needed; and a jury, instead of being the best adapted for this purpose, is in many ways the worst.[1] I appeal to those who have taken part professionally in such a trial, or have studied the proceedings, whether a jury is not generally unsuitable for determining

(1) The Criminal Law Commissioners, in their draft report (Art. 141), propose to deal with the matter thus:—"Every one shall be guilty of an indictable offence, and shall be liable upon conviction thereof, to one year's imprisonment, who publishes any blasphemous libel. It shall be a question of fact whether any particular published matter is or is not a blasphemous libel: provided that no one shall be liable to be con-

such questions. A man who is a fanatic or hampered by an awkward honesty of speech is sure to be in jeopardy; another offender, whose fault may not be less, but who has a cleverer pen, is sure to escape. And, still worse, the hawker of garbage, coarse in speech and foul in thought, may be placed in the best position to gain the fame or notoriety which he covets.

Such outrages and insults to religious feelings as really merit punishment ought, as it seems to me, to be dealt with summarily by a magistrate; that procedure being preferable to the preliminaries and prolonged publicity of a jury trial, which at best serves to advertise rather than suppress what is truly obnoxious. It would not be difficult to draw one or two sections, modelled upon, but not so strict as Articles 295—298 of the Indian Penal Code, which would meet the necessities of the case. It would probably be enough to punish persistent obtrusion of opinions on religious subjects amounting to annoyance, and outrages calculated to lead to a breach of the peace. The necessity for more than this was never very clear—in our age it is less than it ever was. Pious men and women may deplore that so many of those around them do not hold fast to the faith of their fathers; but the most sensitive will own that never were doubters or unbelievers more decorous and reverent, never more eager to see goodness and beauty in the doctrines and institutions from which they have fallen away, never more disposed to speak the language and take to themselves the sentiments of Christianity. Contrast any modern book on Christian Evidences with one written in last century; you rarely find in the former any complaint as to a fierce, aggressive spirit such as marked so many of the Anti-Christian writers of the eighteenth century. Modern infidelity does not so much attack—it explains; it does not war against Christianity—it classifies it; and in the decorum of his modern critic the theologian sees his danger.

The conclusion to which a study of the subject brings one, is that dogma must be left to take care of itself, to spread or die out, as its fate may be; that religious feeling, the devout sentiment of one or many, growing more precious as the value of dogma declines, should not be outraged; that the criminal law should punish only offences which approach the nature of a nuisance at Common Law; and that by the summary character of the proceedings as well as the punishment inflicted, offenders should be placed in their true light—not as the victims of persecutions, but persecutors; not as the preachers of unpopular truths, but disturbers of the peace.

JOHN MACDONELL.

victed upon any indictment for a blasphemous libel only for expressing in good faith and decent language, or attempting to establish by arguments used in good faith and conveyed in decent language, any opinion whatever upon any religious subject." This would virtually leave the whole question to the jury.

THE POETRY OF ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.[1]

Clough's first important poem was described as a *Long-Vacation Pastoral,* and it is in a pastoral poem, called *Thyrsis*—and a very beautiful pastoral poem, one which may be read by the side of Milton's *Lycidas* without losing by the comparison—that Matthew Arnold has commemorated the death of the contemporary and friend of whom I am to speak to-night. Yet I think no one would be disposed to term Clough's poetry, poetry exactly of the pastoral order, in spite of the pastoral elements which it undoubtedly contains. For what is pastoral poetry? I remember the time when my favourite aversion—I may almost say, the object of my severest moral indignation—was what I understood to be pastoral poetry. When, on August 10th, 1637, Mr. Edward King was shipwrecked in a crazy vessel bound from Chester for Dublin, all the crew and passengers being lost, nineteen Latin, thirteen English, and three Greek poems were written upon his death by his Cambridge friends, of which one became very famous—Milton's *Lycidas.* You remember the general drift of this pastoral, which was at the time much praised for being "a pastoral," on the ground that "both Mr. King and Milton had been designed for Holy Orders and the pastoral care, which," as the phrase went, "gave a peculiar propriety to several passages in it." Such a passage, I suppose, is this exquisitely graceful and musical one:—

> "For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,
> Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill;
> Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
> Under the opening eyelids of the Morn,
> We drove afield, and both together heard
> What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,
> Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night
> Oft till the star that rose at evening, bright,
> Toward Heaven's descent had sloped his westering wheel.
> Meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute,
> Temper'd to the oaten flute;
> Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel
> From the glad sound would not be absent long;
> And old Damoetas loved to hear our song."

My sturdy Yorkshire sense of reality was very much revolted, when I was a lad, by this conventional imagery. "What," I used to say to myself, "can the man mean by talking of himself and Mr. Edward King as having fed their flock upon the self-same hill, and piped on

(1) Lecture recently delivered at the Philosophical Hall, Leeds.

oaten flutes till the rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel from the glad sound would not be absent long? It was all rubbish, of course. Milton and Mr. Edward King were together at Cambridge, and both thought of going into the Church, which has been compared in parable to feeding sheep; but they never did feed even metaphorical flocks together, and certainly never had Satyrs, and Fauns with cloven heel, dancing to their music. Why can't even poets say what they want to say a little more directly, and without those conventional equivalents for things which are a great deal more interesting to the imagination when adequately conceived, than they are when conceived under the disguise of these fanciful and not very impressive metaphors? Why call Mr. Edward King Lycidas at all? Why set up the fiction that he belonged to ancient Greece, and lived in the circle of mythological ideas, most of which were, as Mr. Pecksniff once remarked, 'Pagan, I regret to say'?" I do not quote these grumblings of mine against the conventions of poetic speech for their wisdom. I am well aware now that it is one test of the power of a great poet to have a certain pleasure in the apt use of a conventional field of fancy, all good verse, indeed, being itself the product of a rare faculty for the apt use of conventional rhythm and artistic—which is, in one sense, artificial—rhyme. It would, indeed, be as absurd to say that to burst into operatic airs is a natural mode of expression for the despairing lover or the assassin, as to say that the most natural mode of expressing the ecstasy of wrath, even of an unhinged mind, is to inveigh in such verses as these, which King Lear launches against the storm:—

> "Blow, winds! and crack your cheeks! rage! blow! . . . .
> You sulphurous and thought-executing fires,
> Vaunt couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
> Singe my white head!"

We all know that wrath and misery at their highest point do not, in fact, take orderly imaginative shape in this way. True poetry, in my belief, comes nearer reality than any other effort of human energy; but it always has, always must have, a conventional element in it—an element foreign to the natural products of the bare emotions of men—and this, though it is actually by virtue of the use of that conventional element that it pierces deeper to the core of existence than any one who abjures all convention will ever succeed in piercing. Listen to any woman who has lost all that is dearest to her in life, and she will certainly not say—unless she is insincere and affected—what Cleopatra says on the death of Antony—

> "And there is nothing left remarkable
> Beneath the visiting moon."

All the imaginative expressions of feeling in true poetry are far more perfect, far more elaborate than any one not a charlatan would or

could use, under the immediate influence of that emotion. None the less, the expressions which are here, within the conventional licence always permitted to a poet, put into Cleopatra's mouth, are the most memorable and magnificent expressions of the sense of loss which the English tongue contains. I referred, then, to my old sentiment of wrath against pastoral poetry, not to justify it—though I do think that in many schools of poetry the conventional has almost edged out the real, and left us with no spiritual meaning engraven on the background of lackadaisical assumption—but to indicate what it is, in my opinion, that was alone wanting to Clough, to make him one of the greatest of our poets—I mean a certain pliancy to the more conventional methods of expressing poetic feeling. Clough had many of the elements even of a pastoral poet in him—especially that love of the earth, and the homely things of the earth in their utmost simplicity, which has led, no doubt, to the supreme idealising of shepherds and of sheep, and of all the details of pastoral life. He has even written one short pastoral of extreme beauty, describing the feelings with which a Swiss herdswoman, whose lover is seeking his fortune far away from her, drives home her little herd through a sudden Alpine storm to their shelter in the byres; and muses, as she presses her three cows onwards through the driving rain, whether her lover will have strength to be faithful to her in the foreign scenes which he is visiting, nay, whether she herself will have strength to be faithful to him, if the time drags on, and no further confirmation of his love for her be received:—

"The skies have sunk, and hid the upper snow,
(Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie,)
The rainy clouds are filing fast below,
And wet will be the path, and wet shall we.
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.

Ah dear, and where is he, a year agone,
Who stepped beside and cheered us on and on?
My sweetheart wanders far away from me,
In foreign land or on a foreign sea.
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.

The lightning zigzags shoot across the sky,
(Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie,)
And through the vale the rains go sweeping by;
Ah me, and when in shelter shall we be?
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.

Cold, dreary cold, the stormy winds feel they
O'er foreign lands and foreign seas that stray.
(Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.)
And doth he e'er, I wonder, bring to mind
The pleasant huts and herds he left behind?
And doth he sometimes in his slumbering see

The feeding kine, and doth he think of me,
My sweetheart wandering wheresoe'er it be?
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.
The thunder bellows far from snow to snow,
(Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie,)
And loud and louder roars the flood below,
Heigh-ho! but soon in shelter shall we be:
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.

Or shall he find before his term be sped,
Some comelier maid that he shall wish to wed?
(Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.)
For weary is work, and weary day by day
To have your comfort miles on miles away.
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.

Or may it be that I shall find my mate,
And he returning see himself too late?
For work we must, and what we see, we see,
And God he knows, and what must be, must be,
When sweethearts wander far away from me.
Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie.

The sky behind is brightening up anew,
(Home, Rose, and home, Provence and La Palie,)
The rain is ending, and our journey, too;
Heigh-ho! aha! for here at home are we:—
In, Rose, and in, Provence and La Palie."

Now, that is a true pastoral, full of pastoral feeling and simplicity, but it has not that background of artificial convention which we find in "Lycidas" or indeed in much more modern pastorals. There is no artificial use in it of the metaphors of the pastoral life such as Matthew Arnold, for instance, in commemorating Clough himself, has freely used. He calls Clough "Thyrsis," just as Milton called Edward King "Lycidas," and reproaches him thus for his dissatisfaction with Oxford life and labour:—

"Too rare, too rare, grow now my visits here!
But once I knew each field, each flower, each stick,
And with the country-folk acquaintance made
By barn in threshing-time, by new-built rick.
Here, too, our shepherd pipes we first assayed.
Ah me, this many a year
My pipe is lost, my shepherd's holiday!
Needs must I lose them, needs with heavy heart
Into the world and wave of man depart!
But Thyrsis of his own will went away.
It irk'd him to be here, he could not rest.
He loved each simple joy, the country fields,
He loved his mates; but yet he could not keep,
For that a shadow lower'd on the fields,
Here, with the shepherds and the silly sheep.
Some life of men unblest
He knew, which made him droop and filled his head.
He went, his piping took a troubled sound
Of storms that rage outside our happy ground.
He could not wait their passing,—he is dead."

Here we have the pastoral imagery full-blown, the pipes, and the shepherds, and the silly sheep, used to describe the rhymings of Oxford students or tutors, the teachers of the University, and the undergraduates whom Clough was no longer content to teach; while "the life of men unblest," "the storms that rage outside our happy ground," had reference, I suppose, to the questions agitated at the time Clough left the University concerning the true conditions of Subscription to the Articles of the Church, and Mr. Carlyle's turbulent exhortations to all the world to abjure cant, and to live strictly up or down to the truth that was in him. "Carlyle," says Clough, "led us out into the wilderness, and left us there." And I, for my part, do not at all doubt that it was in great measure Mr. Carlyle's stern exhortations to all men to clear their lives of all misleading professions, which induced Clough to throw up his Oxford fellowship, and which, to use Mr. Arnold's metaphor, made his piping take "a troubled sound." However, this is all by the way. I took the passage from Matthew Arnold's tribute to Clough, only to contrast it with his own poetry, which never adopts the conventional metaphors of the pastoral school of poetry, or conforms to its limits—except, indeed, those limits of rhythm and rhyme which all verse of any dignity must observe—and allows itself none of those freedoms with the uses of conventional association of which Milton and Arnold so freely avail themselves.

In one word, Clough was almost too grimly in earnest, even at the very moment he was writing poetry, for the fanciful play of that sheet-lightning of the fancy which—when not indulged too far—adds so much to the charm of the poet. His mind was always fixed on the real world. The greatest poet puts the trouble of the world far from him, in the very moment of imagining and delineating it with his utmost force. It is the imaginative force with which he projects it, so as to make it vividly visible to himself, that really keeps the weight of it off his heart. When Shakespeare makes Macbeth say—

> "Methought I heard a voice cry, 'Sleep no more!
> Macbeth does murder sleep.'"
> "Sleep no more . . . . .
> Glamis hath murdered sleep and therefore Cawdor
> Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!"

he sheathed, as it were, the mortal anguish of the assassin's guilt in the fine imaginative scabbard of the poet's spiritual expression. No murderer could have said that, or put the feeling of the murderer sufficiently outside his own mind to conceive it. The poet who feels too keenly the griefs of other men—who feels them too much as *they* feel them—can never find the most adequate imaginative expression for them. Just conceive a real human being reproaching

his mother in *rhyme*, as Hamlet does for her unfaithfulness to his father—

> "A bloody deed;—almost as bad, good mother,
> As kill a king, and marry with his brother."

Yet the rhyme adds force and point to the imaginative presentation of the reproach, while it would be fatal to the impressiveness of such a reproach in real life. We shall never understand true poetry till we have grasped the uses of the various conventions by which the imaginative presentation of emotion is separated from its natural outpourings. For my part, I believe that Clough would have been a still greater poet than he was—and he was a much greater poet than he is ordinarily believed to be—if he had been able to put the life of what he sang more at a distance from him than he did—to pass it on from his heart to his imagination, and there embody it in enduring forms. It is to this purpose that the conventional element in poetry is so useful. When Milton wrote of Lycidas, he hardly realised that it was Edward King of whom he was writing, or realised it only sufficiently to enable his fancy to play with his sense of loss. When Matthew Arnold sang of Thyrsis, he half concealed from himself that it was Arthur Clough, his old familiar friend, on whose death at Florence he was musing sadly amidst the meads and backwaters of the infant Thames.

Now Clough wrote, for the most part, of what was immediately pressing on his heart, and his poetry is, I think, to some extent injured by the very earnestness and constancy of his individual anxiety concerning the matters with which he dealt. When I first knew him—a man of thirty, with splendid brow, which he would crumple, however, into the oddest folds and plaits, with shining light blue eyes, and a somewhat florid complexion—he had just thrown up his fellowship at Oriel, because at that time Subscription to the Articles of the Church of England was the condition of all these Oxford preferments, and in deference to Carlyle's exhortation to admit no insincerities into one's life, Clough, who felt that he did not believe in the general teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles, thought himself bound to throw up a position inconsistent with his liberty of thought and speech. It was an act of pure conscience, for which every one must reverence him. But its immediate effect upon Clough's mind, character, and imagination, was not, I think, wholly fortunate. He had a great admiration for Carlyle; but, as I have told you, he used to say of him, with a touch of bitterness, "Carlyle led us out into the wilderness, *and left us there.*" And for a time, certainly, Clough himself wandered in the wilderness into which Carlyle had led him—lonely, perplexed, at odds with the society with which he lived, tinged with a Carlylian scorn for the conventional, and yet profoundly conscious of the fitness of the

frame in which convention sets a great deal of our social life, desiring to fraternise with those who denounce the conventional, but not finding it very easy—for convention is often the deposit of centuries of instinctive tact and taste, and no one breaks abruptly with convention without feeling naked and ashamed. He was a little Olympian in his manner with strangers and a little embarrassed by the sympathy of friends, for there appeared to be a great depth of pride in Clough. Moreover, he was full of hot thoughts cased in a deep reserve—a dreamer of Utopian dreams, with far too vivid a sense of the strength of our actual habits and prepossessions ever to make a serious attempt at realising them. He was a passionate foe of luxury and lover of simplicity, though he had a strain of self-consciousness that made his own manner somewhat too silent and stately for perfect simplicity. Another great friend of Clough's and of my own, Walter Bagehot, in whom the world lost too early a very original as well as a very subtle thinker, has incidentally painted Clough's manner so vividly in one of his essays, that I think I cannot do better than read the sentences I refer to. It is in an essay on Henry Crabb Robinson. Speaking of Crabb Robinson's inability to remember names, Bagehot says that in that excellent man's conversation Clough always figured as "that admirable and accomplished man—you know whom I mean—the one who never says anything." And in referring to the delight which Crabb Robinson took in reading poems of Wordsworth's at his breakfast parties to his friends, Bagehot goes on, "There are some of Wordsworth's poems at which I never look even now without thinking of the wonderful and dreary faces which Clough used to make while Mr. Robinson was reading them. To Clough, certain of Wordsworth's poems were part of his inner being, and he suffered at hearing them obtruded at meal times, just as a High Churchman would suffer at hearing the Collects of the Church. Indeed, these poems were amongst the Collects of Clough's Church." And Clough remained to the last a silent, reserved, and somewhat perplexed man, a too anxious scanner of his own heart, a contemptuous critic of the comfortable middle-class society of his time, and a kind of Don Quixote whenever he saw a chance of really serving any human being, whether in his own social sphere or not—all the more if in one beneath it—though no one knew better the difficulties of rendering such services truly. In one of his Scotch tours he walked two days over the mountains from a house by the side of Loch Ericht to Fort William, and two days back again, only to get the proper medicines for a forester's child who was lying sick of a fever at the former place, beyond the reach of medical help. But it was not often that so strong a man could see his way to serving his fellow-men effectually amidst the perplexities of this complicated

world; and hence he moved uneasily about, half inclined to reproach the great spiritual Captain for not sounding the advance in a manner more audible to ears in which so many strange sounds are ringing. It is obvious, I think, that a man with his mind constantly concentrated, as Clough's was, on the desire to make human society more real in its understanding of its duties, and in his conscientious laboriousness to fulfil them, could never be a pastoral poet; and in spite of Clough's love for the simplicities, or rather, perhaps, by reason of it—for pastoral poetry is conventional in its simplicities, and he was ardent for over-riding conventionalities by the help of some truer insight into nature—he never was a pastoral poet in any true meaning of the term. There is sometimes a humorous, sometimes a passionate, directness in his manner, which pastoral poets eschew. He could never have invoked the Muse as Milton invoked her—though he once invokes her in burlesque; he could never have commemorated Arnold, as Arnold commemorated him, as a classical shepherd. Clough was an idealist, but an idealist always pressing for greater reality in life, and he liked neither the fancy dresses of fanciful poetry nor its vague abstractions. Once, I remember, when I praised to him some book with a mystical turn in it, he spread out his hand and called my attention to the fact that his fingers widened, instead of tapering towards the ends, remarking that men whose fingers taper are disposed to symbolism and mysticism, but that men with fingers like his cannot rest on anything but broad and homely fact. At the same time his nature was deeply religious, in spite of his craving to satisfy equally the demands of the intellect and the emotions of the heart. The consequence was, that though in pathos and delicacy of feeling some few of Clough's lyrics have rarely been surpassed, his whole poetic mind needed a freer and larger medium for its expression than any which had been commonly used in English poetry. Sometimes he used blank verse, as in that most characteristic complaint of his that God appears not to encourage us, in these modern days, to spend much time in purely devotional attitudes of feeling:—

> "It seems His nower will
> We should not think of Him at all, but turn,
> And of the world that He has given us make
> The best we can"—

a remark to which he returns again and again, with a sort of heavy groan, in his correspondence. But blank verse was not really a medium suited to Clough's genius, which was, if I may say so, a genius for moving buoyantly under a great weight of superincumbent embarrassment. I have already quoted from Mr. Bagehot a description of the plaits and furrows in his forehead when he listened to those with whom he could not agree, and

yet from whom he did not know how to express his difference. I remember, too, how, when I endeavoured, in twilight talks with him, to lay any of my youthful perplexities before him, he, in the kindliness of his heart and the extreme embarrassment of his intellect as to whether he should do more harm than good by his answers, would pick up with the tongs one little mite of coal after another from the grate and put it on the fire, as a mere physical relief to his perplexed and rather inarticulate feelings towards a junior whom he only half understood, and was very anxious not to lead into the rather dreary wilderness in which he himself was wandering. Well, this sense of embarrassment, this inertia about him, which was very real and constant, was bound to get some sort of expression in his more intellectual poetry; and he found in the English hexameter, varied, as he varied it, with frequent spondees—*i.e.* with frequent feet of two protracted syllables, instead of one protracted and two unaccented—just the medium that he desired. For this metre expresses easily not only the resisting medium, but the buoyancy that makes itself felt through the resisting medium. I know no rhythm so effective as the rhythm of Clough's English hexameters for the purpose of expressing at once indomitable buoyancy of feeling and the inert mass of the resistance which that buoyancy of feeling has to encounter. I can illustrate what I mean very simply. In the opening of his *Long Vacation Pastoral* there is a passage describing the speech of the Highland chieftain—not a very grammatical speech, but a thoroughly hearty speech, encountering difficulties at every word, and at every word boldly overcoming them:—

> "Spare me, O great Recollection! for words to the task were unequal,
> Spare me, O mistress of Song! nor bid me remember minutely
> All that was said and done o'er the well-mixed tempting toddy;
> How were healths proposed and drunk 'with all the honours,'
> Glasses and bonnets waving, and three-times-three thrice over,
> Queen, and Prince, and Army, and Landlords all, and Keepers;
> Bid me not, grammar defying, repeat from grammar-defiers
> Long constructions strange and plusquam-Thucydidean,
> Tell how, as sudden torrent in time of speat in the mountain
> Hurries six ways at once, and takes at last to the roughest,
> Or as the practised rider at Astley's or Franconi's
> Skilfully, boldly bestrides many steeds at once in the gallop,
> Crossing from this to that, with one leg here, one yonder,
> So, less skilful, but equally bold, and wild as the torrent,
> All through sentences six at a time, unsuspecting of syntax,
> Hurried the lively good-will and garrulous tale of Sir Hector."

It would be hardly possible, I think, to convey in any rhythm more effectually the impression of an eager, cordial, and embarrassed speech.

Again, it would be difficult to find a better rhythm than this for

the purpose of Clough's peculiar humour. Take another instance, in the description of one of the pupils, the elaborate dresser of the party, as he comes down prepared to go to the Highland banquet:—

"Airlie descended the last, effulgent as god of Olympus;
Blue, perceptibly blue, was the coat that had white-silk facings,
Waistcoat blue, coral-buttoned, the white-tie finely adjusted,
Coral moreover the studs on a shirt as of crochet of women:
When the fourwheel for ten minutes already had stood at the gateway,
He, like a god, came leaving his ample Olympian chamber."

In a subsequent part of the poem, a Scotch damsel, with whom the poet and hero has flirted—but not so as to endanger her peace—is "consoled" by this gorgeous youth in the mazes of the Scotch reel:—

"Is it, O marvel of marvels! he too in the maze of the mazy,
Skipping, and tripping, though stately, though languid, with head on one shoulder,
Airlie, with sight of the waistcoat the golden-haired Katie consoling?
Katie, who simple and comely, and smiling and blushing as ever,
What though she wear on that neck a blue kerchief remembered as Philip's,
Seems in her maidenly freedom to need small consolement of waistcoats!"

Or take this, again, in which one of the party—generally supposed to have been the same who afterwards became a Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, now, alas! no more—is described dancing in his ill-fitting Highland costume:—

"Him rivalling, Hobbes, briefest-kilted of heroes,
Enters, O stoutest, O rashest of creatures, mere fool of a Saxon,
Skill-less of philibeg, skill-less of reel, too,—the whirl and the twirl o't:
Him see I frisking, and whisking, and ever at swifter gyration
Under brief curtain revealing broad acres—not of broad-cloth."

I do not think it would be possible for either rhythm or words to express more vividly the absurdity of a bulky Saxon's frisks in an unsuitable costume.

But this peculiar metre suited Clough for better reasons than these. I may say that there is no verse like the hexameter managed as Homer managed it—nay, managed even as Clough, with his much less liquid medium, managed it, for grouping in one impressive picture the rhythmic motion and the stubborn massiveness of Nature's greatest scenes. If there was a great buoyancy and a great inertia in his own heart which this rhythm strangely echoed, so there is a great buoyancy and a great inertia in the external scenery of the universe, which, by this metre, he harmonises for us, and frames in one magnificent whole. Take, for instance, this grand description of Highland scenery, and notice at once how the mighty natural forces and great diurnal changes are brought before our eyes in it, and yet with them we are made to see the colossal massiveness of the earth's vast bulk and walls:—

"But, O Muse, that encompassest Earth like the ambient ether,
Swifter than steamer or railway or magical missive electric,
Belting like Ariel the sphere with the star-like trail of thy travel,
Thou with thy Poet, to mortals mere post-office second-hand knowledge
Leaving, wilt seek in the moorland of Rannoch the wandering hero.
There is it, there, or in lofty Lochaber, where, silent upheaving,
Heaving from ocean to sky, and under snow-winds of September,
Visibly whitening at morn to darken by noon in the shining,
Rise on their mighty foundations the brethren huge of Ben-nevis?
There, or westward away, where roads are unknown to Loch Nevish,
And the great peaks look abroad over Skye to the westernmost islands?
There is it? there? or there? we shall find our wandering hero?
Here, in Badenoch, here, in Lochaber, anon in Lochiel, in
Knoydart, Moydart, Morrer, Ardgower, and Ardnamurchan,
Here I see him and here: I see him; anon I lose him!
Even as cloud passing subtly unseen from mountain to mountain,
Leaving the crest of Ben-more to be palpable next on Ben-vohrlich,
Or like to hawk of the hill which ranges and soars in its hunting,
Seen and unseen by turns, now here, now in ether eludent."

That shows how finely Clough's hexameter expressed the swift velocities and the solid strength of Nature. But Clough's hexameters were also singularly well suited to express at once the aggressiveness and the almost mock-heroic impracticability of the Carlylian doctrine which he desired to urge upon the world in this *Long Vacation Pastoral—The Bothie of Tober-Na-Vuolich*, as he called his first hexameter poem.

Clough, as I have said, was saturated with Carlyle's general principles, and not only saturated by them, but, in some degree at least, exhausted by their categorical and rather impossible imperative. But in this poem he had not reached the stage of exhaustion. He still felt all the inspiration of Carlyle's paradoxes, all the charm of his peculiar democracy, which exalts the sacredness of labour, and the sacredness of faculty, and the sacredness of beauty, and the sacredness of almost every real human gift and talent you can imagine, except the results of what he treated as mere circumstance, while it tramples these last under foot with every species of indignity. The hero of the poem begins by preaching, what, indeed, he ends by accepting, that the highest feminine fascinations are enhanced, and not diminished, by participation in homely labour. He tells how his heart was struck for the first time with the sense of the mysterious charm of woman, when he saw some damsel in a potato-field, engaged in potato-uprooting:—

"One day sauntering 'long and listless,' as Tennyson has it,
Long and listless strolling, ungainly in hobbadiboyhood,
Chanced it my eye fell aside on a capless, bonnetless maiden,
Bending with three-pronged fork in a garden uprooting potatoes.
Was it the air? who can say? or herself, or the charm of the labour?
But a new thing was in me; and longing delicious possessed me,
Longing to take her and lift her, and put her away from her slaving."

But soon the youth awakens to the charm of the aristocratic lady, and then he preaches that there is no injustice in all the labour and toil of the "dim, common populations," if only it bear such fruits as the lovely Lady Maria, with whom he has been dancing in her father's castle. Finally, he rises to his completest statement of the Carlylian doctrine on this subject, which appears to be the following. It is contained in a correspondence between the "poet and Radical, Hewson"—a Carlylese Radical, remember, not a Radical as most of us understand the word—and his tutor, on the arrangements of the universe as they are, and as they ought to be :—

"This is a letter written by Philip at Christmas to Adam.
There may be beings, perhaps, whose vocation it is to be idle.
Idle, sumptuous even, luxurious, if it must be :
Only let each man seek to be that for which nature meant him.
If you were meant to plough, Lord Marquis, out with you, and do it;
If you were meant to be idle, O beggar, behold, I will feed you.
If you were born for a groom, and you seem by your dress to believe so,
Do it like a man, Sir George, for pay, in a livery stable ;
Yes, you may so release that slip of a boy at the corner,
Fingering books at the window, misdoubting the eighth commandment.
Ah, fair Lady Maria, God meant you to live and be lovely;
Be so then, and I bless you. But ye, ye spurious ware, who
Might be plain women, and can be by no possibility better !
—Ye unhappy statuettes, and miserable trinkets,
Poor alabaster chimney-piece ornaments under glass cases,
Come, in God's name, come down! the very French clock by you
Puts you to shame with ticking; the fire-irons deride you.
You, young girl, who have had such advantages, learnt so quickly,
Can you not teach ? O yes, and she likes Sunday school extremely,
Only it's soon in the morning. Away ! if to teach be your calling,
It's no play, but a business: off! go teach and be paid for it.
Lady Sophia's so good to the sick, so firm and so gentle.
Is there a nobler sphere than of hospital nurse and matron ?
Hast thou for cooking a turn, little Lady Clarissa ? in with them,
In with your fingers ! their beauty it spoils, but your own it enhances ;
For it is beautiful only to do the thing we are meant for.
This was the answer that came from the Tutor, the grave man, Adam.
When the armies are set in array, and the battle beginning,
Is it well that the soldier whose post is far to the leftward
Say, I will go to the right, it is there I shall do best service ?
There is a great Field-Marshal, my friend, who arrays our battalions;
Let us to Providence trust, and abide and work in our stations.
This was the final retort from the eager, impetuous Philip.
I am sorry to say your Providence puzzles me sadly;
Children of Circumstance are we to be ? You answer, On no wise !
Where does Circumstance end, and Providence, where begins it ?
What are we to resist, and what are we to be friends with ?
If there is battle, 't is battle by night, I stand in the darkness,
Here in the mêlée of men, Ionian and Dorian on both sides,
Signal and password known; which is friend and which is foeman ?
Is it a friend ? I doubt, though he speak with the voice of a brother.
Still, you are right, I suppose; you always are, and will be ;
Though I mistrust the Field-Marshal, I bow to the duty of order.
Yet it is my feeling rather to ask, where *is* the battle ?

> Yes, I could find in my heart to cry, notwithstanding my Elspie,
> O that the armies indeed were arrayed! O joy of the onset!
> Sound, thou Trumpet of God, come forth, Great Cause, to array us,
> King and leader appear, thy soldiers sorrowing seek thee.
> Would that the armies indeed were arrayed, O where is the battle!
> Neither battle I see, nor arraying, nor King in Israel,
> Only infinite jumble and mess and dislocation,
> Backed by a solemn appeal, 'For God's sake do not stir, there!'
> Yet you are right, I suppose; if you do n't attack my conclusion,
> Let us get on as we can, and do the thing we are fit for;
> Every one for himself, and the common success for us all, and
> Thankful, if not for our own why then for the triumph of others,
> Get along, each as we can, and do the thing we are meant for."

I think in that passage it will be clear enough that Clough's form of Carlyle's democracy was not working itself out very clear, and that we need not wonder at his being reported soon after as saying that Carlyle had led us out into the wilderness, and left us there. But is it possible to conceive a rhythm better adapted for the express purpose of conveying buoyancy of feeling and hope moving through a medium of "infinite jumble and mess and dislocation"—which is Clough's edition of Carlyle's gospel—than the rhythm of the hexameters of the passage I have just read you?

But the sense of desolation and half-disdainful bewilderment is not at its height in the *Long Vacation Pastoral.* In 1849, after its publication, Clough went to Rome, and was there during the siege of Rome by the French, and its defence by the Triumvirate. It was there that he wrote what I regard as the most striking poem of his life, but also the most perfect expression of the impotence to which Carlyle's gospel, taken alone, leads a mind which, beyond what it found in Carlyle, had little but its deep admiration of the old classical strength to sustain it. This poem was, again, in hexameter verse, and called by Clough *Amours de Voyage,* which might, perhaps, be translated *Loves of the Way.* One of the mottoes prefixed to it is from Shakespeare:—

> "Oh, you are sick of self-love, Malvolio!
> And taste with a distempered appetite."

Another is, "Il doutait de tout, même de l'amour."

And here, again, is the poet's own prelude, which shows in how doubting a mood he went to look upon the glories of the Old World:—

> "Over the great windy waters, and over the clear-crested summits,
> Unto the sun and the sky, and unto the perfecter earth,
> Come, let us go,—to a land wherein gods of the old time wandered,
> Where every breath even now changes to ether divine.
> Come, let us go; though withal a voice whisper, 'The world that we live in,
> Whithersoever we turn, still is the same narrow crib;

'Tis but to prove limitation, and measure a cord, that we travel;
Let who would 'scape and be free go to his chamber and think
'Tis but to change idle fancies for memories wilfully falser;
'Tis but to go and have been.'—Come, little bark! let us go."

And here is his own criticism on his own work, as, not without a distinct resurrection of his old classical enthusiasm, he finally concludes it:—

"So go forth to the world, to the good report and the evil!
Go, little book! thy tale, is it not evil and good?
Go, and if strangers revile, pass quietly by without answer.
Go, and if curious friends ask of thy rearing and age,
Say, 'I am flitting about many years from brain unto brain of
Feeble and restless youths born to inglorious days:
But,' so finish the word, 'I was writ in a Roman chamber,
When from Janiculan heights thundered the cannon of France."

I call this the most perfect of Clough's poems, because it is hardly possible to bring out with more striking poetic force than Clough does in it the state of mind of an enthusiast for the antique type of man, who, for his modern experience, had been led into the wilderness by Carlyle, and left there. You see, one by one, almost all Carlyle's crotchets dissolved in a classical tincture not at all Carlylian; his scorn for history itself, so far as history is not heroic; his detestation of formulæ; his contempt for the smug middle-class; his disposition to mock at the sentimentalities of life; his hatred of the Jesuits; his grim preference for *Sans-culottes;* and yet you see all these feelings blended almost equally with an enthusiasm for the great classical ideals of which Carlyle, in his Scotch peasanthood, had little or no trace. A more impressive picture of a doubting mind that doubted everything—even love—and yet did not doubt that the classical grandeur was grandeur indeed, and that a disdainful classical fortitude has in it an element of strength which is not otherwise to be found by those who cannot believe very genuinely in any spiritual revelation, is not, I think, in existence, than that presented in *Amours de Voyage.* It is a painful picture, a picture of a morbid condition of mind deliberately drawn, but, nevertheless, most powerfully drawn, and full of lasting memories. I can give you but a glimpse, here and there, of the results. Claude goes to Rome, sick of everything, and finds his general impression of Rome, in the first instance, one that he can only describe thus:—

"*Rubbishy* seems the word that most exactly would suit it,
All the foolish destructions and all the sillier savings,
All the incongruous things of past incompatible ages,
Seem to be treasured up here, to make fools of present and future."

Rome, he says, disappoints him much, but soon he "shrinks, and adapts himself to it":—

"Rome, believe me, my friend, is like its own Monte Testaceo,
Merely a marvellous mass of broken and cast-away wine-pots,

Ye gods! what do I want with this rubbish of ages departed,
Things that Nature abhors, the experiments that she has failed in?
What do I find in the Forum? An archway and two or three pillars.
Well, but St. Peter's? Alas, Bernini has filled it with sculpture!
No one can cavil, I grant, at the size of the great Coliseum.
Doubtless the notion of grand and capacious and massive amusement,
This the old Romans had; but tell me, is this an idea?
Yet of solidity much, but of splendour little is extant:
'Brickwork I found thee, and marble I left thee!' their Emperor vaunted;
'Marble I thought thee, and brickwork I find thee!' the Tourist may answer."

In this temper, he meets with a banker's family, to whom he is introduced by a friend, and moralises on them after Carlyle's own heart—

"Middle-class people these, bankers very likely, not wholly
Pure of the taint of the shop; will at table d'hôte and restaurant
Have their shilling's worth, their penny's pennyworth even;
Neither man's aristocracy this, nor God's, God knoweth!
Yet they are fairly descended, they give you to know, well connected;
Doubtless somewhere in some neighbourhood have, and are careful to keep, some
Threadbare-genteel relations, who in their turn are enchanted
Grandly among county people to introduce at assemblies
To the unpennied cadets our cousins with excellent fortunes.
Neither man's aristocracy this, nor God's, God knoweth!"

Soon, however, Mr. Claude "shrinks, and adapts himself" not only to Rome, but to the worthy Trevellyns:—

"Is it contemptible, Eustace—I'm perfectly ready to think so,—
Is it,—the horrible pleasure of pleasing inferior people?
I am ashamed my own self; and yet true it is, if disgraceful,
That for the first time in life I am living and moving with freedom.
I, who never could talk to the people I meet with my uncle,—
I, who have always failed,—I, trust me, can suit the Trevellyns;
I, believe me,—great conquest, am liked by the country bankers.
And I am glad to be liked, and like in return very kindly.
So it proceeds; *Laissez faire, laissez aller*,—such is the watchword.
Well, I know there are thousands as pretty and hundreds as pleasant,
Girls by the dozen as good, and girls in abundance with polish
Higher and manners more perfect than Susan or Mary Trevellyn.
Well, I know, after all, it is only juxtaposition,—
Juxtaposition in short; and what is juxtaposition?"

And so the poem goes on, showing how Mr. Claude half falls in love with Mary Trevellyn, and half despises himself for doing so; how the French troops appear, and Mr. Claude questions himself what he should do if he were expected to lay down his life for "the British female." Subsequently he sees, or believes he sees, a man killed, but he explains to his readers his profound doubt as to what he had seen, and how small the evidence on which he can allege that he did see it. He saw a crowd dragging somebody or something; he saw bare swords in the air; he saw pleading hands and hands putting back; he saw the swords descend, a hewing, a chopping; he saw

them afterwards stained with red. He stooped, and "through the legs of the people saw the legs of a body," and went away supposing that he had seen a man killed, but profoundly convinced that he had very little to go upon, if the fact should be seriously doubted.

The Trevellyns leave Rome, and Mr. Claude is greatly offended by having his "intentions" inquired after by his friend Vernon, who marries the other daughter. This throws him into a fever of self-distrust and distrust of others. At first he will not follow them; then he absolves the lady of all complicity, and will follow them. Then he loses their track, partly regains it, is more and more doubtful of himself and of his own inner mind, and at last gives up his pursuit of love, as he has apparently given up his pursuit of religion, from profound distrust of his own power to test the value of his own yearnings. The love-affair ends as follows:—

> "After all, do I know that I really cared so about her?
> Do whatever I will, I cannot call up her image;
> For when I close my eyes, I see, very likely, St. Peter's,
> Or the Pantheon façade, or Michael Angelo's figures,
> Or, at a wish, when I please, the Alban hills and the Forum,—
> But that face, those eyes,—ah no, never anything like them;
> Only, try as I will, a sort of featureless outline,
> And a pale blank orb, which no recollection will add to.
> After all, perhaps there was something factitious about it;
> I have had pain, it is true: I have wept, and so have the actors.
> * * * * * *
> Not as the Scripture says, is, I think, the fact. Ere our death-day,
> Faith, I think, does pass, and Love; but Knowledge abideth.
> Let us seek Knowledge;—the rest may come and go as it happens.
> Knowledge is hard to seek, and harder yet to adhere to.
> Knowledge is painful often; and yet when we know, we are happy.
> Seek it, and leave mere Faith and Love to come with the chances."

And so the ravelled threads of the poem are all cut, in the end. The fall of the Roman Republic ends it in one way, the exhaling of the lover's dreams in another; while the final expression of a conviction that knowledge is greater than love, and that none the less you have not knowledge enough to guide yourself, but must leave that guidance "to the chances"—which are perhaps not controlled by any higher love—ends the poem intellectually, with a sharp click of the rationalistic shears.

It would, however, be most unjust to Clough to suppose that this poem, though it clearly represented his state of mind at one epoch of his life, was meant to picture his deepest and truest convictions. How far he might trust the spiritual emotions which were so strong in him, Clough never clearly made out; but it was his deepest and final belief that, more or less, trust them you must, and rather more than less. In this, as it seems to me, he differs, and differs for the better, from one who has the advantage of him often in the form and perfectness of imaginative expression, and who writes much on

the same themes, I mean his friend and brother-poet, Matthew Arnold. In Arnold, the "lyrical cry" is as delicate and true as it is in Clough, but the poet has nothing like equal confidence that it comes from the same depth, that it speaks with the same authority. If you will read—I hardly dare trust myself to read to you, here—the impressive, the overpowering lines which Clough wrote under the heavy sense of the overflowing sinfulness of Naples, the burden of which was that Christ is not risen, and could not be risen, in spite of all the asseverations of loving disciples and tender women who affirmed that they had seen him in his risen form—or else it were impossible that all this evil should have been generated and grown up under the very shadow of his reign; and the less powerful, but still most genuine recantation, in which he unsays his bitter words, and declares that, nevertheless, "in the great Gospel and true creed, Christ is yet risen indeed, Christ is yet risen;" and if you will compare these with the lines in which Matthew Arnold—it is in the second set of stanzas addressed to the author of *Obermann*—makes his touching and tender, but hopeless wail over the burial of the great Christian hope—you will see, I think, what I mean, when I say that while Arnold feels what Clough felt, he does not attach to those deeper feelings the sense of final and overpowering authority which Clough, reason on it as he would, was compelled to attach to them. Clough would not have written, as Arnold wrote—

> "While we believed on earth he went,
> And open stood his grave;
> Men called from chamber, Church, and tent,
> And Christ was by to save.
> Now he is dead, far hence he lies
> In the lorn Syrian town;
> And on his grave, with shining eyes,
> The Syrian stars look down."

No; Clough expressed with a passion that struggles through a pent-up and heaving breast—a passion not of poetic feeling, but of bleeding and lacerated faith—his sense of the almost irreconcileable inconsistency between the triumph of our Lord's religion and the triumph of the world's evil; but doubt as he would, the higher buoyancy of the spiritual faith asserted itself at last, and vague as his faith undoubtedly was, the final note is always exultation, and not mild despondency. "In the great Gospel and true creed, Christ is yet risen, indeed, Christ is yet risen."

I must give you one piece, in which the note of exultation is predominant, before I conclude. It was written, no doubt, during the latter part of Clough's life at Oxford, when many of his early friends had followed Dr. Newman into the Roman Catholic Church; while some were, like himself, rather disposed to follow Carlyle into a Church not at all Catholic, but rather, grim, violent, and pic-

turesquely dim. Clough felt these sudden separations with that depth of tender feeling which always marked his friendships, and expressed his own emotion in the following marvellously beautiful lines:—

" *Qua cursum ventus.*

As ships, becalmed at eve, that lay
With canvas drooping, side by side,
Two towers of sail at dawn of day
Are scarce long leagues apart descried;

When fell the night, upsprung the breeze,
And all the darkling hours they plied,
Nor dreamt but each the self-same seas
By each was cleaving, side by side:

E'en so—but why the tale reveal
Of those, whom year by year unchanged,
Brief absence joined anew to feel,
Astounded, soul from soul estranged.

At dead of night their sails were filled,
And onward each rejoicing steered—
Ah, neither blame, for neither willed,
Or wist, what first with dawn appeared!

To veer, how vain! On, onward strain,
Brave barks! In light, in darkness too,
Through winds and tides one compass guides—
To that, and your own selves, be true.

But O blithe breeze! and O great seas,
Though ne'er, that earliest parting past,
On your wide plain they join again,
Together lead them home at last.

One port, methought, alike they sought,
One purpose hold where'er they fare,—
O bounding breeze, O rushing seas!
At last, at last, unite them there!"

To my ear, that exulting strain is hardly ever absent from any of Clough's deeper poems. Even in the poem which represents his most cynical mood—the *Amours de Voyage*—you hear it rising again and again, and sometimes swelling till it all but drowns the doubter in him. His nature had in it the deepest sympathy with "the blithe breeze and the great seas," which seem to image all that is most elastic in the Universe—the elasticity which is at bottom spiritual and not physical, which represents the indomitable power and indomitable love of God. From that buoyant and elastic spirit Clough's poetry borrowed the very breath of its life, and I would fain hope that those who, in spite of the gravest differences from him, "in light, in darkness too," strain onwards like him, may one day find the same port which he, I am sure, has long since entered.

RICHARD HOLT HUTTON.

CHINA AND FOREIGN POWERS.

THE passing of the Votes for the Tonquin Expedition by a large majority in the Chamber shows that the French Government is resolved to prosecute its adventurous policy in Annam, notwithstanding that it is beginning to be realised at Paris that both the Chinese and the Annamese are unequivocally opposed to its schemes. Success alone will secure for the sanction of a subservient parliament the final approval of the country; and the certain penalty of failure will be the popular denunciation of the policy and its authors. The speeches of M. Challemel Lacour breathe such a spirit of optimism with regard to local difficulties, and denote such contemptuous indifference for the power and indignation of China, that it is hard to say whether we should marvel more at the ignorance or at the sanguine hopes of the Foreign Minister. Obstacles are expected to vanish before the approach of the tricolour, and an expeditionary force of some six thousand men is to occupy a vast and difficult country, and to satisfactorily dispose of the whole armed power of China. As the principal interest in the question undoubtedly centres in the probable action of China, it is proposed to sketch here in some detail the motives and objects of her attitude with regard to the suzerainty rights she possesses in adjoining States as well as of her general policy towards foreign powers.

The foreign policy of China has been evolved from the commotion of centuries, and is dictated by the urgent wants and necessities of an administration entrusted with a task of exceptional difficulty. An intelligent observer might not find it impossible to draft a model policy for the use of the Celestials; but, although in his eyes full of common sense and logical force, it would surely be so coloured by his own convictions and by the prejudices of his nationality as to be quite inapplicable to their circumstances. The Chinese know better than any one else can what they want and what is suitable to their case. While it might be easy enough, therefore, to say what the foreign policy of China ought to be, it is much more difficult to discover what it is. The latter is the practical point, and will solely engage our attention here.

The foreign policy of China was originally simple in the extreme. Recognising the existence of only one supreme potentate, the Emperor of the Middle Kingdom, who as the delegate of heaven claimed universal sway, it followed that all peoples who were brought into contact with his Government were treated as on a subordinate footing. The evidence is of the clearest kind back to the earliest

ages that foreigners were only admitted as "tribute bearers," and that all foreign countries were regarded as being of undoubted inferiority to the Celestial Empire. The conquest of the Empire by alien races, such as the Mongols and Manchus, did not break the continuity of this policy; for as soon as they became supreme they adopted all the ways and views of the people they had subjected, and in a very short time the Tartars of the desert and the mountain could claim to be more Chinese than the Chinese themselves, especially in the pretension to international pre-eminence. This idea had received no shock at the time of our two first Embassies to China—those of Lord Macartney in 1793, and of Lord Amherst in 1816—and although the bombardment of Canton was thought to have brought home to the minds of the Celestials the perception that there were other Powers besides theirs, it really survived with almost unabated force the war of 1842. Not until the occupation of the capital eighteen years later, not until the Emperor himself had fled beyond the Wall, leaving his palace to the mercy of the Western spoiler, did the Chinese Government and people realise that their ruler was not the only great potentate in the world, and that the theory of the Hwangti being the one delegate of the Almighty was a fiction that could no longer be maintained. The Treaty of Pekin, ratifying that concluded at Tientsin two years previously, was the formal admission that China could no longer count on the exclusive enjoyment of a world of her own, and that she must be prepared to enter the family of nations and to hold her place by means of such resources as she possessed. The Treaty of Pekin was immediately followed by the formation of a new department in the official service for the special conduct of foreign affairs. The creation of the Tsungli Yamen, as this Council Board is called, marked the beginning of China's present policy towards foreign countries.

It began the exercise of its functions at an extremely unpromising moment. Several successful rebellions in different parts of the Empire had reduced the authority of the Emperor to a shadow, and the sole function of the Tsungli Yamen in the days of its infancy consisted in transacting such diplomatic business as could not be avoided with the representatives of European countries. Very possibly the Tsungli Yamen has never emerged from this condition of comparative unimportance, and that, although put forward as the mouth-piece of the Chinese Government in its relations with Europe, the guiding and controlling power still rests with the leaders of the Palace, the Grand Secretaries, and the Board of Censors. The formation of the Tsungli Yamen, however, was the token that the old idea of things had been displaced by stern necessity; but, although the Hwangti was no longer to claim an inherent predominance over his brother sovereigns, the conviction still held ground that he

should rank with the first of them. The recovery of the Chinese after a succession of unparalleled disasters, and the triumphant consolidation of the Empire, encouraged this not unreasonable ambition. Although some of the Chinese ministers would like, no doubt, to revive the prostration ceremony, and would not greatly grieve if intercourse with the foreigner were prohibited by a stroke of the vermilion pencil, the more general view is that neither step is necessary or politic. But the national sentiment is unanimous on the point that the dignity of the Empire is to be maintained, and that sufficient concessions have already been made to foreigners. A perfect trust in the superiority of their own system of government, and a resolve to preserve intact their own political form and independence, lie at the very root of Chinese opinion. With these preliminary remarks we can now turn to the consideration of the objects which suggest themselves most prominently to their mind, and in connection with which it is highly desirable that some general knowledge should prevail.

There appears, unfortunately, to be little doubt that, apart from all official direction, the people themselves are singularly antipathetic to foreigners. On this point the testimony of Mr. Colquhoun in the south seems to exactly tally with that of Count Szchenyi[1] in the central and north-western parts of China; and the evidence of these travellers is the more important as they traversed many parts of the country where no European had ever preceded them. So much may be said by way of illustration as to the natural inclination of the people; and, if the Government has, partly out of necessity and partly from superior knowledge, thrown a cloak over its mind, it is to be apprehended that its real views are not widely different from those that appear to spring most naturally from the hearts of the people. Had China the power to-morrow, and did she but see how to carry out a sweeping ukase against foreigners, we make no doubt that the decree would be passed without compunction, and that the thing would be done as effectually as it might. It is simply because China has not the power, and does not see her way out of so hazardous a business, that the attempt is not made, and that recourse is had to different expedients. One of the most striking features in the character of the Chinese is the way in which they adapt themselves to circumstances; and the history of our relations with them is full of significant proof to the same effect. For many years after we and other Europeans had succeeded in establishing commercial relations with them, the balance of trade was heavily against the Chinese. We sold them our linen and cutlery, our opium and

(1) The reader may refer with advantage to Lieutenant Kreitner's "Im Fernen Osten" (Hölder, Wien), as one of the most interesting works of modern travel. Lieut. Kreitner was Count Szchenyi's companion, and is as yet the sole chronicler of his expedition.

tobacco, and in payment we took their silver. We bought in return from them only a very small quantity of their tea and their silk. As the consequence a considerable amount of specie left the country every year not to return, and the apprehensions of the Central Government, much of whose embarrassment at different periods has been caused by the want of ready money, were easily aroused by what seemed to be a hopeless drain of the national treasure. Under these conditions the relations with outside peoples assumed the appearance of a calamity, which the Pekin officials felt justified in endeavouring to cure by every means in their power. The question reached a climax in 1840, when the destruction of English property at Canton led to hostilities which terminated with the Treaty of Nankin; and from that time the trade was conducted on a new basis. Chiefly owing to the increased demand in Europe and America for Chinese tea, the conditions of the trade were reversed, and instead of China losing a considerable sum of silver annually, she became the actual gainer even in specie. It required a little time for this change to be recognised and appreciated; but, as soon as it was, the radical objection to foreign commercial intercourse lost its force, if it was not completely removed. What had appeared under the old arrangement to be absolutely intolerable, could under the new be regarded with equanimity and discussed with a certain amount of calmness.

The next stage in the development of the Government views on the subject of foreign intercourse was reached when the external commerce of the empire became, not merely a gain to the country, but a direct source of revenue to the administration. The establishment of the Maritime Customs, now under the able control of Sir Robert Hart and his subordinates, was speedily followed by the removal of many of the embarrassments which oppressed the central executive. The customs received under the stipulations of the Treaty of Pekin provided the sinews of war, which enabled the late Emperor and the Regents of the present ruler to proceed to vigorous measures, not merely against the Taepings, but also against the rebels in more remote regions, such as the Panthays, and the Tungan and other insurgents in Central Asia. In no small degree, therefore, is China indebted for her recovery from the numerous difficulties that threatened her with, and that would under different circumstances have probably resulted in, the temporary disintegration of the empire and a change of dynasty, to that very foreign trade which it was the consistent policy of former rulers to discourage or violently prevent. Again we may repeat that the Chinese are a practical people, and are as well aware as we of this simple fact. The assurance may be entertained, therefore, with some confidence that there is no notion among responsible persons in China that any national interest can

be served by destroying a source of wealth that has proved so beneficial to themselves; but, on the other hand, it is not less certain that there is a very wide-spread opinion among Chinese officials that their country does not receive its full share of the benefits and profit derived from the exchange of products going on between the Celestial Empire and the West. And this opinion must be greatly strengthened by any decline in the exports of China, although it may be due to the deterioration of native productions. We have not to apprehend in the future that even the most chauvinist of Manchu statesmen will seek to kill, as the man in the fable did, the goose by prohibiting foreign trade; but his object is now, and will be still more, to spare no effort to extract from it a greater number of golden eggs for the exclusive benefit of China.

From the consideration of the subject of trade in general we pass by an easy and natural transition to some of its principal details and particulars. And the two points that offer themselves most prominently for comment in connection with our subject are, the questions of opium and of the land-borne trade between China and her neighbours in Asia. The former has been made the subject of a bitter controversy, into the merits of which we have no intention to enter. The question is one which mainly concerns the responsible government of China. If the habit of opium-smoking be demoralising the people, then it is its bounden duty to put down the practice by all the means at its disposal. It can do so in several ways. It can refuse to give licences to the opium-shops, it can prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, and it can notify to the English Government its desire to increase the import duty. As a matter of fact it has done, is doing, and has, so far as we can see, not the least intention of doing, any one of these three things—at least with the view of putting down the practice. It is not impossible that the tariff may be raised by a fresh convention with the English Government; but although some persons may think that that step will be taken with the object of reducing the amount of opium consumed by the people, the balance of evidence is altogether in support of the view that it is as a measure of protection, and not of morality, that the Chinese officials contemplate it. For there is not the least doubt that the interest expressed by the Chinese Government in the opium question is far from being simulated. It undoubtedly exists, and the reasons explaining it are not far to seek. The Chinese are well aware that the revenue of India is benefited by opium to the extent of eight millions annually. They have, indeed, heard that, without that income, the proud British Government in India would find it no easy matter to make both ends meet. On the other hand, they do not require to be told that the amount of their profit,

as a Government, from the traffic does not exceed one million sterling. In this difference lies a very substantial grievance; and there is little reason to doubt that the authorities at Pekin are determined to remove it, and to adjust the trade on terms more advantageous to themselves. If our people will have opium—such is the view at Pekin—they must be prepared to pay heavily, not merely to the foreigner, but to us their rulers, for permission to indulge in a luxury. While the object of the Government may be attained either by the increase of the tariff or the levying of lekin transit dues, the acts of the most trusted and responsible officials in the empire seem to show that the much more effectual remedy is contemplated of altogether displacing foreign by native opium There is no question that the revenue which China could derive in this way would largely exceed anything she could hope to realise under the terms of a new commercial treaty with England. If by the development of a new industry China could supply herself with opium, she would remove one of the greatest objections she sees to the foreign trade by turning the balance of exchange wholly in her own favour. China objects altogether from a sentimental standpoint not to selling her goods, but to buying those of others It is declared by Anglo-Indians, and comfort is drawn from the supposed certainty of the fact, that the *chandoo* is not to be imitated, and is of as marked superiority as a Havannah cigar; but there need be no hesitation in saying that an increased production of Chinese opium, and an improvement in the manufacture of the smoking compound, must be followed by a marked decline in the importation of the article from India. By one way or another China will obtain the object she has clearly in view; and at the same time that she takes steps in one direction towards increasing her revenue, she will not be less energetic in another with the object of freeing herself from that dependence on the foreigner which she hates above all things, and which is particularly irksome to her in the case of an article in such general use among her people as opium.

Of hardly less importance than the topic of opium is that of the land-borne trade between China and her neighbours, vast as the portion of Asia it embraces, and complicated as the numerous separate interests it involves It is only possible to indicate here one or two points in connection with this subject; but there is one satisfaction in having to so briefly discuss it, and that is that the same principle applies to it in all its ramifications. The Chinese are consistent, whatever else they may be, in their political action. We have been able to see more or less clearly that three leading sentiments form the basis of their national opinions. These are that their country has an inherent claim to superiority, that they have at all periods been a self-sufficing world to themselves, and lastly that the vast extent of their

territory makes it an axiom of prudence to abstain from cultivating close relations with neighbours independent of their authority. On the sea-coast the force of circumstances and the never-ceasing importunity of the races of Europe have compelled a modification of these views and a recognition of the laws of necessity. But the same considerations have not applied along that frontier where China has as her only neighbours the empires of England and Russia. There she has been able to do very much as she liked, and to retain complete command over those rights and privileges which the achievements of many centuries have obtained for her. In this direction she has not made a single concession to Western prejudice. She stands resolutely on the maintenance of the full letter of her rights. Although the Russians flatter themselves that they have recently secured an advantage in the reduction of the duty on inferior tea, which, combined with a prohibitive tariff on the Oxus, will give their merchants the monopoly of the tea trade in Central Asia, it is not unlikely that they will discover that the Chinese have only made this concession with the full intention that it shall prove inoperative and valueless.

The concern of the Chinese is much greater, however, at the possible loss of one of their own most profitable markets, than with any conjectural development of trade with a neighbour. The "brick tea" trade between the province of Szchuen and Tibet is one of the most profitable branches of the inland commerce of China—doubly profitable for the reason that the Tibetans buy six million pounds annually of refuse tea, which could not be disposed of to any other purchaser. The preservation intact of this profitable monopoly is one of the salient features in China's foreign policy with regard to the principal of her Asiatic neighbours. The Chinese know very well, and dread the consequence in proportion with the clearness of their perception, that the day which beholds the commencement of intercourse between India and Tibet will sound the death-knell of this traffic. They have, therefore, resorted to the double-edged policy of stirring up the enmity of the lamas of Tibet against us, on the ground that we would undermine and shake their religious supremacy, until the priestly order of the Holy Land of Buddhism has become as inveterately inimical to the appearance of English traders as the Chinese Ambans and merchants are for their own reasons. Not content with having taken this effectual measure in one direction, the Chinese authorities in Szchuen have resorted to another, equally astute and efficacious, for the attainment of their object. The Viceroy of Szchuen gravely assures every European traveller that he has no influence at Lhasa, that Tibet has become a virtually independent country, and that he cannot answer for the safety of their lives beyond Bathang. Emphasis is given to his remarks by the rough behaviour of the Tibetans in the mountains round

that town, and these do not even refrain from firing shots at such travellers, to complete the effect of Ting Pao-chên's observations. The Chinese have reason to congratulate themselves on the astuteness of these proceedings when a grave journal and one speaking with authority like the *Athenæum* asserts that there can now be no doubt that Tibet has no longer any dependence upon China. Meantime the brick-tea trade flourishes, and the Valley of the Sanpou remains the convenient route of the tribute-bearers of Nepaul!

The desire to retain a profitable trade in its own hands is not the only, or indeed the principal, motive at the bottom of the policy of the Chinese Government in this and kindred matters. The extraordinary determination it has shown in the assertion of its sovereign rights over refractory subjects and defiant principalities, has attracted wide attention and some admiration. But people do not seem to understand that China can only retain the possession of her vast dominions by the preservation of the old conditions under which they were held, or by resorting to some great extension of her military system which she does not seem to contemplate. At present Tibet is held to all the useful or desired purposes of its allegiance by a force of men that is purely nominal if not insignificant. A few hundred soldiers as the Amban's guard at Lhasa, a few hundred more at the outposts on the Himalayan range, these, so far as we can gather, represent the total of the Chinese garrison in Tibet. Nor is it very different in the reconquered region of Kashgaria or the recovered province of Ili. If there are thirty thousand Chinese troops in the whole of this Central Asian region, it is the largest computation that can be made of them. Such a force is amply sufficient to preserve order even in that extensive region, and so long as it is maintained in an efficient state there will be no danger of the overthrow of the Pekin Emperor's authority. But when English traders and travellers penetrate into Tibet in considerable numbers, and when the Russians crowd as they would like and expect to do in the bazaars of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Kuldja, is it to be supposed that these limited garrisons will suffice to maintain intact the power and influence of the Celestial ruler? It is said in the East that a great empire is most easily overthrown at the edges, and the facts seem to show that in no case would that natural crumbling process ensue with more certain effect than in that of China. The opening of Tibet to Indian commerce, the permission to Russia to carry on an active trade where and how she liked, instead of by fixed routes, in limited numbers, and under other onerous conditions, would infallibly be followed by the decline and, in many cases, by the disappearance of Chinese authority as exercised in its present form. It cannot be denied that this objection has force, and that the Chinese have some good and well-founded reasons for desiring to retain in unabated efficiency that barrier of a closed frontier

on the land side which, despite the Ourga trade route and some other trifling concessions to Russia, they still preserve.

The objections they entertain to the abolition of the old condition of things are not weakened by any false expectations of their capacity for coping with the new. They know well enough that if it were to come to a struggle in earnest for the retention of their rights in Tibet, Burmah, or Central Asia, the advantage of position would be all against them, and in favour of those who possessed better means of communication and were nearer the scene of action. Unless those rights were to be abandoned, China would have to station a large garrison permanently in Tibet, and to maintain a considerable army in a state of idleness in Central Asia. It is not at all certain that she could do either of these things without incurring many perils from which she is now free; for the sentiment of the Chinese is not only naturally pacific, but it is distinctly averse to any protracted military service from their homes, and to arm and discipline the tribes of Mongolia and Tangut might be to invite a national danger of a very serious kind. Moreover, these territories, which at present are barely self-supporting, would find it simply impossible to meet the cost of administration; and the Chinese, despite their presumed love of empire, would very soon give up the idea of defraying the expense of a barren and unproductive authority. The Chinese feel that the institution of trade relations with their neighbours will mean for them, sooner or later, in one form or another, the loss of those territories which at present admit the sway of the Bogdo Khan up to the Pamir and the Karakoram. The only chance of retaining them would indeed lie in the adoption of some risky policy of foreign adventure, and of taking a part on one side or the other in the coming struggle between England and Russia.

For such reasons as these the Chinese Government will seek to maintain by the aid of its good ally, Nature, the position which it has inherited from antiquity; and trusting that its passive resistance may postpone, if it cannot eventually prevent, the establishment of direct communication with India, it will shape its foreign policy so that no instance of favour or partiality may enable its neighbours to demand the application of a general rule. With this object in view it may be considered certain that China will strenuously oppose the establishment of French influence in Tonquin, and the opening of any trade route by the river Songcoi. The fear that it would form a precedent for this country in demanding an equivalent concession in either Burmah, Assam, or Tibet, will brace the mind of the Chinese rulers to face the most immediate risk sooner than sacrifice not merely their claims over the Empire of Annam, but the very *raison d'être* of their foreign policy. The Chinese are not so uninformed as to suppose that, if the great province of Yunnan were thrown

open to external commerce, and if it became the venue of English traders on one side, and of French on the other, the maintenance of their administration even there would be the simple and easy task that it is at present. China's strength consists to a great extent in her vastness. Each province is a kingdom, self-sufficing in its resources, and governed in deference to the local peculiarities. The authority of the Central Government is maintained by the isolation of each of these provinces, and by the shrewd arrangement that a mandarin is never employed in the province of his bringing up. There is also the feeling of a vague veneration for the Emperor as the Son of Heaven, and people accept in China, as elsewhere, the institutions which their ancestors have left them, and under which history shows that they have attained such security and prosperity as they may possess. But if the conditions are reversed, the fear is reasonable that the result will be sadly different. Remove the state of things under which China has become and remains a mighty, if anomalous, Power—and that is what foreigners are trying their best to do by the extension of trade, the improvement of the internal means of communication, and the spread of Christianity—and will China long remain united within herself, and obedient to the decrees of an Emperor at Pekin? A thoughtful Chinese will tell you at once that such a happy issue is not likely to occur. No; when foreign ideas permeate the Empire, when distance is traversed, and made as nothing, by the "iron horse," when the man of Yunnan realises what a very different being he is from the native of Shantung or Fuhkien, and lastly, when every petty and local dispute is magnified into an imperial question, it will not be possible to preserve the fabric of an empire which, thanks to those events never having occurred, has braved the dangers and survived the storms of twice two thousand years. It is the first object of the foreign policy of China to prevent their ever taking place, and no present risk will be considered too great if only success can be ultimately attained, and the future rendered assured.

The explanation of the extraordinary persistency which the Chinese Government is showing in the assertion of its suzerain rights, in cases where most Europeans would think their claims shadowy and rather far-fetched, is to be found in very practical considerations, of the validity of which it is a much better judge than anybody else. In Corea, Tonquin, Burmah, Tibet, and on the Upper Amour there are questions of trade and position that render China the very vigilant guardian of her acquired rights in those countries. Her interest is only limited by her available resources. In Corea she has repelled Japanese encroachment and asserted her own claim with singular promptness; and she is busily employed in the purchase and construction of the war vessels that will very soon

recover for her what she has lost in Loo Choo. In Tonquin she will make the most of her natural advantages. Had the French retired, no blood would have been spilt and no useless threats uttered. Now that they persist in their adventure, the Chinese may still for a time hold aloof until they have felt the full force of the climate and native resistance. Even then the strict closing of the Yunnan and Kwangsi frontier might suffice to render the French position in Tonquin untenable. But if not, then in the last resort China will appeal to arms. To a French occupation of Tonquin she will certainly show herself as persistently and vigorously hostile as she would to a Japanese landing in Corea, to a Russian advance across the Amour, or to an English invasion of Tibet, and, possibly, of Burmah. The view may appear absurd and unreasonable that one people and government should claim an exclusive right to so vast a surface of the earth, but whether it be foolish or unjustifiable, this is not only the pretension on which China's national policy is based, but also that which, it seems to us, alone preserves vitality in her system.

It only remains in conclusion to see how far these pretensions are justified and supported by the natural strength and resources of the country. And in endeavouring to ascertain what these are, we are met on the threshold of our inquiry by the evidence of a vast and widespread corruption, which seems to eat like a canker on the strength of China. The mandarins are, with a few honourable exceptions, engaged in the daily occupation of accumulating wealth, not merely by an organized system of extortion from the people, but also by appropriating to their own use the sums which are ostensibly paid for the public service. Although there is a Board of Censors supposed to be constantly engaged in the revision and superintendence of the official world, and notwithstanding that petitions are freely admitted into the pages of the *Pekin Gazette*, the control is not sufficient to ensure the efficiency and integrity of the mandarins in the provinces. It is quite an ordinary thing to find that at certain stations where a force of one thousand men should be kept up not a single soldier is to be seen, although the pay is duly drawn for them all. As this discrepancy has reference exclusively to the Green Flag army, or Chinese militia, the evil is less serious in a military sense than in a financial. But until the Chinese authorities devote themselves to the purification of the administration, the national resources will be wasted, and the country will have to depend on only a portion of its natural revenue. Nor have the Chinese yet succeeded in making as much as they might have done of the military forces at their disposal. A large portion of the Tartar army is fairly disciplined and well, though differently, armed; but there is much yet to be accomplished towards giving it cohesion, and a trained body of officers. As in every Eastern country the officers are the worst representatives of

the army; and in China this is so notoriously the case that the men themselves often pay no heed to the orders of their officers, whom they treat on a level of equality, if not with a certain contempt. China has yet to learn that arms alone will not make an efficient army, and that if she wishes to preserve her present position it is not a day too soon to set herself resolutely to the task of reorganizing her forces. She will have to create a new class of military mandarins, and, adopting the old Manchu saying that, "a man's sole duty is to ride a horse and to bend a bow" as her motto, make it obligatory that those who lead her soldiers must be soldiers themselves, and not, as is too often the case, civilians who have never heard a shot fired in anger. Certainly until the young Emperor or his advisers have reformed the civil administration, and carried on the reorganization of the army to a much further point than it has yet reached, there will be an element of danger to the safety of China, and those may be excused who are sceptical as to the stability of her latest achievements.

In what, then, it may fairly be asked, consists the strength and formidableness as a power of the Chinese Empire? If corruption is prevalent in most of the departments of the State, if the efficiency of the army is problematical, where is this vaunted strength that is necessary to the maintenance of such a foreign policy as has been sketched? The answer is that it lies in the people and in their country. Whatever the governing classes may be, the people are there toiling on in their steady and persistent fashion, keeping their families from want and enriching the country by their labour. They have all the virtues necessary not merely to success in life, but also to the preservation of society. Their sobriety, morality, and good temper with one another are not less remarkable than their patience, resolution, and fertility of resource in every pursuit of daily life. Whether as the tiller of the fields, or as the labourer in the crowded city, as a merchant, mechanic, or seafarer, they alike show the same extraordinary tenacity of purpose and powers of endurance. Under circumstances different from any they have previously experienced, they have come into competition with many races, with even the Anglo-Saxon, and they can affirm that they have generally borne away the palm. Wherever they go they preserve their individuality, not merely in their own persons, but also in those of their descendants. This is the case in California, Australia, and the Straits Settlements. It is still more strikingly demonstrated in Siam, where a Chinese colony has dwelt for more than two centuries. Although the original number was small, and notwithstanding that the men have from the first been restricted to the choice of native wives, they are still as Chinese in their appearance and ways, as if they had never left Canton. They now number several millions, and form the most prosperous part of the community in Siam. Similar instances of the

extraordinary vitality of the race are shown in the northern parts of Szchuen, where the Chinese are rapidly superseding the Mantzü tribes; in the district of Kokonor, where, according to Lieutenant Kreitner, the Fan people are disappearing before their energetic masters; and in Manchuria, where colonies of Chinese are making the valleys of the Songari and Usuri a thickly inhabited and prosperous region. These cases of national energy and development might be indefinitely multiplied, for there is not a province of the empire where the same task of reconstruction, and of recovery from depressing circumstances, is not being actively carried on. Whatever causes of complaint well-meaning friends may consider that the Chinese have against their rulers, the people themselves do not seem to be aware of them, and are content with being left undisturbed in pursuit of that laborious and monotonous existence which constitutes their lot. If they are discontented they have an admirable method of concealing their dissatisfaction, and it may be doubted whether any summary interference with their mode of life would promote their happiness. The people, therefore, and the natural wealth and diversified character of the country, where skilful husbandry makes the best use of the soil, constitute the strength and formidableness as a power of China. In these possessions are the best foundation of a nation's strength, as well as the complete justification of a vigorous foreign policy.

It must not be supposed also that, because the Chinese are naturally inclined to the ways of peace, they are a timorous race and afraid of war. They are not like Bengalee weaklings, trembling at the clatter of the Mahratta horse. Physically vigorous, and indifferent to the fear of death, they have in them all the essentials of a first-class soldier. A Chinese army properly trained, and with a good and uniform weapon, would be a truly formidable force; and it will be the fault of the Pekin Government itself if such an army cannot in time be organised and made popular with the country. But even as the matter stands at present, a country with at least three hundred millions of the most remarkable people in Asia, if not in the world, has every right to decide for itself what it will do, and to arrange its affairs after its own fashion, even though its ways may appear antiquated, and some of its pretensions may raise a smile. But China will have to recollect that in a rough dealing world no Government will be able to long hold a foremost position, which of itself invites attack, unless it has the available means wherewith to maintain it. For the moment her reputation for strength has outstripped her actual resources as a fighting power, and she will be wise to make no delay in completing the improvements in her army and navy which have been already begun.

The foreign policy of China has, therefore, as its main object the preservation of the *status quo*, and the prevention so far as possible

of any further extension of the intercourse with Europeans. Were China to acquiesce in the commencement of a brisk trade with her land neighbours, it is felt that it would be followed by the decay of the empire, and by the subversion or disappearance of the Emperor's authority in his outlying dependencies. So far as the imperial privileges and perquisites among the vassal States are concerned, China would then be in the same condition as Samson deprived of his locks. If we apply, as the measure of what China will do to prevent such a contingency arising, the knowledge we have of how much she treasures the many feudal rights she retains, then we can only assume that the Chinese Government will resort to every means at its disposal, and will stake its very existence as a Government, in order to prevent what it regards as a catastrophe. There is little ground for supposing that the people would not heartily support their rulers in an anti-foreign policy if the necessity for it should arise; and the danger of the future lies in the direction that any undue pressure on the part of Europeans in forcing trade concessions or in ignoring their rights in dependent States, as the French are bent on doing in Tonquin, may so far exasperate the Chinese leaders as to induce them to work for a total cessation of foreign intercourse. Such a contingency still happily appears remote, but its very possibility is enough to warrant great circumspection in dealing with the Chinese Government, and the moral obligation to do so rests equally on all Europeans. So far, foreign intercourse has not interfered in any way with the imperial mission of China, or with the efficient discharge of her administrative functions. Indeed it can be shown to have contributed to the success of both of these objects, and to have advanced in several ways the dignity of China. The Chinese make, and have always made, a radical difference between trade by land and trade by sea. However much the latter may continue to be tolerated, it is felt that the former must carry with it a large increase of responsibility for which they are not prepared; and there is also the suspicion that it would lead to further conquests, whether by them or at their expense matters comparatively little. It is impossible for any one who will carefully weigh all the facts to say that in their opinions they are wrong; and, although the Chinese people have nothing to fear in commercial competition from any rivals, it is probable that, were its territory to be thrown open without restriction and at every point to the merchants of the contiguous states, the Chinese Government would not merely suffer in reputation by comparison with its neighbours—that is inevitable—but that the Emperor would absolutely lose that controlling influence which he now dispenses with dignity and without effort up to the limits of the jurisdiction in Asia of the sovereigns of England and Russia.

DEMETRIUS CHARLES BOULGER.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I.—THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF DISESTABLISHMENT.

To any lawyer who considers the subject of disestablishment from a legal point of view, a suspicion suggests itself that not one in a thousand of the divines or politicians who recommend or who resist the separation of Church and State understands the legal effects of the measure of which he is the advocate or the assailant. The aim of this article is neither to defend nor to deprecate the policy of disestablishment, but simply to call attention to certain legal facts and to the inferences which they suggest as to the probable character and position of the Church of England when deprived of the protection or freed from the tyranny of the State. In dealing with this subject it will be found convenient to consider separately three topics which are closely connected together; first, the legal position of non-established Churches and their relation to the law courts; secondly, the legal conditions under which the Church must be disestablished; thirdly, the inferences which these conditions suggest as to the character of the disestablished Church.

I. A non-established Church is, in the eye of the law, a voluntary association for religious purposes based upon contract between its members.

The religious doctrines, purposes, and discipline of such a body may be as different as the sects which divide the world. The Advent Christians, the Apostolics, the Baptised Believers, the Christian Eliasites, the Christadelphians, the New Church, the Progressionists, the Rational Christians, the Spiritualists, the Swedenborgians, the Unsectarians, the Religious Recreationists, and a score more of communities whose very names are unknown to the great public may each, from a legal point of view, as truly claim the status and position of a non-established Church as may the Roman Catholic Church or the Free Church of Scotland. The contract which lies at the basis of such an association may be of the most different kinds; it may be a vague, tacit understanding to adhere to the dogmas of some well-known communion, or to follow the teaching of some preacher unknown beyond the circle of his admirers, or it may be a hard and fast compact which, like the model trust deeds of the Free Church or of some dissenting communities, is drawn up with all the minuteness which sectarian conscientiousness or suspicion can suggest, and expressed with all the rigid accuracy which the art of an astute conveyancer can supply. The articles of association (to borrow a term from commercial law) may further do much more than define the objects or creed of the society; they may provide that the

Church itself (or some portion thereof) shall have power to alter, within definite or within indefinite limits, the discipline, the ritual, or the doctrines of the society, and may thus constitute an ecclesiastical legislature; they may also provide that all disputes, either between members or between any member and the society itself, shall be submitted to the final arbitrament of some committee, and may thus in effect constitute a Church court. Such a tribunal cannot of course possess "jurisdiction" in the strict sense of that term, but in virtue of the contract between the members of the Church it may as regards such members possess all the powers of an arbitrator to whom a given question is referred by agreement, and may give effect to its judgments by depriving individuals who refuse obedience of all the privileges of Church membership. "Where, in short," in the words of a celebrated judgment, "any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but has also constituted a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequences of such violation, the decision of such a tribunal will be binding upon its members when it has acted within the scope of its authority and has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms there be, and if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice. In such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense courts. They derive no authority from the Crown—they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences; they must apply for that purpose to the courts established by law, and such courts will give effect to their decision as they give effect to the decisions of arbitrators whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties." To all this must be added that every Church possesses, if not in name yet in fact, some amount of property however small. The poorest and smallest sect cannot dispense with a place of meeting; a chapel can hardly exist without seats, furniture, and the like. In other words, wherever you have a Church there you are certain, sooner or later, to find endowments. Under English law this plain fact is slightly concealed by Church property being held in the name of trustees for the purposes of the trust, *i.e.* speaking generally, for the use of the Church. Still, legal technicalities cannot change facts, and it is of great importance to keep clearly in view the necessary connection between the existence of a Church body and the possession by that body of property which may indeed be small, but is quite as likely to be large in amount and in value. Here then we have in bare outline a sketch of a fully developed Church. It is a body existing for religious purposes; it is founded on agreement among its members; it possesses, or may possess, a legislature and a court; it must possess some property; it looks, in short, for all the world like a State

within a State; an organization so complete in itself that it may dispense with the help and avoid the interference of the civil power.

The conception, however, of a "free Church in a free State," though it has often commended itself both to the consciences of religious enthusiasts and to the good sense of impartial magistrates, always has turned out, and always will turn out, delusive. A Church is, legally speaking, nothing but a lawful association; and such a society, however exalted its objects, however sacred its character, however fervent the zeal of its members, is liable to come within the reach of the courts, and this for two reasons; first, because the association rests upon a contract; secondly, because the association possesses or uses property. Wherever there is an agreement there must, of necessity, exist the possibility of disagreement, and when disagreement affects the rights and position of citizens the final intervention of the courts is inevitable; wherever there is property there is the possibility of dispute as to ownership, and such disputes cannot be terminated in a civilised State by anything but an appeal to the authority of the law. "Let all questions," it will be said, "be referred to the arbitrament of some synod, assembly, or convocation." So be it. But the courts, and the courts alone, must decide whether such reference is within the conditions of the Church contract, and whether the reference was fairly carried out in accordance with the rules of the association. And the existence of property involves inquiries even more fundamental than those arising directly from the agreement which constitutes a Church. For when once the point of ownership is raised, you are inevitably led to consider the great problem, which lies behind half the special questions which have brought religious bodies before the law courts, viz. wherein does the identity of a Church consist? When this essential matter is once at issue, it follows that the lay magistrates who are called upon to decide it are plunged into a mass of investigations, which in their own nature belong rather to the sphere of history, or of theology, than to the province of law. How inevitably Churches, like every other kind of association, are forced from time to time to come before the civil judgment-seat will be apparent to any one who examines the principles on which English courts have acted in their dealings with religious communities, and the results to which these principles have led. The position taken up by the judges is perfectly intelligible and completely secular. With the truth or falsehood of theological dogmas they have no concern. They "care for none of these things," and look with absolute indifference on the creeds, and with impartial equity on the civil rights of all the thousand sects, each of which claims to possess the truth. The one doctrine to which they have always clung is *pactum serva*. To every kind of association—to church, chapel, partnership, or club—they have held

one uniform language: "Pursue whatever lawful objects you may think fit, make whatever contract of association you please, undertake whatever trusts you like, but by the contract you have made you must stand; your terms of partnership shall be enforced, and the property given or devised to you for one purpose shall be used for that purpose, and for that purpose alone." Nothing more reasonable, more judicial, more just than such language can well be conceived, but the principle which it embodies leads to the result, startling as it at first appears, that no Church, however independent, can hope to elude for ever the grasp of the courts, and that there is scarcely a question in the whole field of religious controversy or of divinity which may not indirectly claim the attention of English judges. The general way in which the application of the simple maxim "fulfil the obligations you have incurred," leads the courts into the consideration of matters foreign to their ordinary business, may be easily understood. A. is the minister, say of the Christadelphians. He is turned out of his post, and deprived of a Christadelphian chapel by the majority of his congregation. He, representing the minority who sympathise with his views or admire his preaching, applies to the law courts for some form of relief. Of the endless questions which may arise, some at once suggest themselves. A. may allege that the majority of the congregation are not authorised to appoint or dismiss the minister. The court must then inquire into the constitution of the Christadelphian Church. He may assert that the committee or other body called upon to determine whether he shall be dismissed or not, have, acting quasi-judicially, refused to give him a fair hearing. Here is another question for the lawyers, which involves nothing less than an inquiry into the procedure of the Church in question. Lastly, the injured minister may complain that the majority of the congregation have deserted the true Christadelphian faith, and have no claim to the use either of the chapel or of any other property left in trust for the Church. The duty is thereupon cast upon the bench of ascertaining what are the real doctrines of Christadelphianism, and of determining which of two rival bodies is, from a Christadelphian point of view, the true Church. Our example is purely imaginary. The particular sect is known to us, as we presume to most of our readers, by name only, and may, for aught we know, have entirely avoided all contact with law and lawyers. But for every question we have supposed to be raised with regard to a Christadelphian community, a parallel case can be found in the authentic pages of the law reports.

South Africa has been fortunate or unfortunate enough to provide at least two instances of the mode in which lay tribunals deal with the affairs of Churches. *Long* v. *The Bishop of Cape Town* (1 Moore, P. C. N.S. 411) proves that under a disestablished branch of the

Church of England, a Bishop backed by a Synod may find that his power of dealing with recalcitrant clergymen is much curtailed by the intervention of the civil power. The Colonial magistrates maintained and, as it turned out on appeal, maintained rightly, that Mr. Long, in spite of his vow of canonical obedience, was bound to obey his Bishop only in matters in which the Bishop had a lawful right to require, and that, under the circumstances of the case, Mr. Long had not entered into any contract rendering him liable to suspension or deprivation, for refusing to submit to constitutions enacted by a Synod of the diocese. The Dutch Reformed Church, again in the colony of Good Hope, was, and we presume still is, a typical example of a Free or Independent Church. But *Murray* v. *Burgess* (L. R. 1, P. C. 362) shows, if proof were wanting, that such a Church cannot escape the control of the civil power. The ecclesiastical authorities found Mr. Burgess guilty of denying certain dogmas, and by means of their sentence excluded, or threatened to exclude him, from the pulpit which he occupied as a minister of the Church. He appealed to the courts in an action against the Moderator of the Synod, and claimed to have the sentence of the Presbyterian tribunal declared void. The ground of his action was in effect, that the Dutch Church had, as is not uncommon with ecclesiastics zealous against heresy, neglected the rules of procedure required by the constitution of the Church. Mr. Burgess made good his claim both in the Colony and before the Privy Council, and proved that the Presbyterian Free Church of the Cape was as much within the grasp of the law as the Anglican Free Church of Natal. If it be objected that neither of these cases was decided under English law, the objection is technically correct, but they were decided by the Privy Council on principles which no English Judge would hesitate to apply to any non-established Church. It may with more truth be remarked that such decisions touch only the externals of ecclesiastical government. It is easy, however, to produce cases in which English courts, acting under English law, have dealt in the case of non-established Churches with points quite as closely connected with the essentials of theology, as are any of the topics which, during the last thirty or forty years, have occupied and perplexed the Dean of Arches or the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Take for example the whole line of cases popularly connected with the name of Lady Hewley. The matter substantially at stake was, whether congregations of Unitarians, the historical descendants of Presbyterians and Independents, were entitled to use chapels built and enjoy endowments left by their Calvinistic ancestors. The immediate question with which the courts were concerned was, no doubt, the mere construction of a deed, but the legal documents were themselves ambiguous.

A "godly preacher" may be a Socinian. If you deny that a person who disbelieves in the doctrine of the Trinity can be considered a "preacher of Christ's Holy Gospel," you assume the very point at issue. Magistrates anxious to do justice were certainly not prepared with any rough-and-ready means of cutting a tangled knot. They were compelled, whether they liked it or not, to face curious problems of history and theology. Indirectly they had to deal with the question wherein consists the identity of a Church. They were driven to determine whether Presbyterians zealous for orthodoxy, and at the same time zealous for that right of inquiry which lies at the foundation of Protestantism, were or were not prepared for the possibility that the method of speculation which they favoured might lead to results which they detested. The decision to which the courts came was, as everybody knows, that endowments left by strenuous Calvinists in trust for godly ministers, could not be appropriated by men holding doctrines which, true or false, the pious founders would have reprobated as damnable errors. The decision was, from a legal or historical point of view, sound, but it was distinctly a decision on a matter which raises, and always will raise, keen theological controversy, and further, it was a decision which shows that the action of the courts will inevitably tend to limit that power of change or development which seems at first sight to be the natural birthright of a so-called Free Church. Of the mode in which the result of the cases to which we have referred was ultimately modified by legislation, giving an effect to custom which could hardly be attributed to it by the judges, it is not within the scope of the present essay to treat. The point here insisted upon is, that lay courts interfered with the arrangements of non-established Unitarian communions quite as seriously as Lord Penzance or the Privy Council have ever attempted to interfere with matters touching the Established Church. If, however, there be a matter on which one might deem it impossible that a court should be even asked to intervene, it is the question who are the persons to be admitted to the Lord's Supper? Yet this point has been at least twice brought before the judges by bodies of Particular Baptists. In 1860 the then Master of the Rolls had before him an information filed in effect on behalf of a minority of a Baptist congregation which prayed *inter alia* that the minister, George Gould, "might be restrained from admitting to Church communion or any act of Church communion, and particularly from administering the Lord's Supper, to any persons not being Baptised believers or Particular Baptists," as defined in the information, "and that the said George Gould might be removed from being the minister of the chapel, and that directions might be given for ensuring the election of some other qualified person as minister thereof." The petition was in fact dismissed;

not, however, on the ground that the court declined to intervene, but on the ground that the plaintiffs took an erroneous view of the essential doctrines held by societies of Particular Baptists. In other words, a lay court pronounced and was compelled to pronounce a decision on that vexed point of "open and close" communion which had long been the burning question agitating the sect whose doctrines were under investigation. Two years later exactly the same singular inquiry was brought before the attention of another court, and Vice-Chancellor Kindersley, with such aid as he might obtain from the judgment of Sir John Romilly, was compelled to reconsider the question whether close communion was or was not an essential dogma of the Particular Baptists. These two decisions would appear to have put this dispute, as far as lawyers are concerned, at rest; but let no one suppose that the members of non-established Churches have ceased to call for the aid of the civil magistrate. Persons curious in such investigations must, within the last two years, have read with considerable interest the report of *Jones* v. *Stannard*. The case is a typical one; it shows the form which the controversy between orthodoxy or traditional opinions and free thought takes within the limited area of a Nonconformist chapel. The plaintiffs were eleven trustees of the Huddersfield Independent chapel representing the orthodox party who adhered to the doctrines laid down by Calvin. The defendants were the minister and ten other trustees, and represented, as one gathers, the general sentiment of the congregation. Vice-Chancellor Hall was petitioned to declare that Mr. Stannard was not competent or qualified to exercise the office of pastor. This alleged disqualification consisted wholly in his deviations from the dogmas of rigid Calvinism as defined in the trust deed of the chapel, which, be it remarked, dated only from 1849. Of the merits of the controversy this is not the place to speak. What is to be noted is that the Vice-Chancellor was called upon to pronounce judgment on points quite as purely doctrinal as any which (in the case of the Established Church) Ritualists wish to reserve for the determination of the Episcopate. Thus, to give but one example, Sir Charles Hall had to decide whether the defendants' doctrines as to eternal punishment, which seem to have been a very mild form of the views openly maintained by Broad Churchmen, were or were not consistent with the tenth article of the Deed of Settlement, which requires belief in "the eternal happiness of the righteous and the everlasting punishment of the wicked." His lordship decided that opinions, every one of which are admittedly held by many clergy of the Establishment, could not be held by the minister of the Huddersfield chapel. The case is under appeal, and the soundness or unsoundness of the Vice-Chancellor's decision is immaterial to our present purpose. It is worth remark that if Mr. Stannard had

thought fit, with the aid of his congregation, to disobey the injunction of the court, he might have found himself as tightly and permanently lodged in prison as Mr. Green. Unfortunately a "minister in gaol" has not the alliterative impressiveness of a "priest in prison." The disobedience of a dissenter does not excite the sympathies of good society.

On the same page of *The Times* which reported Mr. Stannard's case might be found a report of *Dawkins* v. *Antrobus*, in which Colonel Dawkins—a gentleman who has given at least as much trouble to the courts as to the enemies of his country—applies to the Court of Appeal to declare that the expulsion of the colonel from the Travellers' Club was invalid. The juxtaposition of *Jones* v. *Stannard* and *Dawkins* v. *Antrobus* is curious. It suggests to the minds of lay readers two facts well known to lawyers: first, that the courts interfere in the affairs of Churches, not because they are Churches, but because they are associations; and, secondly, that the association which, from a legal point of view, most nearly resembles a non-established Church is an ordinary club. The Athenæum, the Reform, or the Travellers, is a voluntary association founded upon contract between its members. The contract may, as in the case of a Church, be anything whatever within certain wide limits which the members choose to make it. The conditions of the agreement may be implied or expressed—they may or may not provide a club legislature capable of altering the rules of the body; they may or may not provide a committee or club court which, with or without appeal, may settle disputes between the members or between the members and the club, and can finally enforce its mandates by expulsion from the body and deprivation of the benefits of the society. Point by point a club will be found to stand legally in a situation so like the position of a Church that the law of Churches, *i.e.* of voluntary associations formed for religious purposes, and the law of clubs, *i.e.* of voluntary associations, formed for social purposes, each throw light upon the other. A club, like a Church, aims at what may be termed independence; a club, like a Church, will find that this object is only partially attainable. More than one recent case shows that committees may find as many legal difficulties in expelling an unpopular member as have been found by synods or assemblies in depriving a professor or a heretic of any tangible advantage which he may gain from belonging to a particular sect.

Since a non-established Church is from a legal point of view little else than a club formed for the promotion of religious purposes, and for the maintenance of theological dogmas, how, it may well be asked, does it happen that Churches who prize "freedom" above all things have been far less successful in keeping the courts at arm's length than the majority of clubs? The explanation of a paradoxical

state of things is worth giving. The very fact that Churches exist to maintain opinions lays them open in the long run to the intervention of the courts. A club like the Reform, founded to promote a political creed, may any day give rise to controversies strictly analogous to the kind of litigation which harasses ecclesiastical communities. The institution exists "for the purpose of promoting the social intercourse of Reformers," and retains the power of expelling any member "on the plea of his not being a Reformer, or of being otherwise unfit to be a member of the club." Who, then, is a Reformer? Is he a Whig, or a Radical, or either? If the term means a Whig, is the standard of Whig doctrine to be determined by the opinions of 1836, when, if we mistake not, the club was founded, or by a political creed of a later date? Where, again, is sound Whig doctrine to be found recorded? Are we to search the works or speeches of Fox, of Russell, or of Macaulay? Who is to say whether, in the minds of the Whig "Fathers," a general belief in progress overruled their conviction of the truth of particular Whig opinions, or the general belief in progress was controlled by rigid adherence to certain political dogmas? These inquiries are at the present time speculative and otiose. A disruption of parties, such as that which marked the outbreak of the French Revolution, might give them a real and important meaning. The rules of the Reform Club might then produce legal proceedings in which all the familiar phenomena of ecclesiastical cases would reappear under a political guise. Such a turn of events is, it is true, unlikely. The improbability arises from this, that the opinions which even dogmatic clubs maintain are by no means so inherently fruitful of controversy as are the creeds of Churches. It is a grave error to suppose that theological divisions or feuds arise mainly from the weakness or vice of human nature. They are due in great part to causes such as the natural desire to maintain what one believes to be true, and the equally natural desire to ascertain the truth, which give no ground either for sneers or for lamentation. Every Church is founded on the assumption that some dogmas, however few they may be, are certainly true; and, also, on the assumption that men do not yet know the whole of the truth, and are bound to accept new truths when they arise. These assumptions in the course of time come into conflict with each other. How to adjust this conflict cannot fail to cause perplexity, and in the long run to cause disagreement and division. With disagreement comes that condition of things which, in one shape or another, leads parties, each of which honestly believe that their association is being perverted from its legitimate objects, to make an appeal to law. A Church without divisions is, to speak plainly, a Church without life. But no Church or association liable to divisions can hope

entirely to escape recourse to the only power by which the solution of the legal question to which such divisions will give rise can be supplied. The courts may be kept at a distance, but the courts are always in the background, ready to determine the rights of associations and of their members.

II. From an examination into the legal nature and position of a non-established Church, combined with the knowledge of facts patent to all the world, it is possible to draw three conclusions as to the characteristics of disestablishment, should the connection between Church and State in England be ever brought to a close.

First.—The whole character of the disestablished Church will depend on the terms of disestablishment, *i.e.* on the conditions of the contract forming the basis of the new association.

Secondly.—The conditions of the Church contract will of necessity be fixed directly or indirectly by Act of Parliament. The free Church will, after all, owe its freedom and receive the terms of its freedom from its Parliamentary creator.

Thirdly.—The disestablished Church will be the possessor of property and endowments considerable in amount and value. The Irish Church affords the only actual precedent of Parliamentary disestablishment to which we can appeal, and no one will maintain that the Irish Church was sent out penniless into the wilderness. Recent endowments given or devised for Church purposes will be left in the hands of the non-established Church of England. One may infer from the Endowed Schools Act that the rule will be that money devoted or bequeathed to the Church during the fifty years preceding disestablishment shall be considered the property of the new body. Whether this or some other principle be ultimately adopted it is for our present purpose immaterial; what is very material to bear in mind is, that the disestablished Church will, whether from the justice of Parliament or the liberality of Churchmen, be the recipient of considerable wealth held and to be held for the purposes of the Church.

III. Any person who keeps his gaze calmly fixed on the legal aspects of disestablishment may make a probable forecast as to certain features which will mark the disestablished Church of England, and will confidently anticipate results from the separation of Church and State which escape the notice both of the assailants and of the defenders of the present system.

It is in the first place clear that the disestablished Church will possess an amount of corporate independence (to use a less misleading term than freedom) which can never be conceded to a religious sect enjoying the special patronage of the State. It is necessary to insist upon this, because here and there a Broad Church clergyman may be found who, having with difficulty realised that

no association, whether ecclesiastical or civil, can elude the grasp of the law, believes or maintains that there is no essential difference in point of liberty between the position of the establishment and the situation of any non-established sect. This innocent paradox is of course not maintainable by any one who understands the position taken up by the law with regard to religious societies. The Church of England, as matters now stand, has no true legislature but Parliament. The sham legislature called Convocation may or may not be a convenient organ for the expression of clerical opinion, but has for all serious purposes little more to do with the government of the Church than the Union Debating Society has to do with the government of the University of Oxford. The Church has no courts but courts existing under the authority or by the sanction of Parliament. To plain persons, in short, who can look ordinary facts in the face, the thesis that the Church of England is as independent as, say, the Free Church of Scotland, seems little less futile than to maintain that the dining-room of the House of Commons is no more under the control of the House than is the dining-room of the Travellers or of the Reform. The Church of England when disestablished will, like the disestablished Church of Ireland, acquire a *bonâ fide* Church legislature and special Church courts. The new body will, in other words, as long as its members keep within its articles of association, legislate for itself, and have not much more reason to look for or dread the intervention of Lord Penzance than have the Wesleyan Methodists, the Particular Baptists, or the Church of Humanity. It must, however, be always borne in mind that the freedom or independence of the Church body will in no case exceed the independence of an ordinary non-established Church; it, like other associations, will be compelled to keep within the terms of its fundamental contract; it, like other Churches, will in dealing with property be forced by the courts to comply with the trusts on which the property is given. There is in fact very plausible reason to conjecture that the freedom of the disestablished Church which cannot exceed, may in practice a good deal fall short of the independence possessed by other religious denominations. Property has its restraints as well as its privileges, and a community anxious for every reason good and bad not to break with its historical traditions will, in taking over the doctrines, the ritual, and the prestige of the establishment, inherit some of the restraints to which the establishment is subject. Even a majority of the non-established Church will hardly find themselves in a position to divert the endowments which the Church retains to objects utterly opposed to that for which the present Church exists. If, for example, under those changes of opinion which have taken place from time to time, and will as far as man can conjecture take place in future

years, the majority of the disestablished Church should adopt either Unitarian or Roman Catholic opinions, the courts would insist that the minority who adhered to the old ways, whether of Trinitarianism or of Anglican Protestantism, were the true representatives of the Church, and the persons entitled to the use of Church property. The new Church (which, no doubt, would repudiate the idea of being new) would inherit the divisions of the old. There is, we are certain, no eminent ecclesiastic of any party who would not wish that the association should, as far as possible, include within it at starting all the *boná-fide* members of the existing Church of England. But such inclusion implies that the society should embrace within it Ritualists, High Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, and Low Churchmen, who, if they can with difficulty live as a happy family under the guardianship and control of the State, are certain to fly at each other when the keeper has withdrawn and left them free. But a Church distracted by theological differences is certain, sooner or later, to apply to the courts for a settlement of its disputes. By two methods only would it be possible to minimise the chance of appeal to the State. The members of the Church of England might make up their minds to give up all claim whatever to Church endowments. Such a resolution would be Quixotic in every sense of that term, and, as every one is aware, will never be adopted. The Church might again resolve on a complete adoption of that congregational system which seems, for the nonce, to commend itself to High Churchmen, who have hitherto never had a good word to say for Independents. If each congregation were allowed to regulate its own ritual and doctrine, and the principles of 7 & 8 Vict. c. 45—under which the religious opinions taught or the mode of worship practised in any meeting-house for twenty-five years become, so to speak, the legal doctrine and ritual of such meeting-house—were, with considerable extension, applied to the places of worship belonging to the Church of England, something nearly approaching to complete independence might be obtained. But the price of such independence is one which no zealous Churchman would pay. Mr. Dale or Mr. Enraght may look favourably enough on congregational liberty when it happens to protect the propagation of High Church dogma or of ritualistic practice; but no one really supposes that the clamour raised by a clerical faction for what they are pleased to call toleration means toleration all round. The respect due to eminent persons forbids the supposition that men like the late Dr. Pusey or Canon Liddon would stultify the labours of a lifetime by aiding to found an institution called the Church of England, but maintaining a system of congregationalism under which one Church might adopt practices not distinguishable from those of Rome, whilst another rejected all creeds and used forms of worship in which any

sincere Theist might take part. Moreover, congregational independence has not yet been proved compatible with episcopal government, and the disestablished Church of England will remain an episcopal Church. Given, however, a Church based on a contract drawn up under the sanction of Parliament, possessed of large wealth, divided into opposed parties, and precluded from adopting congregationalism, and it needs no prophet to predict that such a body, though it may enjoy that corporate independence which the establishment cannot claim, though it may have its Church courts and its Church legislature, will, both for bad and good, never attain the "freedom" acquired by communions whose independence is secured by their poverty and by their constitution.

A second point which becomes clear to any one who pursues the line of thought suggested by this essay is, that unless disestablishment is the result of some astounding Parliamentary juggle, the disestablished Church will be a society in which laymen will be the predominant power. That this must be so results from various causes, the operation of which is all but certain. Parliament itself is a lay body, consisting of laymen who will take care that in the disestablished Church the laity shall be fully represented. Unless the new association carries with it all those laymen who now are connected with the Church by anything more than name, the new institution will be, even in the eyes of ardent Sacerdotalists, little better than a failure. The need, lastly, of obtaining additional endowments for the support of the Church will entail the necessity of appealing to the only class by whom these endowments can be supplied—that is, the vast, the wealthy, the liberal body of lay churchgoers. This matter, in fact, would hardly need insisting upon, were it not obvious that many of those who would at once admit that the disestablished Church of England must include the lay Churchmen of England, do not see all the consequences which this admission involves. If the laity are to have the same weight in the Church of England which they have in the disestablished Church of Ireland, in the Established Church of Scotland, or in the Scotch Free Church (and it is certain they will have at least as much), the opinions, the tone, the ritual, the doctrine, the colour, so to speak, of the Church, will in the long run be fixed by the views, the sentiments, the principles, or the prejudices of ordinary respectable English laymen. Zealots of all parties have become of late so accustomed to overlook the wishes and contemn the opinion of quiet humdrum moderate Churchmen who are pretty well contented with things as they are, and who heartily wish that the clergy, or rather a minority of the clergy, were content to leave well alone, that it is hard to realise that in a disestablished Church as in every non-established sect, the ordinary church-goer will rule the roast. This is not a result which

laymen of any class need specially deplore, but it is a result which will a good deal surprise and not greatly please clergymen who fancy that in a free Church the clergy must of necessity be supreme, at any rate in all matters of doctrine. The plain fact of the case is, that when High Churchmen think of a free Church they unconsciously assume that the clergy or part of the clergy may be identified with the Church. This assumption is one which disestablishment would at once show to be false. The Church when disestablished will have its own assemblies. They may probably assume the name and adopt the forms of Convocation, but a person must be very simple who thinks that the Convocation, which will really rule the disestablished Church of England, will in constitution be like the body which is not suffered to rule the established Church. Without doubt the true Church assembly will consist in large part of laymen. There will be Church tribunals, but the one thing which one can confidently assert of institutions not yet come into existence is, that a real Church court will not be what the Church Union wishes it to be—the Bench of Bishops. Whenever the Church of England forms for itself a new court of appeal for ecclesiastical cases, the tribunal will bear, it may be suspected, a far greater resemblance to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council than to any court which has been suggested by those who denounce the existing judicial system. Moreover, a change in the constitution of a court will be of little benefit to persons subject to a genuine and active Church legislature. The ordinary English Church-going layman is at bottom a Conservative in the true sense of the term. In the main he likes things as they are. Such a man has at present little opportunity of directly intervening in ecclesiastical matters. He does not love any of the active minorities who disturb the Church. He is a Protestant, and he dislikes teaching and ceremonies which tend towards Rome. He is not a Free Thinker, and he does not like preachers who, to his apprehension, are undermining received and respectable beliefs. He is not dogmatic, and he, on the whole, prefers that he should not be called upon to hear a creed which, to his mind, damns every one who does not believe in the truth of propositions which our ordinary church-goer does not pretend to understand. He has an idea, sometimes a strong idea, that clergymen like other persons ought to mean what they say, and had better say what they mean, and is gently shocked, or occasionally considerably irritated, when he is told that a man may repeat a creed without believing it, and that persons who believe something more than moderate Roman Catholics, as well as persons who believe a good deal less than moderate Unitarians, have a right to occupy the pulpits and enjoy the emoluments of the Church. These and

other sentiments of the like kind entertained by the moderate Churchmen may be, as far as the present argument is concerned, mistaken, narrow, contemptible, what you will. Our contention is not that these views of ordinary church-goers are right, or wise, or noble, but that they are in fact pretty much what we have described, and that ordinary laymen, when they become predominant in the Church, will rightly enough try to make their notions of what the Church should be and of what it should not be prevail, and that in this effort they will, as they deserve to do, succeed.

This forecast as to the characteristics of the disestablished Church of England may seem to rest on speculative deductions from narrow premises. It is worth while, therefore, to call the attention of persons who absurdly enough talk as if Parliamentary disestablishment were still a matter to be argued about "in the air" to two or three facts with regard to the disestablished Church of Ireland. These facts are interesting in themselves and strongly confirm every one of the views put forward in this article. If an appeal is to be made to experience rather than to general argument, it is folly to neglect the one great precedent of systematic disestablishment by Act of Parliament.[1]

First.—The Irish Church is free, yet two fundamental conditions of the Church contract were in effect, if not in so many words, determined, and permanently determined, by Parliament. The Church Act, 1869, in effect, called upon the bishops, the clergy, and the laity to form a constitution for the Church of Ireland, and to take the management of its affairs into their own hands. Parliament, therefore, in substance, fixed who should be the members of the new body, and rightly enough provided for the representation of the laity. The Act of 1869 further implied, if it did not absolutely enact, that the association to be recognised as the disestablished Church of Ireland should be an Episcopal Church. Intentionally, therefore, or unintentionally, wisely or unwisely, Parliament has limited the freedom of the Irish Church. If at any future time a majority of the whole society resolve to adopt, say, the Presbyterian form of Church government, there is grave reason to doubt whether the association could legally carry out what may be a very prudent

(1) It is an instance of the habitual and very discreditable neglect of Irish affairs by the English public that from the moment when the Church of Ireland was disestablished not one educated Englishman in ten thousand paid the least attention to its concerns. The law libraries contain but one imperfect copy extending only to 1878 of the official journal of the Church Convention. From this copy the facts here stated are collected. It is hardly possible to read even the meagre information given in the Journal without seeing that the affairs of the Irish Church have been carried on in a spirit very creditable to its members, and that questions were constantly raised, debated, and settled in the convention which have a great interest for English Churchmen.

and laudable design. Many lawyers would hold that, under the supposed circumstances, the minority would be the true representative of the Church, and entitled to its places of worship and endowments. Even if this view be unsound no one can read the Church Act, 1869, section 22, without seeing that Parliament provided that the Church should start as an Episcopal communion. Whether it was well to restrict the freedom of Irish Churchmen is a matter which may properly receive the careful attention of reformers looking for the disestablishment of the English Church. However this be, that Parliament did in the case of the Irish Church fix the terms of the fundamental pact is certain.

Secondly.—The Free Church has assemblies and courts of its own, but its synods and its tribunals are under the predominant influence of laymen. That this is so is apparent on a very slight investigation into the constitution of the General Synod—the supreme legislature of the Church—and of the final court of appeal.

The General Synod consists of two Houses—the House of Bishops and the House of Representatives.

The House of Bishops consists of the Bishops of the Church of Ireland for the time being. The House of Representatives consists of 208 clerical and 416 lay representatives. The two houses in general sit together, though the House of Bishops may deliberate and must vote separately. The mode of voting in the House of Representatives deserves notice. As a rule the clerical and the lay representatives vote conjointly, in which case a question may be carried by the vote of a mere majority, but on the requisition of ten members the vote may be taken by orders, in which case no question can be carried unless there is a majority in its favour of the representatives of each of the orders voting thereon. The House of Representatives may, under certain circumstances, by a two-thirds vote carry any measure over the heads of the Bishops. When you add to this that every layman is a member of the Church of Ireland who professes himself a member and communicant of such Church, you have in rough outline a constitution which, whatever its merits or defects, is certain adequately to represent lay sentiment. No doubt clergy and laity alike are given great power to prevent change. That the clergy should introduce the smallest alteration into the constitution of the Church against the wish of the laity is rendered absolutely impossible. The clergy may for a time prohibit change, but they can do so only by means of the vote by orders and by displaying in a way very unfavourable to clerical influence any difference which may exist between lay and clerical opinion.

The final court of appeal is termed the Court of the General Synod. The expression is calculated to mislead. The Court consists of one archbishop, one bishop, and three laymen. The General Synod names not less than six, nor more than ten lay members of

the Church of Ireland, from whom the lay judges of the court are selected, and each of whom must be, or have been, a judge in one of the superior courts of equity or common law, or of the Court of Probate, or of certain other judicial bodies. These lay judges form a permanent body, and in any particular case three of them are selected by lot to form part of the Court of the General Synod. The arrangement is a judicious one enough. Were the English Church when disestablished to constitute a like tribunal, Mr. Dale or Mr. Enraght would, instead of coming before the Privy Council, find themselves before a court consisting, say, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Manchester, Mr. Justice Stephen, Lord Cairns, and Lord Penzance. No one need complain of such a tribunal. It would be neither much better nor much worse than the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It would be a Church court. One wonders whether it would satisfy the conscience and ensure the obedience of Mr. Mackonochie or Mr. De la Bere. To the gentlemen themselves this matter would be of importance. To the disestablished Church, whether of England or of Ireland, it would be of no importance whatever. No one can doubt that a minister who would not obey the final decision of the Church court would be summarily dealt with by the civil judges, who would take care that the members of the Church Association kept to the terms of the Church contract.

Thirdly.—The legislation of the General Synod bears, as one would expect, the impress of the influence exerted upon it by the ordinary feelings and opinions of Irish laymen and Protestants. It is marked, no doubt, by a strong tone of unmistakable Conservatism. The aggregate amount of changes effected do not appear to be great. There is an unmistakable and very legitimate desire patent in every part of the constitution of the Church of Ireland not to break the connection between the established and the disestablished Church. The Church tribunals take cognisance of every breach or violation of ecclesiastical law, which at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act was an offence against the ecclesiastical law of the united Church of England and Ireland. Adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles is placed in the fore front of the preamble and declaration which precedes the statute organising the legislative constitution of the Church. The statute itself, as we have already pointed out, places considerable hindrances in the path of change, whether it be in the form of reform, of innovation, or of reaction. Yet for all this the weight of lay influence, or, at any rate, of what may be termed average Church opinion, comes out with unmistakable clearness. "The Church of Ireland," says the third article of the preamble and declaration, "as a Reformed and Protestant Church doth hereby reaffirm its constant witness against all those innovations in doctrine

and worship whereby the Primitive faith have been defaced or overlaid from time to time, and which at the Reformation it did disown and reject." Let no one urge that such a declaration—which, by the way, hosts of English Churchmen would gladly see made part of our Church's formularies—is unmeaning. It has, as every one knows, a very distinct meaning, and the proposal to accentuate in like manner the Protestant character of the English Church would undoubtedly meet with strenuous opposition from Anglicans. The declaration, moreover, as long as it stands, and it is practically unutterable, would be found a legal obstacle in the way of any reconciliation, however plausible, with Rome. The spirit of this declaration comes out in practical enactments. The statute concerning the election of Bishops and appointment of ministers to cures is well worth study. It shows how, under an episcopal organization, laymen may secure a part in the appointment of ministers and Bishops. Few things, again, are better worth notice than some of the canons passed in 1871: the provisions that the communion-table shall be a movable table of wood; that there shall not be any lights, or lamps, or candles on the communion-table, or in any other part of the Church, during the celebration of the services, or the administration of the sacraments, or any other public or common prayers, or rites of the Church, except when they are necessary for the purpose of giving light; that there shall not be any cross, ornamental or otherwise, on the communion-table, or on the covering thereof; nor shall a cross be erected or depicted on the wall behind the communion-table; that it shall be unlawful to carry any cross, or banner, or picture through any church or churchyard in any religious service or ceremonial; that no procession take place therein as a rite or ceremony in connection with any part of such service, unless prescribed by the Bishop, are enactments which tell their own tale, and are in harmony with the attempts, of which traces are to be found in other parts of the Synodical Journal, towards union with Dissenters—a policy as natural to laymen and Protestants as it seems unnatural to Anglican divines. By far, however, the most interesting of the controversies which divided the Synod is one which it is rather hard to follow in the scanty reports contained in the Journal. What is obvious is, that a large body of laymen from the first objected to the use of the Athanasian Creed. The discussions of this subject, which spread over several years, appear to have led to two different attempts to effect something like a compromise between lay and clerical opinion. Statutes, chapters 1 and 2 of the General Synod of 1875, enact the use of what may be described according to one's views as a curtailed or mutilated form of the creed, omitting its first two clauses. The statutes of 1877, chapter 1, repeal the former Acts, but do away with any injunction ordering the use of the creed in any service. The

present intention of the Irish Church is, presumably, to retain the creed unaltered, but to make its use optional. The whole course of proceeding and the change of policy argues considerable indifference on the part of the laity to dogmatic niceties, combined with a determination that a formula shall not necessarily be used which does not accord with the sentiments of ordinary laymen. Our explanation of the course adopted by the Irish Church body with respect to the Athanasian Creed may be erroneous, but every word contained in the Journal of the Synod points to the conclusion that the disestablished Church of Ireland represents in the main the ordinary feelings of Irish Churchmen, and strengthens the conviction that the disestablished Church of England will, both as to dogma and as to ritual, share the sentiments and obey the wishes of the majority of English church-goers. This prospect, at which no English layman need look with alarm, scarcely meets the anticipations of Ritualists, who, when begged to be kind enough not to break the law, reply by threats that if the law is enforced disestablishment will follow, and the Church (which means the clergy) will claim and obtain absolute freedom. For the policy of disestablishment there is much to be said, both on moral and on political grounds. The aim, however, of this essay is not either to advocate or to attack the policy of separating Church and State; its only aim is to call attention to conclusions which appear to follow from a careful investigation into the legal aspects of disestablishments. These conclusions, for which the grounds have been given, may be thus summed up.

The disestablished Church will not possess more, and may well possess less, independence than an ordinary dissenting sect; in no case will this independence amount to anything like absolute immunity from the interference of the courts. The character of the disestablished Church will depend on the terms of the Church contract, and these will be fixed more or less directly by Parliament. Both the action of Parliament and the whole force of things will insure that, in the disestablished Church, the laity shall be sovereign. The clergy, therefore, who consider that freedom means independence of lay assemblies and lay courts, will find that freedom from ineffective State control is purchased by submission to very effective lay domination.

This article was written without any reference either to *Merriman* v. *Williams* (App. Cas. 484) or to the circumstances which have called attention to the constitution of the Reform Club. The last decision, however, with reference to the status of the English Church in South Africa and the discussion which has arisen as to the law of clubs only confirm, it is submitted, the correctness of the legal views expressed in this article.

A. V. DICEY.

II.—THE CLERGY AND THE LAW.

THE first condition of useful controversy is a clear issue, and the first step towards a clear issue is a common agreement as to the terms in dispute. Certain of the clergy, for example, are accused of "lawlessness." But what do the accusers mean by "lawlessness"? The word may mean either the violation of a particular law or a temper of disloyalty towards lawful authority in general. Lawlessness in the first sense is not necessarily a moral offence; it always is in the second. It would be difficult to name a man more imbued with respect for law or with loyalty towards lawful authority than Sir James Mackintosh. Yet Sir James Mackintosh was one of the most eloquent defenders of the French Revolution, and he does not scruple to say, in his *History of England*, that "glory is due to those who, like Wallace, for the sake of justice, wear the garb of offenders against law." And a greater man than Mackintosh, Edmund Burke, goes farther; for he says that "it would be hard to point out any error more truly subversive of all the order and beauty, of all the peace and happiness, of human society, than the position that laws can derive any authority from their institution merely, and independent of the quality of the subject-matter. . . . In reality there are two, and only two, foundations of law; and they are both of them conditions without which nothing can give it any force. I mean equity and utility."

The doctrine that bad laws must be obeyed till they are repealed or altered must be received with considerable reservation. Some of the most salutary reforms in the history of England have been brought about by resistance to bad laws; and it is certain that without such resistance the reforms would either not have come at all, or would have come too late to cure the evil. It was a defiant breach of law by O'Connell and the electors of Clare that carried Catholic Emancipation. It was the "perjured verdicts" of humane juries that abolished the atrocious penal laws which disgraced the statute-book as late as fifty years ago. The lawyers and the landed and commercial classes opposed the reform for a long time with success. "The learned judges," said Chief Justice Ellenborough, in the House of Lords, "are unanimously agreed that the expediency of justice and the public security require there should not be a remission of capital punishment in this part of the criminal law"—that is, for theft beyond the value of forty shillings. "If we suffer this Bill to pass," he declared, "we shall not know where we stand; we shall not know whether we are on our heads or on our feet."

Preposterous as this language may seem to us, it expressed the

sincere feelings of the vast majority of educated people at the time. And it is perhaps not more preposterous than some of the exaggerated fears of educated society now will appear fifty years hence. The class of men from whom juries are commonly chosen are probably less exposed to the unconscious bias of professional prejudices or interested motives, and are thus more disposed than their social superiors to be influenced by considerations of equity rather than of strict law: hence the determination of juries fifty years ago to defeat, by "perjured verdicts," laws which they were sworn to administer, because those laws outraged the first principles of natural justice. They committed their cause to history, and are now honoured because they were brave enough, "for the sake of justice, to wear the garb of offenders against law." In truth, no sensible person would seriously argue that wilful disobedience to some particular law is of itself sufficient to prove a man a bad citizen. To disobey a bad or an oppressive law, and take the consequences, is often the only feasible way of calling public attention to a wrong, and getting it redressed. It is the *motive* which constitutes lawlessness in the bad sense, and where the motive of the law-breaker is not self-will, but love of truth and justice, he is not, properly speaking, a lawless person. The case is different, of course, if the law-breaker sets up his own mere private opinion against the judgment of competent authorities, for that would really be self-will disguised under some specious name.

Let us apply these considerations to the case of the clergy who refuse obedience to some of the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is commonly supposed, indeed, that they have, in legal phraseology, no case at all. A careful and dispassionate examination of the facts will probably convince impartial persons that their case is an exceedingly strong one. It is impossible to exhibit this in detail within the limits of a magazine article, and in what follows the reader must look for no more than typical illustrations of the kind of "law" which is now imposed on a certain section of the English clergy.

First, then, impartial administration of the law is of the essence of justice. Now the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer may be divided into two classes: those of which the meaning is considered so doubtful that even eminent legal authorities cannot agree upon it; and those of which the meaning is so plain that nobody disputes it. It would seem to follow that if any difference at all were made in enforcing the law, it would in equity be made in favour of those who offend in what is doubtful, but are scrupulously loyal in what is clear. But the contrary is what has actually happened. Disobedience to the doubtful law is enforced to the extremity of imprisonment and temporal ruin; while the law which no one questions is openly violated, not only with impunity, but without

reproach. The law lays down, in language too plain for litigation, that the Athanasian Creed "shall be sung or said" on certain occasions; that "all priests and deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause;" that on Sunday the officiating clergyman "shall declare unto the people what holy-days or fasting-days are in the week following to be observed;" and, of course, set the example of obedience himself.

These are only specimens of legal obligations which admit of no doubt, but which are systematically disregarded by a large number of clergy who, nevertheless, go unmolested and blameless.

But it seems to be thought by some that a modern judicial interpretation of a doubtful rubric is more binding than a rubric of whose meaning there is no doubt at all. That, of course, is nonsense. Yet even this nonsense is not applied impartially. The Bishop of Manchester, for example, has refused institution to an otherwise blameless clergyman, because the clergyman will not promise to abstain from wearing a chasuble, and mixing, in accordance with a common custom and our Lord's example, a little water with the sacramental wine. The legality of these practices was scarcely questioned by any respectable authority till they were pronounced illegal by the Judicial Committee a few years ago. But the same tribunal at the same time declared the use of the cope in cathedral and collegiate churches to be, not only legal, but obligatory. Yet the Bishop of Manchester refuses to wear the cope; not because he questions the correctness of the law or the jurisdiction of the Court which pronounced it, but because he does not wish "to make a guy of himself." This is lawlessness undoubtedly, for it is the defiant assertion of self-will against acknowledged law. An irreverent mind, given to scoffing, might retort that the ordinary "magpie" dress of the bishops, as old Bishop Hooper called it, is more likely to "make a guy" of a man than the "decent cope" of the canon. However that may be, the Bishop of Manchester has quoted his Metropolitan as advising the refusal of institution to Mr. Cowgill. Now the Archbishop of York was a member of the Court which declared the use of the cope obligatory in collegiate churches and cathedrals. But the cope is not used in his own cathedral, and not only does he make no attempt to enforce the law, but himself sets the example of disregarding it. I am not blaming his Grace or the Bishop of Manchester for disobeying the law which orders the use of the cope, but is it surprising that the zeal (the genuineness of which I do not question) in enforcing on others a law which they disregard themselves, should have caused a keen and widespread sense of injustice?

Again, the Judicial Committee, in the Mackonochie case, laid down the extraordinary rule that whatever a rubric does not enjoin it forbids; or, as they express it, "by necessary implication abolishes

what it does not retain." This *ratio dicendi*, though he did not agree with it, was considered binding on himself by the Dean of Arches, who accordingly condemned the use of stoles; and stoles are now just as illegal as chasubles. As Gulliver was explaining the British Constitution to the Houyhnhnms, those simple-minded creatures found it hard to believe that rational beings could be capable of acting in such a manner as Gulliver described. But what puzzled them most was the administration of British law, and especially the following. "It is a maxim among the lawyers," said Gulliver, "that whatever has been done before may be done again; and therefore they take special care to record all decisions formerly made against common justice and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions; and the judges never fail of directing accordingly." It certainly does seem strange that a legal decision may be proved contrary to common sense, English grammar, and historical facts, yet be binding not only on ordinary subjects, but on all the Courts below the one which pronounced it. The judge of the inferior Court may know more about the matter in dispute than all the members of the superior Court put together; yet his knowledge must yield to their ignorance, and in this way historical falsehood becomes stereotyped as English law. Thus it was that Sir Robert Phillimore declared the stole an illegal vestment, and an illegal vestment it now remains. Nevertheless all the clergy wear stoles, and no bishop remonstrates, still less refuses institution for this infraction of the law. Indeed, the Bishop of Manchester has publicly declared that he will not enforce the law all round. He will only enforce it against an unpopular body of men, whom it may be considered safe to hit, because they are supposed to be "down."

Now I appeal to lovers of manliness and fair play, and ask whether they consider this sort of thing a righteous administration of the law. If the Ritualists are to be put down in the name of outraged law, let the law be put in force against all who outrage it A bishop who takes his stand on the law has no right to pick and choose among the laws which he shall enforce. The moment he does that, he proves that it is not zeal for the law that consumes him, but something else.

To start with, then, the Ritualists have good cause to complain that the law is put in force against them oppressively. All the clergy break the law; they only are punished for breaking it. Nor is there any pretence for saying that the law which they break is more important than the laws which others break. Take, for example, the mixture of water with the sacramental wine. For that offence alone the Bishop of Manchester holds himself justified in refusing institution to Mr. Cowgill. No doctrine is attached to the custom. It rests on pious sentiment and ecclesiastical tradition,

and is coeval and coextensive with Christendom. In fact, there could be no more innocent custom, or one less calculated to offend. It has always prevailed in the Church of England, and has the sanction, by teaching and example, of some of her greatest doctors and bishops.

The Dean of the Arches, feeling himself bound, as in the case of the stole, by the *ratio dicendi* of the superior Court, decided that the mixture of water with the wine during the celebration of the Holy Communion was illegal, but that it might be done beforehand, in the vestry or elsewhere. When the question went by appeal to the Judicial Committee in the Purchas case, the Court expressed a "doubt whether this part of the Article"—namely, the private mixture—"is of much importance." One would therefore suppose that, since *de minimis non curat lex*, the Court would leave the custom optional. But no. The Ritualists (in this matter the High Church party were with the Ritualists) must be not only put down, but trampled upon. And so, "whether it be more or less important," says the judgment, "their Lordships allow the appeal, and will advise that a monition should issue against the respondent." For this petty interference with innocent religious sentiment the Court assigned the reason that neither the Eastern or [*sic*] Western Church, so far as the Committee is aware, has any custom of mixing the water with wine apart from and before the services." The fact is that the rule of the Eastern Church is precisely the contrary of what the Court supposed it to be. And this is the kind of "law," admitted by the Court itself to be unimportant, and based on a gross historical error, which the Bishop of Manchester and the Archbishop of York deem so sacred that it must be enforced in the teeth of the right of patrons, and at the possible cost of rending the Church asunder!

But not only is the law enforced with oppressive partiality; it is enforced, in addition, against men who had a special right to claim forbearance and gentle treatment; for they were taught authoritatively, down to the Purchas judgment, that the things which are now forbidden were perfectly legal. One of the books commonly recommended to candidates for holy orders was, and I believe still is, Wheatley's *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, where the Ornaments Rubric is explained as follows. After enumerating the vestments proper for the Holy Communion, Wheatley says: "These are the ministerial ornaments enjoined by our present rubric. But because the surplice is of the most general use, and what is most frequently objected against, I shall therefore speak more largely of that, and only give a short account of the rest." It is clear from this that no doubt of the legality of the alb and chasuble had ever entered Wheatley's mind. His language indeed implies that the chasuble and alb were not

only legal but in partial use at the time he wrote, namely, the beginning of the eighteenth century. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* is another standard authority, published forty years ago, and there the existing law of the Church of England is stated to be that "the vestment," that is, the chasuble, "is appointed to be used by priests in celebrating the Eucharist, but on no other occasion." In truth, there is a *consensus* of standard authorities on this question down to the Purchas judgment. Till then writers did not argue the legality of the now forbidden vestments; they assumed it; it did not occur to them that there was any room for doubt. And the first judicial pronouncement on the Ornaments Rubric confirmed the traditional interpretation: I mean the judgment of the Judicial Committee in *Liddell* v. *Westerton*, in the year 1857. The Court on that occasion decided as follows:—

"After the overthrow of Protestantism by Queen Mary, and its restoration on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, a great controversy arose between the more violent and the more moderate Reformers as to the Church Service which should be re-established: whether it should be according to the First, or according to the Second, Book of Edward VI. The Queen was in favour of the First, but she was obliged to give way, and a compromise was made by which the services were to be in conformity with the Second Prayer Book, with certain alterations, but the ornaments of the Church, *whether those worn or those otherwise used by the minister*, were to be according to the First Prayer Book."

Then, after quoting the Rubric and the Act of Uniformity of 1559, and also the Ornaments Rubrics of 1604 and 1662, the Court laid down the law in these words:—

"The rubric to the Prayer Book of January 1, 1604, adopts the language of the rubric of Elizabeth. The rubric to the present Prayer Book adopts the language of the statute of Elizabeth. *But they all obviously mean the same thing—that the same dresses and the same utensils or articles which were used under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. may still be used.*"

The Court which gave this decision consisted of the following members:—Lord Chancellor Cranworth, Lord Wensleydale, Mr. Pemberton Leigh, Sir John Patteson, Sir William H. Maule, Archbishop Sumner, Bishop of London (Tait).

Such was the Court whose decision on the question of vestments was reversed in the Purchas case by a Court composed as follows:—Lord Chancellor Hatherley, Lord Chelmsford, the present Archbishop of York, and the present Bishop of London. Let the reader compare the two lists, and then say whether it is quite just that men should be denounced as "lawless," and "bad citizens," and also imprisoned and deprived of their livelihood, for no worse crime than preferring the law laid down by the Judicial Committee in the former list to that laid down by the same Court in the second list.[1] But it is said

(1) In the Ridsdale case the Court was a strong one. But it was not unanimous in its judgment. There were three dissentients, and among them the only ecclesiastical lawyer on the Court—that is, the only member of the Court who had a special knowledge of the subject.

that the question of vestments was not before the Court in the case of *Liddell* v. *Westerton*, and consequently that the decision laid down by the Judicial Committee on that occasion cannot be considered final. This is the plea under cover of which the Court in the Purchas and Ridsdale cases escaped from the awkward precedent of the judgment in the case of *Liddell* v. *Westerton.* There is reason to believe, as shall be shown presently, that the plea is not founded on fact; but even if it were, it hardly settles the matter. For the question, according to the law books, is not what the matter of fact before the Court has been, but what has been the *ratio dicendi* of the judgment. The contents of the *ratio dicendi* have no more to do with the authority of a given judgment as a precedent than the contents of a syllogism in logic have to do with the validity of the conclusion. All that the logician is concerned with is the *form* of his syllogism, and all that the lawyer is concerned with is the *ratio dicendi* of the judgment.

Now what is the *ratio dicendi* of the judgment in the Liddell case? It is that when the rubric itself is clear and unambiguous the Court acts *ultra vires* if it goes beyond it. That rule has been laid down explicitly and repeatedly by the Judicial Committee, and they have pressed it with relentless severity *against* the Ritualists; but whenever a Ritualist has taken shelter under its protection some subtle reason has always been discovered for dislodging him. Lord Penzance is no friend to the Ritualists, and even the Church Association will hardly doubt the good faith of the following extract from his judgment in the Ridsdale case:—

"When fully considered, the case of *Martin* v. *Mackonochie* affords a direct authority as to the true meaning of the rubrics judicially announced as the *ratio dicendi* of the Court, and acted upon as the basis of its actual decision. With this decision the subsequent one of *Hebbert* v. *Purchas* appears to be directly in conflict."

Now the *ratio dicendi* of the Liddell judgment was that the Ornaments Rubrics of 1559, 1604, and 1662, together with Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, "all obviously mean the same thing—that the same dresses and the same utensils or articles which were used under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. may still be used." There is no question that the disputed vestments are covered by this *dictum* as plainly as if they were specified by name. The Ridsdale judgment not only admits this, but emphasizes it. To say, therefore, that the decision of the Judicial Committee in favour of the Eucharistic vestments, in the Liddell case, is not binding, because the question of vestments was not before the Court, is like saying that in the proposition, "All men are mortal," Chinese are not included, because they are not specially named. The judgment covers whatever was "used under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.," even though it should

be something of which the Court had never heard. The Court decided that a certain *genus* of ecclesiastical ornaments was legal, namely, all ornaments used under the First Book of Edward VI.; and every ornament embraced by the definition of that *genus* is consequently legal, whether it was known at the time or discovered afterwards.

The objection that the question of vestments was not before the Court in the case of *Liddell* v. *Westerton* is therefore irrelevant. But it is also unfounded. The question of altar vestments was before the Court, and the legality of variegated altar vestments must logically stand or fall with the legality of clerical vestments. Both rest on precisely the same class of arguments. A few words will suffice to make this plain. What is the argument of the Ridsdale judgment against the alb and the chasuble? The judgment admits that the Ornaments Rubric, "taken alone," not only permits but enjoins them. But in certain "Advertisements," which were published by Archbishop Parker in the year 1566, the use of the surplice is ordered in parish churches, and the use of the cope in collegiate churches and cathedrals. The Court, in the Ridsdale case, inferred from this, and ruled accordingly, that the injunction of the Advertisements in the matter of clerical vestments was prohibitory—that is, that it prohibited all vestments save those which it expressly enjoined.

So be it for the moment, and for the sake of argument. But how about variety of embroidered altar vestments? The Ornaments Rubric, taken alone, covers their legality also. But, on the other hand, the Advertisements and the eighty-second Canon order "a carpet of silk or other decent stuff" for the altar, together "with "a fair white linen cloth at the time of the administration" of the Holy Communion. This is strictly on all-fours with the injunction of the Advertisements and the twenty-fourth Canon in respect to the surplice and cope. And Mr. Liddell's prosecutors accordingly rested their case against embroidered altar vestments, varying with the colours of the Ecclesiastical seasons, on the identical argument which the Court in the Ridsdale case deemed conclusive against the alb and the chasuble. They contended that the order of the Advertisements and Canon to use "a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, with a plain white linen cloth," was prohibitory of all other kinds of altar vestments. How did the Judicial Committee, one of the strongest that ever sat, meet this argument? After laying down the *ratio dicendi* already quoted, the Court ruled as follows:—

"Next, as to the embroidered cloths, it is said that the Canon orders a covering of silk, or of some other proper material, but that it does not mention, and therefore by implication excludes, more than one covering. Their Lordships are unable to adopt this construction. An order that a table shall always be covered with a cloth, surely does not imply that it shall always be covered

with the same cloth, or with a cloth of the same colour or texture. The object of this Canon seems to be to secure a cloth of a sufficiently handsome description, not to guard against too much splendour."

In other words the Court, on that occasion, decided that the Ornaments Rubric prescribes a maximum of legal vestments both for clergy and altar, while the Advertisements and Canons permit a minimum. The Purchas and Ridsdale judgments have ruled just the contrary. The question of vestments is thus seen to have been distinctly and fully before the Court in the Liddell case, and that judgment is in direct and irreconcilable conflict with what is now enforced as "law."

But let us look again at this question of the Advertisements. I pass by the controversy as to their legal authority because, convinced as I am that they never possessed any such authority, that point is wholly beside the question. The only material points are these. What was the origin of the Advertisements? Against whom were they directed? Do they forbid, directly or by implication, anything sanctioned by the Ornaments Rubric? The origin of the Advertisements was the utter lawlessness of the Puritan party, which was small numerically, but powerful from the patronage of eminent men at Court. The Puritans set all the requirements of the Ornaments Rubric at defiance. At the instigation of the Queen, therefore, and with a view to curb this anarchy, the Advertisements were drawn up by Archbishop Parker and others. There was no need to enforce the Advertisements on the nine thousand and odd clergy who obeyed the law or used all the vestments of the Ornaments Rubric. The Advertisements were enforced against the Puritans alone; and the principle of the Advertisements is the imposition of a minimum standard of obligation, leaving of course the legal maximum untouched. If the Ridsdale judgment is good law, the use of four lessons in the Morning and Evening Service is illegal, because the Advertisements order only two. Moreover, the Puritans were the only persons who exclaimed against the Advertisements. Not a whisper of discontent rose from the nine thousand parishes which, according to the Ridsdale judgment, were suddenly deprived of the ritual which was familiar and dear to them from childhood. Is this credible? The unbroken silence of the Ritualists of that day, contrasted with the clamorous outcry of the Puritans against the Advertisements, proves beyond all reasonable doubt that the intention of the Advertisements was not to pull down but to level up. What should we say of a man who gravely argued that the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed in order to put down the Evangelical party? Yet that thesis would be less preposterous and less opposed to historic truth than the theory on which the Purchas and Ridsdale judgments repose. There is not a syllable in

the Advertisements which even suggests remotely an intention to forbid anything sanctioned by the Ornaments Rubric.

Another argument on which the Purchas and Ridsdale judgments rely is the silence of Bishops' Visitation Articles, which frequently inquire: "Does your minister wear a surplice?" but say nothing about alb or chasuble. That argument proves too much, for those Visitation Articles are equally silent about copes and embroidered altar vestments, which the Final Court has nevertheless pronounced legal. But not only does the argument prove too much; it betrays, in addition, a singular ignorance of the religious condition of England at that time. Copes and chasubles and altar vestments were valuable property, and were accordingly plundered wholesale when Puritanism had obtained the mastery. All ecclesiastical vestments, even the surplice, had of course disappeared under the Commonwealth. But even before the Commonwealth Bishop Montague declares, in one of his Visitation Articles, that he knew of clergymen celebrating the Holy Communion "in a huntsman's coat." In such a state of things it would have been as absurd to ask churchwardens, "Does your minister wear a chasuble?" as it would be to ask the master of a workhouse, "Do your paupers drink champagne?"

Another argument on which the Ridsdale judgment lays stress is this. If, it says, the chasuble and alb are legal at all, they are obligatory; and it is inconceivable that no attempt should ever have been made to enforce them. It is an unproved assumption that no such attempt was ever made. But, passing that by, the argument overlooks a fact which is fatal to it. No doubt the use of the chasuble and alb is obligatory by the Ornaments Rubric, but only where they had been "retained." The parish was bound to provide a surplice for the incumbent and "a carpet of silk or other decent stuff" for the altar. But neither parish nor clergyman was bound to provide a cope or chasuble or embroidered altar-cloths. No clergyman could therefore be legally bound to use any of these unless they were provided for him. Hence the silence of Visitation Articles regarding them.

The argument from the alleged universal disuse of the chasuble from 1566 to this generation (an allegation which has not been substantiated and which is not consistent with certain facts) also proves too much. The disuse of different kinds of altar-cloths and of the cope has been almost as universal as the disuse of chasubles. On the other hand, the black gown, which comes under the prohibitory *ratio dicendi* of the Purchas and Ridsdale judgments, has been in continuous use from the Advertisements till now.

Further; the theory that the use of the Eucharistic vestments has been illegal since 1566 is absolutely irreconcilable with two undoubted historical facts. In 1641 the House of Lords appointed a

committee to revise the rubrics of the Prayer Book. The committee consisted of ten bishops and twenty temporal peers, assisted by the most learned divines in the kingdom. This committee, in the hope of conciliating the Puritan party, suggested some sweeping alterations, and, among the rest, the following :—

> "Whether the rubric should not be mended *where all vestments in time of Divine Service are now commanded which were used* 2 *Edward VI.*"

How is this to be reconciled with the theory that the suggested amendment had already been made in the year 1566? Is it conceivable that such an array of eminent and learned men in Church and State could have been ignorant of so important a fact? And even if such astounding ignorance were conceivable, is it also conceivable that there should be nobody in the kingdom to call attention to the portentous blunder? Yet there is not a hint in the literature of the time that there was any blunder in the matter. Nor is this all. Three years later the recommendation of the Lords' committee was carried out by both Houses of Parliament in the following words :—

> "No copes, surplices, superstitious vestments [*i.e.* the chasuble, &c.], roods or rood lofts, or holy-water fonts shall be or be any more used in any church or chapel within this realm."

Now we are asked to believe that the "superstitious vestments" then formally abolished by Act of Parliament had in fact been abolished as early as 1566. Overpowering indeed must have been the unconscious bias which could have induced able and upright men to lay down, and in a court of justice too, so incredible a proposition.

Is there no difference, at least morally, between the breaking of a "law" which is exposed to such serious objections as I have pointed out, and the breaking of a law which nobody questions? And is it wise or fair to enforce the dubious law, at the possible hazard of rending the Church in pieces, while the open violation of laws of which everybody acknowledges the obligation is ostentatiously sanctioned? It is much to the credit of the Ritualists that they have never retaliated on their persecutors. But will their forbearance be proof against the war of extermination with which the *Quarterly Review* and the Bishop of Manchester menace them? The temptation to carry the war into their adversaries' exposed camp may prove irresistible. And what then? How long would the Church of England, as an Establishment, stand the strain of such an internecine conflict? Those who wish to avert disestablishment had better lose no time in urging counsels of moderation and tolerance all round in matters which all admit to belong to the category of non-essentials.

It must be remembered, however, that things in themselves indifferent may assume grave importance when they are made matters

of obligation. For instance, the Judicial Committee in the Gorham case based a serious argument on the assertion that Henry VIII. was "impatient to marry Anne Boleyn" at a date when the Princess Elizabeth was five months old. It was lucky for the authors of that libel that they lived in the reign of Queen Victoria instead of that of Anne Boleyn's daughter. In itself, however, the blunder is of no importance except as an illustration of the incongruity of entrusting the decision of questions which require accurate knowledge of other than legal matters to a tribunal so notoriously ignorant of ecclesiastical and historical lore as the Judicial Committee has on various occasions proved itself. But the error about the marriage of Anne Boleyn would cease to be unimportant to a man who was bidden to perform some official act which would pledge him before the public to a belief in the historical accuracy of what he knew to be an historical blunder. Many a man would rather go to prison than so commit himself. Now there are multitudes of clergymen (I am one of them) who have never worn the forbidden vestments and have no wish to wear them, but who object to be called upon to acknowledge as "law" what they know to be error. Historic truth is as sacred as any other truth, and it is an outrage on men's intellectual integrity to be bidden to proclaim by official acts their acceptance, as historic truth, of what can be proved to be historic error. At this moment Mr. Bradlaugh has a better chance of obtaining justice in the courts of law than a Ritualist. Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that a Ritualist has hardly any chance at all. All the weight of evidence in his favour is made to "kick the beam" by the dominating, albeit unconscious, bias of his judges in favour of the policy of "putting him down." Nothing seems so hard as the pursuit of simple justice for its own sake. For myself, I claim the same justice for the Ritualists which I claim for Mr. Bradlaugh; neither more nor less. It is a fallacy, moreover, to regard these matters as questions of law. They are not questions of law, but questions of ecclesiastical history and archæology, and judges of the Common Law are professionally no more qualified to decide upon them than generals or admirals. They are questions upon which the opinion of a man like Dr. Stubbs, for example, ought to outweigh the opinions of all the lawyers in England.

As matters now stand, the Judicial Committee has left the parish clergy of England no special vestment at all for the performance of divine service—nothing to distinguish them from the laity. The last slight mark of distinction was the stole, and that is now declared illegal. The surplice is not a specially clerical vestment, and serves no longer, since surpliced choirs have become so common, to distinguish the clergy from the laity. And, after all, the opposition

to the chasuble has never been so violent and widespread as the opposition to preaching in the surplice was thirty years ago. But who objects to the surplice in the pulpit now? When it ceased to be regarded as a party badge it was no longer considered a Popish vestment. And so will it be with the chasuble. Those who shall be alive twenty years hence will probably find that vestment—if not as common as the surplice in preaching is now—at least as inoffensive. The imprisonment of Mr. Green and the eirenicon issued by the late Primate from his death-bed have made that result tolerably certain; and the controversy between the Bishop of Manchester and the patron of Miles Platting will not prevent, though it may slightly retard and rob of some of its grace, the close of a controversy of which all, save the members of the Church Association, are now weary.

But there is one aspect of this question which men of the world, whatever their religious opinions may be, would do well to ponder. Secularism has made rapid progress among the working classes of Christendom during the last twenty years; and the appliances of modern civilisation have placed within reach of the masses everywhere the means of combining, if they are so minded, against the present distribution of property. Why should they refrain if the gospel of Secularism should supersede that of Christ? The Social Democrats of Continental Europe make no secret of their aspirations. Their ablest organ in the press has put their case forcibly, and from their point of view unanswerably, in an article of which the following passage will show the drift:—

"They who take heaven from the people must give them the earth. When the priesthood bowed the neck of mankind under its yoke it gave to the suffering son of man the kindly hope of another and a better world. In all the misfortunes of life—in sorrow, need, and sickness—a sweet hope was left to a believing mind. But what is now the case? There are still poverty and privation, sorrow, need, and sickness. And these are artificially enhanced and heaped upon one class, while the pleasures and good things of the world continue to enrich the other. What, then, have the favoured of human society to offer to those millions through whose sickness, increased by poverty and care, *they* enjoy the pleasures of life? We tolerate no half-measures, no evasions. . . . . Ye wretched Pharisees, who have deprived the people of the consolations of faith, where is your logic? The logic of history is sterner than yours. The people have done with heaven, and now they claim the earth."

They have little knowledge of human nature who suppose that it is possible to drive this spirit out by lessons in political economy or instructions in the laws of nature. What are political economy and physical science to a hungry man who believes that this life is his all-in-all? Will he not make haste to press as much enjoyment as he can into the fleeting moments as they fly? Will he not be eager to combine, the laws of political economy notwithstanding, with his fellows against a system of things which dooms the many to priva-

tion and misery, in order to allow, as it will seem to him, the few to enjoy themselves? A proletariat without belief in God or a future state, yet in possession of political power, is a phenomena which the world has not yet seen; and if it should ever appear it will certainly seek to make a heaven, however brief, of the only life which Agnosticism will have left it. Comparatively powerless as the poor of Rome were in the palmy days of the Empire, yet so formidable were they from their numbers that the provinces were ruthlessly robbed in order to bribe the Roman *prolétaires* to be quiet. Cæsar found 320,000 persons, that is, three-quarters of the whole population of the city, on the roll of out-door relief from the public treasury. About sixty pounds of bread were distributed to each person per month. And the misery of the poor of imperial Rome was but an epitome of the misery of the pagan world in general when Christianity appeared with its teaching of self-control, sobriety, moderation, and, above all, the hope of a bright and near future, in the prospect of which the present seemed utterly insignificant. What cared he, be he prince or peasant, slave or free, about the inequalities of this unstable life, who was but a pilgrim passing through it to a kingdom of immortal joy? In the strength of such a hope it was easy to bear pain and sorrow and to wipe away tears. Without it, on the other hand, it is probable that property and poverty in ancient Rome would soon have been locked in an appalling death-grapple for the mastery.

But if the proletariat of this country should ever wish to combine for the purpose of a new distribution of property, they have the means of doing so without a bloody revolution. They command the House of Commons, and the House of Commons rules the nation. For my own part, I have no fear of the working classes so long as Christianity holds its sway over them. Their conduct hitherto has certainly belied the evil forebodings of those who opposed the lowering of the franchise sixteen years ago. In some respects, indeed, they have set an example of intelligence, moderation, and equitable feeling which many of those who claim to be their "betters" would do well to imitate. But the working men of this country are still under the dominion of Christian influences. And this is true even of multitudes who do not formally believe in Christianity or attend any place of worship. The atmosphere of Christendom has been for centuries charged with Christian ideas and Christian principles, and it is idle for persons breathing that atmosphere to suppose that they can escape the contagion of this all-pervading force by merely abjuring Christian doctrines. A man might as reasonably argue that he derived no benefit from the air of some salubrious region because he had succeeded in persuading himself that his health was due to some other cause. Our laws, our institutions, our modes of thought, our

habits, in great part our language, have been fashioned and moulded by Christianity; so that it is impossible for even the most determined unbeliever to know how he would act if he had been born and bred and educated under other conditions. He acts on Christian principles without knowing it.

And, besides this external environment, there is the internal modification of character inherited from generations of Christian ancestors. The Christian conduct of a people is thus certain to survive for some time the ruin of their faith, just as an Englishman is said to carry with him to Northern Russia an amount of animal heat which it takes three winters to reduce to the normal temperature of the natives. At present the large majority of the working classes of this country are Christians. Their admirable conduct is therefore no measure at all of the conduct of a proletariat entirely emancipated from the influences of Christianity. Is it wise, then, even from a mere worldly point of view, to "put down" any spiritual force which helps to keep the mass of those who practically make our laws under the restraints which the Christian religion supplies? It is admitted even by hostile witnesses, like the late Mr. W. R. Greg, that the Ritualists have been singularly successful in counteracting the spread of anarchical doctrines among the working classes. After drawing a gloomy picture of the danger threatening the present constitution of society from the prevalence of aggressive atheism among the population of our towns, Mr. Greg adds: "I am assured, however, that this can scarcely be stated as broadly as a few years ago—considerably owing to the Ritualists" (*Rocks Ahead*, p. 131). Let Ritualism be tested by its fruits. If its tendency is to make those who come under its influence more virtuous and more loyal—in a word, better citizens—surely room ought to be found for it in the Church of England. Its extravagances will peel off as persecution ceases, and what is good and solid will alone remain. What is needed in our public worship is a reasonable diversity rather than a Procrustean uniformity. Low Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, High Churchmen, and Ritualists all represent, though they may separately exaggerate, different aspects of truth, and the Church would be so much the poorer by the expulsion of any of them. They serve to supply each other's defects and correct each other's excesses. We have had a great deal too much of the policy of repulsion. It lost the Church of England the vast spiritual force of Wesleyanism in the last century, and the splendid intellect and rare attractiveness of Newman in our own. If the Church is to be preserved as an Establishment, it is high time to try the policy of reasonable toleration and comprehension. To "make a solitude and call it peace" has not been hitherto the mark of prudent statesmanship.

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

THE DURATION OF PENAL SENTENCES.

There are only three kinds of punishment recognised by our law: death and corporal punishment—which are applicable to and inflicted on only a very limited number of cases—and imprisonment. I include, of course, in the latter term that special form of imprisonment which is technically called "penal servitude." As we rely, therefore, so much on the punishment of imprisonment to effect the object of deterring possible malefactors from crime, it is very desirable that the mode of its application should be thoroughly well studied in all its aspects, and, accordingly, very great attention has been paid for many years past to the system on which prisoners are treated, both under the short sentences of "imprisonment" and the longer sentences of "penal servitude."

It is necessary, for the benefit of those who are not quite familiar with the subject, to explain the difference between the punishments of "imprisonment" and "penal servitude," for those terms do not so explain themselves as to imply any distinction, since a prisoner under a sentence of "imprisonment" is undergoing what in ordinary language might be called penal servitude, and a prisoner under a sentence of "penal servitude" is certainly undergoing the punishment of imprisonment. Everybody knows that until a time which is comparatively recent our usual mode of dealing with persons convicted of the graver crimes was to transport them to a convict colony, where they were kept to hard labour or otherwise dealt with according to the system which happened to be in force. But in 1853 the objections of the Australian colonies to receive our convicts became very urgent, and in other respects there arose a "difficulty of transporting offenders beyond the seas," as stated in the preamble of the Act of 1853, so that it became "expedient to substitute in certain cases other punishment in lieu of transportation." The "other punishment" then substituted was styled "penal servitude," and the substance of the difference thus introduced was that it was intended that the sentence should be carried into effect in England, with the difference of system necessary to adapt it to this change; whereas the persons sentenced to transportation were all in theory to be transported beyond seas out of England. The theory, however, had by this time come to be widely departed from, and the Act of 1853 may be said practically to be legislative accommodation of the theory to the fact, by the inauguration of a practice under which the actual transport of offenders beyond seas was to be the exception and not the rule. Hence followed the necessity of creating a system for

carrying out sentences of "penal servitude in England, such as should make them in penal effect to represent the former sentences of transportation, and which like them might be inflicted for long terms of years, even for life." This necessity was met by the establishment of the large prisons like Portland, Dartmoor, &c., in which the prisoners under sentence of penal servitude could be maintained under the conditions which had been established as most suitable for the purpose, and employed in the execution of large public works.

We come now upon an important point in connection with the "duration of sentences," which I propose to discuss. When the punishment of "penal servitude" was introduced, as above described, in 1853, the Act provided that no person should be sentenced to transportation for a less time than fourteen years, so that no offence which could not be punished with less than fourteen years subjected an offender to "transportation;" but the Act provided, when a sentence of penal servitude was passed, that the period inflicted should (except in the case of life) be much less than the period of transportation for which it was substituted. Thus:—

For transportation for a term not exceeding seven years, was substituted penal servitude for four years.

For transportation for more than seven but not above ten years, was substituted from four to six years.

For transportation above ten years and not above fifteen years, was substituted penal servitude for not less than six nor more than eight years.

For transportation for above fifteen years, penal servitude for not less than six and not more than ten years.

This Act legalised the issue to convicts under sentence of transportation or penal servitude of licenses to be at large in the United Kingdom, subject to revocation.

The effect of this Act on the duration of sentences may roughly be said to have shortened them by nearly one-half, four years being substituted for seven, six years for ten, and eight years for fifteen, and sentences above fifteen years, short of life, were replaced by ten years as a maximum.

The justification for this shortening of sentences was that a sentence of transportation seldom involved actual confinement during more than a portion of the sentence, for those convicts who were sent to Australia were after a comparatively short period of forced labour allowed to work on their own account in a state of conditional freedom; while those convicts who, though sentenced to transportation were retained to pass their time in the hulks in this country, were released after about half their sentences had expired with free pardons. After the Act of 1853 those convicts who were released before

the expiration of their sentences received a revocable ticke instead of a free pardon; but this power of discharging con-leave license before the expiration of their sentence, though applicables on convicts, was in practice only exercised in the case of the convic under sentence of transportation—about nine thousand in number— who had accumulated in this country before the Act of '53 was passed, and not in the case of those who were under the shorter sentences of penal servitude, for it was intended that the latter should undergo their sentences to their full extent. In 1857 another Act was passed to carry out the recommendations of a committee of the House of Commons. In 1856 this committee had recommended among other things that every convict should pass a certain portion of his sentence "on public works," and that he should be placed in a position to gain by good conduct and industry the remission of a certain portion of this division of his sentence. To shorten by this means the already shortened sentence was considered impossible; so the only way to carry the recommendation into effect was to restore the lengths of sentences to those which had formerly been lawful under the transportation system, and to allow the convict to gain his remission out of the period thus again added on. The portion of the sentence then made remissible under the rules established by the Secretary of State varied, according to the length of the sentence, from one-sixth in the case of a three years' sentence to one-third in the case of a sentence of fifteen years or upwards; but after another Royal Commission in 1863 the proportion was made uniform for all sentences, and was then established, and it still remains, at nearly one-fourth of the whole sentence. The Act of 1857 introduced the power of sentencing to three years' penal servitude, but this provision was amended by an Act in 1864, which fixed five years as the minimum term of penal servitude, and at this point it now remains.

It will be quite clear from a consideration of what has been written that a sentence of penal servitude now is quite a different thing from a corresponding sentence of transportation before 1853. A crime punishable by seven years' transportation before that year rendered an offender liable practically to about four years' confinement if he was retained in this country, and still less if he was sent to a colony; but now it entails to a well-conducted, industrious prisoner a little more than four years and eight months at least, while an ill-conducted man may serve his whole term; and a crime punished by fifteen years' entails now at the least two years and eight months and a week more imprisonment than it did thirty years ago; while there is a still larger difference if the sentence was carried into effect by actual transportation, as it usually was.

These considerations are of great importance in connection with the lengths of sentences actually passed, for it is evident from

examination of the table below, that the sentence pronounced by the court is much affected by the law, practice, and tradition of the old transportation times, though the actual effect in execution is so very different *now* from what it was then. In transportation times, too, a year or two more or less in the length of the sentence made little practical difference ultimately, since a large majority of those who were transported never returned to England at all.

The accompanying table shows the sentences of the prisoners undergoing penal servitude in England on the days mentioned during the past five years, and the number of persons under each length of sentence.

An examination of this table cannot fail to suggest the reflection that the apportionment of the duration of sentences requires more careful consideration than it has hitherto received. There appear to be certain favourite periods, five years, seven years, ten years, fifteen years, twenty years, and life—while sentences of nine, eleven, thirteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, and all the years between twenty years and life are hardly ever inflicted. Yet it is impossible to suppose that these intermediate periods would not often suffice; for instance, that out of the 1801 prisoners under sentences of ten years there were not a good many

Date.	Years of Sentence.																							Total.
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	Life.	
Dec. 31, 1877	1	—	1505	34	5319	313	2	1919	—	128	1	162	333	—	—	5	1	197	1	—	—	3	4	229	10,157
,, 1878	1	—	1512	31	5294	324	4	1946	—	142	1	174	343	—	—	5	1	210	1	—	—	2	5	229	10,225
Mar. 31, 1880	3	—	1814	42	4926	394	6	1955	—	180	2	186	361	—	—	6	1	234	1	—	—	2	10	255	10,378
,, 1881	1	—	2339	52	4338	398	6	1868	—	172	2	169	365	—	—	6	1	252	—	—	—	2	11	266	10,268
,, 1882	—	—	3045	54	3637	402	5	1801	—	173	2	160	374	—	—	9	—	261	—	—	—	3	11	263	10,221

Note.—The recent great change in the proportions of four and seven years' sentences is due to an alteration in the law which legalised, in certain cases, five years, when before no less than seven years could be inflicted.

whose cases could have been suitably prescribed for by giving them at most nine years, whereas there are only five who received that sentence—and it cannot be supposed that there are not more than the fifty-four under sentence of six years who may have required more than five years and yet who need not have had so long a sentence as seven years.

It has more than once happened, on the occasion of visits paid for the first time to convict prisons by distinguished persons whose occupation for many years has been to pass sentence on convicted criminals, that they have admitted and lamented that they had till then no idea of the effect of the punishments they had awarded.

Nobody will be disposed to deny that the punishments which society is, for its own preservation, entitled to inflict, should not involve those who are subjected to or affected by them in any greater amount of misery, discomfort, and degradation than will suffice to effect their object. A prisoner under sentence has, of course, to endure all the discomforts and pain which are implied in the word punishment, and those among them who have finer feelings must from the nature of things suffer in addition under the restraints and inconveniences which arise from rules of discipline rendered generally necessary for the due preservation of order and security among a body of whom a large number would at once take advantage of and abuse any confidence placed in them, or any relaxation of the strict and precise regulations and precautions which long experience has shown to be required. The family of a prisoner, though innocent, suffer as well as him, all family ties are broken, the disgrace affects them perhaps more than him, and they are subjected to discomforts arising from being deprived of the advantages of his labour and protection.

On the whole, then, it is quite clear that every year, even every month and every week to which a prisoner is sentenced beyond the necessity of the case, entails an unjustifiable addition to the great mass of human sorrow, and that those who have the duty of apportioning those sentences incur very serious responsibilities in the execution of the duty which they have undertaken. And it will readily be admitted that the assignment of the periods of sentences, which are intended to cure moral maladies, should be made the subject of as careful study and as clear rules as those which govern the administration of drugs, which are intended to cure physical maladies.

But there is another aspect of the case which will interest those who do not in any way come in direct contact with the subject, and that is, the unnecessary cost which the public is put to if prisoners are kept longer in confinement than necessity dictates.

In order to illustrate this view of the case I will take the average gross cost of convict prisoners as returned in the report of the

directors of convict prisons for the year ending 31st March, 1882. It appears that there were on that date in convict prisons in England 9,167 males and 1,054 females; there were also about 60 males and 36 females in local prisons, making in all 9,227 males and 1,090 females. The average length of their sentences is for males eight and a quarter years, and for females about seven and a half years, and they cost in gross £32 3s. 4d. per head per annum, not deducting the value of the labour they perform for the public while in prison, which is, of course, less than that of their labour when free. If it should be possible to reduce the average length of sentence by only one year the saving to the public in money (besides all the pain and sorrow to the individuals affected) would amount in round numbers to £43,000 per annum, and instead of having to create and maintain establishments for 10,300 prisoners we should have to provide only for about 9,000.

Considerations similar to those I have ventured to bring forward apply also to the short sentences which are carried out in local prisons. The sentences usually inflicted are seven and fourteen days, one month, six weeks, two, three, four, six, nine, twelve, fifteen, or eighteen months, and two years; the intermediate periods are comparatively neglected.

The average number of prisoners undergoing sentences of imprisonment in England may, for present purposes, be taken at 16,500, their average cost at £20 per annum per head, and the average length of their sentences at five months twenty-four days A diminution of one-tenth in the average length of their sentences would effect a diminution in the prison population of 1,650 persons, and in their annual cost of, say, £33,000 a year.

The law itself is responsible for a greater anomaly than any of these which are commented on in the foregoing pages, because it forbids any sentences between two years (imprisonment) and five years (penal servitude). Yet there must be numerous cases in which confinement for two years would be insufficient, and yet five years would be too much, and the gap of three years is too large to be logically defensible. Under the Act of 1857 a sentence of three years' penal servitude was made legal, and the acceptance by experienced persons of the opinion above expressed may be inferred from the fact that under this power a very large number of sentences of three years and four years were passed, as is shown in the following table of the lengths of sentences passed in the year 1862:—

SENTENCES OF PENAL SERVITUDE PASSED IN 1862.

3 yrs.	4 yrs.	6 yrs. and above 4.	10 yrs. and above 6.	15 yrs. and above 10.	Above 15 yrs.	Life.	Total.
1141	768	590	50	83	27	25	3154

But in 1863 an Act of Parliament was passed which made five years the minimum term of a sentence of penal servitude, in partial compliance with the recommendations of a Royal Commission on Transportation and Penal Servitude. When the Commissioners assembled there had been during the preceding two years a large increase of crime in all parts of the United Kingdom, and this increase was attributed partly to the large number of prisoners sentenced to three years and four years under the Act of 1857, who during these two years came up for discharge, and who during their stay in prison were neither deterred from crime nor reformed. They recommended, therefore, that the old term of seven years should be the minimum for which penal servitude should be inflicted.

It might appear then that this experiment should be conclusive against introducing sentences intermediate between two years' imprisonment and five years' penal servitude, but more full consideration of the subject will show that such an inference would be incorrect; for, assuming that the opinion of the Royal Commission was well founded, it only goes to show that the short sentences of penal servitude, *as then carried into effect*, failed in their object, but does not show that a system could not be devised, either under the name of "Imprisonment" or "Penal Servitude," applicable to the terms of three or four years; and capable in that period of effecting the object for which a sentence is passed.

The Royal Commission, in fact, indicate very clearly their opinion that something of this nature should be done, and that the recommendation for the restoration of the longer minimum terms of penal servitude was connected in their minds with the hope and intention that a system should be devised by which it should be possible to carry into effect longer terms of imprisonment than two years. They say, in paragraph 46 of their report:—

> "The provision of the Act of 1857, allowing sentences of penal servitude of only three years to be pronounced, was, as we believe, introduced under the impression that there would be too wide an interval between seven years' penal servitude and imprisonment for eighteen months, which, in practice, though not in law, had become the maximum term of imprisonment in county prisons, in consequence of its having been found that in many of them the discipline was too severe to be continued longer with safety. We submit that this difficulty would have been better met by making provision for improving the existing arrangements for enforcing sentences of imprisonment. How this may be best accomplished is a question which does not come within the scope of this commission, but we have learnt with satisfaction that the state of the county prisons has been submitted to the scrutiny of another authority. We trust that this inquiry may lead to the removal of the difficulties which now exist in carrying into effect longer sentences of imprisonment. Should this be adopted, the only difficulty we can anticipate in adopting the recommendation we have offered would be removed."

Until the Prisons Act of 1877 was passed, however, it was quite

impossible to establish and insure the careful execution in local prisons, under so large a number of disconnected authorities, many of whom felt but little interest in or had little knowledge of the subject, of a well-devised and uniform system of punishment or discipline, and this was of course fatal to any project for introducing these new periods of sentences of imprisonment, which must of necessity be carried out in those prisons. Moreover, it may be doubted whether those who were interested in the local rates would have looked with favour on a law which should throw on to the rates the burthen of partially maintaining so large a number of criminals who, if sentenced to penal servitude, would become chargeable on the taxpayer.

These objections are now, however, removed: the prisons in which sentences of imprisonment are carried out are, as well as the convict prisons, administered under the Home Office, and paid for from the taxes; a uniform system has been established in them applicable to sentences of the length now legal, and if longer sentences of imprisonment were made lawful, an effort could be made to devise a suitable system of carrying them into effect. Such a system would no doubt require careful watching, and would throw much labour and responsibility on those who would have to superintend it. Its effect on the criminal classes would also have to be studied no less than the effect on the individuals subjected to it; but these matters are now much better understood than they were in former times; there is an accumulated mass of experience, personal and traditional, not only among those whose business it has been for years to administer prisons under the Home Office, but among those magistrates and others throughout the country who have seen and taken part in the changes which during the last generation have been introduced into prison management and the repression of crime, and there is therefore strong reason for undertaking a reform by which there is so much advantage to be gained. The suggested change, by which sentences of between two and five years should be possible, requires an alteration in the law, and space will not admit of a discussion of the exact form in which this alteration should be made. But the more scientific apportionment to their object of the duration of sentences under the existing law can be effected without parliamentary action, and there is every reason to believe that those whose duty it is to administer the criminal law would welcome any authoritative exposition of the principles which should regulate their practice and produce so much uniformity as the circumstances admit.

E. F. Du Cane.

GENRE IN THE SUMMER EXHIBITIONS.

"GENRE"—one is sorry for the word, though one welcomes the thing; but there is no equivalent for the word, and one has need to employ it. "Incident-painting" is sometimes used instead of it, but the phrase covers only a part of "Genre." "Character and incident painting"—that might be better; "character and comedy painting," another way of fumblingly expressing the greater part of it, but that would exclude the smaller part of Genre, which is concerned at times as much with the scene in which the drama is acted as with the drama itself. So to "Genre" one comes back—to the French word which no one loves and few can pronounce—and under it very much may be included. All that is definitely outside of it is landscape, portraiture, purely decorative painting, allegorical design, the study of the figure only for its beauty of hue and intricacy of line, and that art which expresses religious aspiration and religious faith—the relations of mankind with the world not seen. How then about a class of art of which the criticism and the social talk of five-and-twenty years ago took much count: what was called "historical painting"? The very phrase is dying out, and the art—how little we see of it in the galleries of to-day, and with how much of artificial dignity and erroneous pride was it beset of old! Among our younger or more vigorous workers the thing hardly exists. In so far as it lingers, or may hereafter be revived, there is no reason whatever to think of it as a class apart, as separated from Genre very distinctly. For what was meant by historical painting? and what painting is actually historical? By "historical painting" we were assumed to understand a certain dignified pictorial treatment of events which were important long ago. The phrase would be applied to a fancy picture of the court of Charles the Second at Whitehall; it would be withheld from a picture of the recreations of some unnamed lady of the period. But art does not become historical by labelling its figures princes, by inviting us to imagine that here are the famous instead of the uncelebrated; nor does it acquire dignity by electing to deal with the themes of two hundred years since instead of those of to-day; by reverting to the subjects on which it is free to dream, with which it is chartered to sport, and which it is only forbidden to—accurately know. A truer conception of the position of the painting that is called "historical," assures us that from Genre it is not so very widely separated; while an understanding of the dignity that Genre itself may claim—the dignity of truth—will dispose us to see that it

is among the pictures known habitually as Genre, looked down upon as Genre by the exalted—"that detestable Genre"—that another generation will find that portion of our art which is truly historical. The theatric revival of the past which has been pleasing to academical tastes can only be ignored by "that severe To-morrow" which will ask us what it was that we had of our own in our art of 1883, and will pronounce that our historical, our worthiest, nay, often our most imaginative painting dealt with the themes of Mr. Fildes's "Village Wedding," Mr. Gregory's "Piccadilly: Drawing-Room Day," and Mr. Wyllie's "Toil, Glitter, Grime and Wealth on a Flowing Tide."

The first of these three pictures is pretty generally allowed to be one of the most notable of the works of the year. By it a reputation that was won originally by fresh vision and healthy labour has been extended in the direction proper to it. The "Village Wedding" is, in the career of its painter, a reasonable sequel to the "Fair Quiet and Sweet Rest," to the "Widower," and to the "Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward." It adds another chapter to the painter's record of the joys and troubles of the common folk, and of the conditions of the life of to-day. It accepts the Present, not through any insensibility or indifference to the beauty and refinement of which in art the Past has so frequently been deemed the exclusive storehouse, but rather through that just union of artistic knowledge and feeling with a sensitiveness to the facts and aspects of life which enables the strong man to do that which the weak man declares to be impossible—to bring the common and everyday life within the domain of art. The weak man says the thing cannot be done, and he remains accordingly in his narrowed realm, outside life, with as much of art as may be left to him. The vulgar man does not perceive the real difficulty, and he remains, it may be, with life, but outside art. But the strong man sees the difficulty, and knows how to deal with it; and Mr. Fildes would be a strong man were it alone by reason of the "Village Wedding."

The "Village Wedding" has the obvious and easy attractiveness of popular theme, and it will, therefore, receive the condemnation of those who may not judge of its technical merit; but minds more widely qualified, the men who do not think a picture inartistic because it deals with simple humanity, have perceived already the union of powers that has been needed to produce it. Perhaps even those who have admitted somewhat grudgingly its skill, will think of it more highly when they imagine how another artist devoted to the actual, another painter who is popular to-day, would have addressed himself to its subject. Imagine Mr. Frith, the painter of gentility, the painter of Bayswater, the painter of a world in which trade has been prosperous and breeding scanty, grappling with the population

of an English village. It would have been vulgar, yet Mr. Frith is mindful of the proprieties; barren, yet Mr. Frith is inventive. But the "Village Wedding" is fortunately Mr. Fildes's. As it is, in its group of bride and bridegroom, fat mother, stalwart soldier, and saucy bridesmaid, there is humour without caricature; there is character and beauty in the group by the roadside; in the bystanding girls, whose turn for love and weddings will be presently, and not long hence; and in the child to whom such events at present make no appeal. We find admirable draughtsmanship, chosen colour, such a disposition of the bridal procession as gives the sense of social excitement, and the English daylight of a June morning floods the village street. I hardly know, in all the canvas, of a single truth that has been sacrificed or of a single artistic effect that has been missed. The sense of humour freshens the art and does not overwhelm it; the sense of permitted beauty, even of possible pathos, allows a scene to retain dignity, sentimentality having been renounced. Faultless one may not say the picture is, but one says that it will live. In the unromantic healthiness of the types it lights upon, in the vigorous beauty and the unsuspecting candour of many of its secondary figures, it chronicles something of the best that is left us to be chronicled. It is a bit of England, as we have a right to be proud of her; a page out of the book of English life.

Mr. Gregory's "Piccadilly: Drawing-Room Day" has been a little disappointing to those who expected the most from so audacious and so brilliantly endowed a chronicler of the prosaic world. But whatever disappointment has been felt has certainly been due to no fault of the artist's, but rather to the conditions he has selected for his work. To begin with, the picture is small, almost too small to be impressive, not small enough to be dainty. It is not for Mr. Gregory to emulate the dexterous success of De Nittis, who has done in French art what Coppée has done in French poetry—rendered the charm of the detail that seems insignificant, and is at bottom prosaic. His is in reality a larger and a stronger grasp of character. In unfaltering penetration into character, and in boldness of execution in rendering it, lies much of his force. "Piccadilly" has nothing to do with character. It portrays, as seen from a window in the eastern corner of Bond Street, the reddish-grey house fronts, in a thin grey sunshine; the imbroglio of cab and omnibus, the general officer crossing the street, the bun-shop with its window-blinds, and the idle and the busy population dotted here and there along the great highway. But the scale is too small for the interest of character to be the chief interest, and Mr. Gregory has deliberately deprived the picture of that interest altogether. It is the street and the passers—the mere crowd; not a face to be remembered: that very thing a colourist would have painted with greater charm,—I do

not say with greater truth. But Mr. Gregory is not in the main a colourist. The reddish-grey background of his portrait of Mr. Alfred Seymour, the bright scarlet chair breaking somewhat the harmony of that lovely little water-colour at the Institute, "The Sanctum Invaded," and other instances besides, seem to show that he is not. The "Piccadilly" itself seems to show it. Only now and then, as in the long-to-be-remembered portrait of Miss Galloway, with the fair cheeks, the limpid grey eyes, the sheen of white satin, the soft pale blue, does Mr. Gregory obtain a colourist's triumph. But if "Piccadilly" shows him, as we say it does, neither winning his exceptional success in colour, nor caring to claim his undisputed heritage of the deep perception of character, it gives evidence of that which, perhaps, an untutored eye looks for less readily—the mastery of intricate line. In "The Sanctum Invaded," the child, curled with so curious an ease into the throne of the studio, is proof of that mastery; still more subtle, perhaps, was its evidence in the wonderful spiral of gown and fan in last year's "Rehearsal"; and now it is seen again in the arrangement of overlapping omnibus and cab in "Piccadilly." It cannot make, and there is nothing else to make, "Piccadilly" one of the great pictures of the year; but though the small canvas is not one of the greatest pictures, it is felt to be a picture by one of the greatest men.

Two canvases by artists hitherto little known—Mr. Logsdail and Mr. Fred. Brown—have made much mark in the present Royal Academy; or rather, Mr. Logsdail's has made it already, and we should like Mr. Brown's to. Mr. Brown's choice, like Mr. Gregory's, is of the London street; but the place is Chelsea, the Embankment. Chelsea Church, still picturesque, is on the left; and the time is summer evening, a warm grey twilight veiling the remote distance of roadway and river. That note of poetic realism present in Mr. Brown, unsought by Mr. Gregory, belongs in part to the time and the place, and in part to the figures that people Mr. Brown's scene. In the front, it is true, by the corner of the pavement, and opposite the humble little shops and the stall of the street vendor, is a street organ. But likewise, in the foreground, are three couples—girl dancing with girl—and each group moved differently by the charm of the music. In one there is a saucy child; in another a slim figure of a brunette of seventeen sways lightly to the tune, her pleasure touched, not dashed, by a pretty gravity. A mechanic looks up after his work; a fellow of low estate—but a young fellow and worthy—cannot choose but admire the sweet brunette: and the whole gives, with truth, with humour, and with feeling, just the hint of a love-scene—just the stirring of the fancy—that turns into sudden poetry that grey prose of the London suburb.

Now Mr. Logsdail, in the Piazza of St. Mark's, has been almost

offensively prosaic. No one denies the picture's skill; and the lovers of freedom and enterprise must praise its boldness: but one does not like it more the more one knows it. It is very interesting that it should come from a man who is young, and who has the possibility of a long career before him, and who, at what may be almost that career's beginning, can paint as well as this. It is very clever, and very capable; one may almost say very brilliant: but one wants the note of refinement, the note of penetration. Perhaps, after all, it is not precisely characteristic of Venice to have marshalled in the foreground the shallow figures of the two empty-faced women, who loll and look bold; but even of such women, it seems to me, that is a superficial and imperfect rendering. Again, the introduction of a certain plastered head—that of a lad in the middle of the picture—is not so much realistic as revolting. The café front is crowded less with the types of refinement that are at leisure to-day than with the types of indolence and satiety for whom no leisure has attraction. The vigorous, good-humoured face of an English painter asserts itself among the crowd of idler and *roué*; but, in the main, Mr. Logsdail has painted not the charm of Venice, but its social decay. Had he a right to his subject? I hardly think it. Only a still more dexterous artist, a more matured painter, or a satirist more profound, could have established an indisputable claim to so ignoble a theme. It would be a theme for a Hogarth, were it desirable to realise and exhaust it. Were it desirable to suggest it, it would be a theme for an Impressionist, who comes with swift vision and dexterous touch, and observes, and does not stay. But Mr. Logsdail's realisation wants completeness and depth, and he suggests with but a heavy hand. He is an artist of extreme promise, to whom it would be impertinent to offer up the incense of exaggerated praise.

One of the characteristics of the Genre of the moment is that a whole group of the very best masters of it practise it in Venice. From Venice Mr. Van Haanen, Mr. Eugene de Blaas, and Mr. Henry Woods send to the Academy, and it is from Venice that Mr. Bartlett sends to the Grosvenor that delightful vision of summer on the Lagoon, by Chioggia, which shows the afternoon calm over leagues of water; and the Venetian bathers dressing in the *barca*, the hands adjusting hair, or settling shift, or tightening bodice, under the careless screen of an awning that is a shelter from the sun. Why has Venice been their choice? I suppose it may be because the painter of Genre delights to be picturesque as well as to be true, and picturesqueness may be hand in hand with truth in all these studies of the working folk of Venice as they labour and as they enjoy. The population is still the most picturesque, and perhaps the most varied in Italy, and the separate life of the place and its unique

position have created for it its own industries; so that the glass-blowers, and the bead-stringers, and the lace-makers can give the interest of novelty to the painters of every day. And thus it is that the common life, from hour to hour, in boats on the lagoon, in work-shops up the side canals, at the fruiterers' stalls that flash so bright a green and yellow, even under the blackened shadows of the lanes, has got to be recorded with a completeness and with a sympathetic skill that have never yet been bestowed a hundredth part as amply upon the common life of Clerkenwell and Camden Town. This year Mr. Van Haanen's own contributions—especially his "Mask Shop," at the Academy—do not avail themselves quite to the full of all that charm of colour and clearness of light which justify contemporary Genre painters in painting Venice so much. This year Mr. Woods is more important, and with a theme less trivial and comic than that one which last year made men doubt whether he was quite rightly an Associate. He has painted a "First Communion," which, to the Venetian who is not a *dévot*, is rather a secular function. The father deigns to be interested in it; the mother is absorbed in the raiment; the elder sisters, or the daughters of a neighbour, show the interest of curiosity, and only the little maid herself is solemn, and that is with the gravity of the parade. The picture is keenly true. Mr. Eugene de Blaas, in "The Flirtation," is able to concentrate upon a smaller canvas, and upon two figures only, a measure of skill in line, in colour, in complex expression, not easily exceeded. A young woman stays at a Venetian doorway—her face towards the waters of the canal, while an impassioned lover, who has pulled up in his gondola, urges the old plea. The answer must not be "No," though it may not this morning be "Yes." If that is "flirtation," they flirt very ardently in Venice. The man longs; the girl "suffers herself to be desired," as Waller's heroine did, it is to be hoped, after she understood her poet's song. It is passion on the man's side; on the girl's a subtle reluctance to yield—a dainty hesitation to cut short the time in which she may be adored the most profoundly. The delicacy with which that expression is presented cannot be surpassed. It is much to say that it is rivalled by Mr. Prinsep's rendering of as subtle a motive, the return of the newly-married girl of English life and of good society to her welcoming and solicitous mother, in "After the Honeymoon."

Venetian Genre, as it is practised to-day, deals only with contemporary matters, and has, indeed, no inducement to go back into the past for scenes that could not possibly be either more picturesque or more piquant than those which in Venice crowd upon the eye in the present. But Genre, when it is occupied with English life, still often chooses that life to be of the past, following in this respect Leslie's method instead of Hogarth's and Wilkie's. Mr. Charles Green's and

Mr. Robert Macbeth's works are instances of fortunate return to a bygone period. Mr. Green's "Fleet Wedding," with its ruffianly parson and its daisylike bride, is at the Royal Academy; his water-colour drawing, "Oranges, Apples, Bill o' the Play," is at the Institute of Painters in Water Colours. It is there a principal work, and shows a charm of colour his labour sometimes lacks, and a grasp of English character such as we have a right to expect of him. At the Institute, indeed, as work in Genre it shares the honours with Mr. Gregory's "Boulter's Lock" and the "Sanctum Invaded." Near it in delicacy of design, though not in fascination of hue, comes Mr. Abbey's "Widower," the portrait of one who suffers genuinely, yet will not suffer for ever.

Macbeth's "Sacrifice" is more important work; so important and triumphant an instance of a painter's skill that it is fair to class it with an admitted masterpiece of the present Academy—Orchardson's "Voltaire." Indeed, the younger artist's picture has one virtue that is missing in that of the elder. Like Mr. Browtnall's "Fairy Tale," in the Long Room of the Grosvenor, and unlike Mr. Faed's "They had been Boys together," Mr. Macbeth's "Sacrifice" tells its own story, and has no need of commentary in the Academy catalogue. Orchardson's work is deficient in just this clearness. It has nearly every merit of a picture except the merit of not attempting the impossible. Its theme is its weakness, because its theme is too great for it. Now Macbeth's theme is slighter. It is intelligible as we look at the picture alone, and therefore, if we may assume its worth, it is safe to say that a Genre painter was wise to deal with it. "A Sacrifice" shows a London flower-girl seated in the back shop of a fashionable barber, who is cutting her hair off; the rags of her dress betray her poverty; her tears betray her sorrow. She hugs the uncut tresses in her hand, and kisses them ere they go. The time is the time of Queen Anne. Assistants in the background are not so busy in wig-making but that they can spare a gaze which may be curiosity, or may be compassion for the comely heroine of the sacrifice. But the master-perruquier is more strictly professional. A connoisseur in these matters, he removes each lock without emotion and with a gentle neatness, and, gradually, for the price of a fortnight's lodging, the glowing and ruffled head will be adroitly despoiled. That hair will make a wig one day for the fop who is buying a perfume at the counter. The young woman suffers so prettily, and the idle man is so worthless, that the picture is a document for the political economist or a tender argument in the interests of Communism. The veriest Tory in England, as he looks at it, regrets the unequal distribution of wealth, and every one rejoices in the refined and charming art of the painter who has invented the story.

This—better than the "Sheep-Shearing" at the Grosvenor—dis-

plays the range of Macbeth. "Sheep-Shearing" is more in his accustomed lines. In it, as in the "Ferry and the Flood" and other contributions of past years, the artist, inspired a little by George Mason and a little by Frederick Walker, has taken some theme of labour or of adventure among the country folk who are hardly the poor, and has bestowed upon the treatment of it not a touch of sentimentality, but something of the reserve and abstraction of classic grace. In that department of his work, Mr. Macbeth gives a splendid dignity to rural life—treats rural life rather for majesty of line and glory of colour than for the perpetuation of such of its virtues as are domestic and popular. But in "A Sacrifice," Mr. Macbeth is in another realm, and a realm altogether distant—the realm of fashionable comedy—where a gesture has more need to be veracious than to be dignified, and where a face must be expressive more of the individual than of a type. And even the production of pictures in departments so remote from each other as these two does not represent quite fully the range of the painter. Mr. Macbeth follows with a hand and eye only less keen than Mr. Prinsep's in his "After the Honeymoon" the air and carriage of a refined young woman of a well-to-do class of to-day. Mr. Macbeth's young woman has never "schrecklich viel gelesen," she knows not the ante-rooms of Leibreich or Brudenell Carter or the last authority from Coblentz. Girton has never fired her ambition. But she loves her dogs, her tennis, her boat on the river, is great at a dance and a fancy fair, gives the world pleasure and gives it brightness, and is so obstinately healthy and so splendidly fresh, that Mr. Burnand would love and Mr. Burne Jones would pass by her.

Orchardson's range is hardly as great as Macbeth's; but his work within its far from narrow limits is wont to be more perfect; and the sense of strong and noble elegance which Macbeth displays in the figures and movements of his woman-kind, Orchardson reveals in the action of men, who are splendidly dressed but whom no splendid dressing overwhelms. Both artists are colourists, and their schemes of colour are often strangely alike. But Orchardson is the more delicate of the two; the last refinements are his. And never have they been shown more completely than in the "Voltaire," though I cannot but hold the "Voltaire" to be marred by the rage of its hero, the angry wit and the wronged poet. Who that looks upon the picture can understand it for himself? Here is a company of graceful folk, French nobles of the eighteenth century, who have met pleasantly at a pretty banquet—the early dinner that was less intimate than the *souper* of the day—and have got as far as the dessert. That is visible and that is charming. But what is the place, in the picture's natural story, of the white-faced gentleman who rages at the side, and whom they would desire to soothe or somehow

to silence? Even that measure of intelligence upon which an artist, in every art, has a right to count, is unequal to the discovery of such a series of facts as that this white-faced gentleman is Voltaire when he was young, and that Voltaire had been summoned to the street-door below, and when he got there had found it was for nothing better than a flogging, and that having come upstairs again to his host and his fine companions, he is beseeching them with frantic gesture to take up his cause. All that is very interesting, but who is supposed to interpret it? The subject of the picture halts between true Genre and the old-fashioned painting of history. But the old-fashioned painting of history was concerned, not with some out-of-the-way anecdote, but with incidents known and presumably recognisable. To history painting the picture could therefore hardly pretend. But it might have belonged to true Genre if Voltaire, or his rage, had been omitted. Exquisite it is now in composition, in style, in grace, in painting. Nobody can write or think of it without being grateful to the high taste and fine accomplishment that have allowed of so admirable an art. But it might have been in its own way absolutely perfect and the greatest Genre picture of recent times, had it sought to illustrate only the manner and the graces of the age, and not the particular story. As it is, it is more nobly painted, and less prudently conceived, than either "A Social Eddy" or "Queen of the Swords." The art is brilliant; the invention is not wise. It is a great but yet a faulty chapter in Mr. Orchardson's work—the work of a Scotchman who continually reminds us of what Scotland has received from France—in whom is recognised that strain of Gallic grace which from the days of Mary Stuart to our own has sweetened now and again, and twice refined, the strength of Scottish art.

FREDERICK WEDMORE.

A NEW EXODUS.

PUBLIC belief in the advantages of State-aided emigration from the overcrowded districts of Ireland has of late made much growth; but a few figures to justify the use of this deplorable remedy may not be out of place, or a short description of what has already been done in the matter entirely without interest. My excuse for venturing to offer these observations is that, as one of the Hon. Secs. to the Committee of "Mr. Tuke's Fund," I have during the last year been engaged in assisting in the work of emigating families from the poorest districts of Connaught. But it must be understood that any opinions I may here express are quite unofficial.

The size of the holdings and their annual valuation form in Ireland a fairly accurate measure of prosperity, and tried by this test we find that the most distressful districts lie in the west and north-west. Connaught—and to that province I propose chiefly to confine my remarks —has an annual valuation of £1,430,000, or £1 15s. per head of the population, and over 56 per cent. of its holdings are under 15 acres; Galway averages about the same; while Mayo has over 60 per cent. of its holdings under 15 acres, and a valuation of only £1 5s. 7½d. per head—Norfolk, which is almost exactly the same size, and has nearly double the population, having a valuation of £5 14s. per head. Coming to smaller areas, we find that Clifden (Co. Galway) has a valuation of only 14s. 3½d. per head for its 25,200 inhabitants, while 70 per cent. of its holdings are under the 15-acre limit, and only 9,000 acres are tillage land. The Belmullet Union (Co. Mayo) is still poorer; with a population of 15,700 the valuation is under £11,000, less than 14s. per head. Only 153 of its 2,670 holdings are above £10 valuation, the average valuation being £4 2s., and less than 25 per cent. of its holdings exceed 15 acres—and such land! The land under tillage, including the larger holdings, averages but 3¼ acres per holding, of which rather over a half is under potatoes, the balance being nearly all under corn, chiefly oats, no wheat; 41,000 acres are under grass; the remaining two-thirds of the Union being bog or barren land.

In other provinces, less overcrowded, and with more productive soil, the population has decreased during the last decennial period by 5 per cent., and in some counties by 8, 9, and 10 per cent. Connaught has reduced hers by only 3½ per cent.; Galway about 3 per cent.; and Mayo by no more than ¾ per cent. Emigration, indeed,

reduced the surplus population of Connaught last year by 2·2 per cent., and that of Galway by 2·4, though from Mayo only 4,880 emigrants left out of a population of nearly a quarter of a million.

These are the general figures, but if we condescend still further upon particulars, we find that the emigration which does take place from Ireland generally, and from the poorer districts in particular, is of the very worst description, being wholesale deportation of the best material. Thus we find, that from the whole of Ireland the numbers of emigrants last year (exclusive of those who came to settle in England) amounted to 84,200; of whom 63,500 were single men and women (35,000 males, 28,500 females), while 11,300 were "married" persons, and but 9,400 were children. Connaught shows still more startling results, for while less than 13 per cent. of the emigrants were under fifteen years of age, and but 9 per cent. above thirty-five, over 78 per cent. were between those ages. This disproportion has, moreover, been steadily growing during the last few years, doubtless in consequence of the increasing poverty of the people.

The reason is not far to seek. In the poorer districts the united efforts of the family are barely sufficient to raise enough to defray the cost of sending forth one of its members. If he succeeds, he manages after a time to scrape together money enough to send home a "passage" for some other able-bodied individual; but the earnings, and probably the inclination, are never sufficient to bring away the whole family. Thus this form of emigration—at once natural and unnatural—takes away that which has aptly been called the "bone and sinew," leaving behind the very young and the very old, those who require much and can produce little; too often to be a burden on the rates; and brings about the anomaly found in many parts of the country—and attributed to the contrarinéss in the Irish nature—of a scarcity of labour combined with a starving population. Such emigration, of course, never "clears a holding"; on the contrary, by means of the doles sent home by the emigrant, families are often kept clinging to their miserable holdings, and enabled to pay a rent which, however small, is not produced from the land itself; while the gap in the family ranks caused by the departure of the emigrant is all the more improvidently filled up. To this extent then—though of course the emigrants themselves are benefited—I fully believe that most of the emigration which has taken place from Ireland has rather aggravated than diminished the evils from which the country is suffering.

The "family" emigration, however, which has been promoted, I might almost say invented by Mr. Tuke, produces results in every way different. In addition to the fact that we are sending away from our districts some 11 per cent. of the population against the

normal 1 to 2 per cent., an analysis of the ages of the emigrants who have already gone from Belmullet and Newport shows that while 48 per cent. of them were under fifteen, and 20 per cent. above thirty-five—chiefly married—only 32 per cent. were between these ages. Thus there is no severance of family ties, the weak and the strong, the helpless and the workers go together; holdings are cleared, and can be consolidated; and those who remain behind —to my mind the more important element of the two—benefit alike with those who go.

But, it is asked, "Is it likely that these and similar efforts will lead to permanent improvement? will not the thing have to be done all over again within some fifty, nay, some twenty years? is not the one benefit derived from the frightful catastrophe of the famine already lost? are not matters as bad now as ever they were, holdings as small, districts as much overcrowded?"

If this were so, it would indeed be serious and disheartening, and one might well doubt whether emigration were worth promoting. But history tells no such discouraging tale. If we examine carefully into the matter, we find that, even in the worst counties, population has steadily decreased, and that though some of the poorest land has gone out of cultivation, the average size of the holding has largely increased; in a word, that consolidation has outstripped subdivision. This assertion, though it may not be true of any particular townland, is easily proved to be true of them taken altogether, and is eminently encouraging for the future.

In touching on the question of the consolidation of holdings we are unfortunately treading on somewhat delicate ground; though it almost stands to reason that consolidation, leading, as it does, to increased prosperity, and decreased poverty and poor-rates, is really to the interest of every one—tenants, shopkeepers, priests, landlords, and ratepayers alike. By its means we are more likely to arrive at the ideal farm, which, being above fifteen acres and £10 valuation, would be of sufficient size, and allow such an admixture of crops and grass, as to give the tenant employment all the year round on his own holding, enable him to carry out systematic drainage, and bring him practically under the advantages of the Land Act. Without consolidation there cannot be permanent improvement.

But to prove the point advanced that consolidation has made greater way than subdivision, and that therefore the latter state of the country is more hopeful than the former. Comparing the Connaught of to-day with the Connaught of thirty or forty years ago, we find that the number of holdings has decreased at a lesser rate than the population, while the proportionate size of the holdings has considerably increased; the holdings are larger and the number of dwellers on them are fewer. Nor is this all; the vast decrease has

been in the very small holdings, and the enormous increase in those above fifteen acres—thus multiplying the number of holdings on which life, if it cannot be enjoyed, can at least be sustained. We find, then—to come to figures—that the holdings in Connaught in 1881 were less by nearly forty thousand than in 1841; that though there was a slight increase between 1851 and 1875, they have since tended to decrease, except, curiously enough, in 1881 itself, when they increased again by a few hundreds. Comparing 1881 with 1841, we find a decrease of actually 85 per cent. in the holdings under five acres; in those between five and fifteen acres a small increase; while in those above fifteen acres there has been an enormous and steady increase, the numbers amounting now to six times those of pre-famine days.[1]

Why, then, it will naturally be asked, are these districts still in such a miserable plight? And it must be acknowledged that certain divisions and town lands are wretchedly poor; though we must remember that the overcrowded districts are just those in which there has been most subdivision and least consolidation. At the same time, one would deny that the poverty of the vast bulk of the people is comparable with that of forty years ago, or that another wide-spread famine is possible now. The £2,000,000 from public and private sources spent in "relief" in 1880 prevented actual starvation; the £14,000,000 spent in 1847 was inadequate to cope with the evil. The present state of affairs does not mean that the people are as badly off as they were thirty or forty years ago—Heaven forbid!—but that the impoverishing effects of the last few years have culminated in a crisis, which, vastly lightened though it has been by the improved condition of the people, has yet been terribly acute.

To discover the true reason for the crisis, inquiry must be made into the present condition of the sources from whence the people derive their means of livelihood and ability to pay their rent. Nearly all the "distressful" districts are along the sea-coast; and the income of the ordinary coast cottier is derived from some or all of the following sources:—from kelp-burning and fishing, the original attractions of the shore; turf trade; employment in Scotland and England; illicit distillation of whisky; doles from America and elsewhere; and last, often least, from the land itself. To take these in order:—Kelp-burning, in consequence of the fall in price of

(1) Connaught.	Total Holdings.	Between One and Five Acres.	Per Cent. of Total Holdings.	Five to Fifteen Acres.	Above Fifteen Acres.
1841	155,600	100,209	64·3	45,400	9,200
1851	116,600	18,400	15·7	49,200	49,000
1881	119,700	15,200	12·7	49,900	54,600
1881 compared with 1841.	decrease. 36,100 23·2%	decrease. 85,000 85%		increase. 4,500 10%	increase. 45,400 493·4%

iodine, is almost a thing of the past. The fish, of late years, have undoubtedly but unaccountably left the shallower and calmer waters in-shore; the fishermen, from lack of capital or credit, are unable to purchase the costly appliances necessary for deep-sea fishing; if presented to them, the shopkeepers and gombeen men would take care to appropriate the lion's share of the profits, if they did not actually seize the golden-egged goose itself. Thus, that which formerly encouraged over-population, in the subdivision by the owner of a boat of part of his holding amongst the crew, has failed; and the plot of land, intended rather as a habitation than a source of income, has now to support them. The turf trade is "dull." The bad harvests of 1878 and 1879 in England and Scotland, by diminishing the demand for labour, rendered unprofitable the outlay on the journey thither, and full confidence in its remunerative qualities has hardly yet been recovered; while, this year, some cannot afford the initial outlay. The increased poverty of the district has decreased the demand for "potheen;" and the activity of the authorities has rendered the trade less safe and profitable. Remittances from America alone continue to come in as before.

Thus the people have become more and more dependent on the land for support, and the land itself has become more than ever unable to support them. A succession of disastrously bad seasons has ruined the crops, and choked such drainage as existed; and, combined with American competition, has discouraged the growth of corn, and transferred a large amount of land from tillage to grass. During the bad years, most of the smaller holders—and small holders, as we have seen, are the rule in the congested districts—were compelled, in order to keep themselves afloat, to realise all or most of their stock; and, this at a time when prices were nearly nominal.

The burning of the land, the lack of drainage, the unskilful tillage, the perpetual sea-weed manure, the constant uniform cropping, have all tended to weaken the productive powers of the soil. Moreover, during the last thirty years, rent has, as a rule, been largely raised, and the commonage, which enabled the small tenant to keep a cow or two free of expense, has as often been curtailed. No Land Act can ameliorate the present lot of these people; for, however their rent or their tenure may be manipulated, their condition would scarcely be affected: as has been well said, "thirty shillings a year cannot make the difference to a man between comfort and starvation."

In addition—paradoxical as it may seem—the prosperous years succeeding 1870 added largely to the difficulties of the people. Credit in these years was greatly inflated; the tenants, like their betters, imagining that the good times would last for ever, raised their whole style of living, and ran or were led extravagantly into

debt with the shopkeepers—debts too often increased by added extortionate interest; debts which are, and seem likely to remain, millstones round the necks of the people. I was assured by a shopkeeper in one small town on the West Coast, who produced his books to prove his statement, that there was money owing to him alone, from the neighbouring small holders of land, to an amount of over £6,000. Imperial as well as local taxation has increased; while a "malicious injury" rate has too often to be superadded. The very poverty of the district acts and reacts on itself, by reducing the purchasing power, and (when communications are so deficient) the price of produce and stock.

All these accumulated misfortunes, with the stoppage of credit which has ensued, have brought the people face to face with their position, and rendered them so hopeless of the future as to make a marked change in their feelings as regards emigration; and thus rendered practicable that which formerly could not have been successfully attempted.

Assisted family emigration is a remedy at once drastic and merciful. It tends to minimise the cruel necessity of eviction, and obviates the bitterness engendered by forced separation, or by the feeling that the people are being "cleared out" for the benefit of landlords. Moreover, not to speak of the enlargement of holdings which ensues, it effects an immediate and appreciable difference in the comfort of those who remain, by reason of the food produce and cattle left behind by the emigrants, and in the considerably diminished pressure on the poor rate.

Having endeavoured to show the need of family emigration from the congested districts of Connaught, I may perhaps be permitted to add a word or two on what has already been done in this matter by the committee of "Mr. Tuke's Fund." Last year they accomplished a certain amount of pioneer work, by sending away, at their own cost, some 1,200 persons, mostly from the Clifden Union, in Galway. The knowledge they thereby derived of the distress of the people in these overcrowded districts and of the desire on the part of very many of them to escape from their poverty, induced the committee to make representations to the Government on the subject, offering at the same time to render any assistance which lay within their power. When, therefore, the Arrears Act came into force, the committee were requested by the Irish Executive to undertake the entire and absolute charge, for emigration purposes, of certain districts in Galway and Mayo,[1] containing a population of some

(1) These districts are—

Co. Mayo.		
Belmullet (all)	population	15,700
Newport (parts)	,,	8,900
		24,600

Co. Galway.		
Clifden (part)	population	14,000
Oughterard (part)	,,	7,300
		21,300

46,000 persons. These districts—presumably the most impoverished in Ireland, though probably Swinford (Co. Mayo), and Glenties (Co. Donegal), are as badly off—were selected by the Local Government Board as too poor themselves to supplement the emigration grant; which being limited to £5 per head, had to be supplemented by the guardians (to whom were given extended facilities of borrowing), by the emigrants themselves, or from other sources.

This occurred last autumn. Since then Mr. Tuke and others have been continuously and busily engaged in settling the thousand and one details involved in the preparations for selection, the embarkation of the emigrants, and their reception on the other side—the last, perhaps, the most important part of the work of family emigration. Since the beginning of the year the various districts have been thus divided:—Clifden Union, to Mr. Tuke, who for part of the time has been assisted by Mr. H. Hodgkin; Oughterard Union, to Major Gaskell; Belmullet and Newport Unions, to myself, I, however, receiving the valuable assistance of Captain Ruttledge-Fair, who is still engaged in carrying out the work on the spot. Without entering on details, it suffices to say that during January the names of applicants for emigration were freely received, and over six thousand were given in; and our first visit of the year to Ireland—each to his own district—was made in the beginning of February in order to select from these names the persons suitable for emigration. No description of the country will be here attempted; the statistics already given are eloquent of its poverty and dreariness. Fortunately for ourselves, we had been over most of the ground the previous autumn, and the prospect of frequent tandem car drives of twenty to sixty miles had lost its terrors. With Westport, sixty miles from Belmullet, we parted with civilisation, in the shape of railways and hotels; and, within ten miles from thence, had left behind us the last telegraph station, and with it all means of speedy communication. Belmullet, the market town of a district containing 15,000 inhabitants, being actually fifty miles from the nearest telegraph station—a fact which the Treasury, in spite of the energy and paper we have expended on them, seem incapable of realising as a scandal.

The total number of persons selected in the different districts were as follows:—In Clifden, then and subsequently, about 1,500; in Oughterard, nearly 1,000; in Belmullet and Newport, 2,600. In all some 5,100 to 5,200 or more.

In making the selection in Belmullet and Newport, from those who had originally enrolled their names and from the new applicants, I, "as a solitary individual," kept certain principles in my mind as guides for action; and it may be of interest to see how far they were successfully carried out.

1. "Families" only were to be taken, and not "individuals;"

and very few single people have been sent from the Belmullet and Newport districts; and none, except for some special reason. No individuals were allowed to go if there were anybody depending on them; and I feel sure that no one will come on the rates as a consequence of our system of emigration—a result too often following on ordinary emigration—while hundreds of persons, who would otherwise have burdened the rates, have been sent where they have a good prospect of a happy future.

2. The States were much more in request than Canada, but none were allowed to go there unless they had near relations, willing and anxious to receive them; the others were sent to Canada, where we knew they would be received by our friends or by the agents of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and put in the way of obtaining work. The production of an encouraging letter from a friend in the States was made a *sine quâ non*, a condition which in a few instances led to attempts at forgery—all, however, I think, promptly detected. I have piles of these letters now by me, and pleasant reading they are, with their cheery accounts of life in the new country, their affectionate messages and greetings to friends left behind, and their cordial invitations to them "not to wate to ate your dinner," but to "take the route at once" to a place where "one has Christmas times every day," and where "the girls will live like ladies."

3. It was a great object to scatter the emigrants over as large an area as possible; and this we have been able satisfactorily to accomplish. It was an object also to send as many as we could to "Western" or "Central" States, and it is encouraging to find from accounts received from the West that the extra expense involved will be amply justified. Care was, moreover, taken to prevent the emigrants from settling in the large towns which boast "Irish quarters," and in which the influences are bad; such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Chicago. Except under special circumstances, such as a wife and family going to join the husband, &c., I refused to send emigrants to those places; and the whole number of persons from Belmullet and Newport who will go thither will be under one hundred.

4. Except under especial circumstances we could not send any families who did not possess a "worker" or two (*i.e.* children above twelve) in addition to the head. Perhaps the most painful part of our proceedings was to be obliged to refuse the "long wake families"—too common, alas!—whom we could not send to be a burden on their friends, and whom it was impossible to "place" in Canada.

Some applicants, before we were made aware of the dodge, nearly ruined their chances of selection by originally—"sure their honours will take pity on us"—putting down the ages of their children very

much under the mark, and making the family appear hopelessly weak. Finding, however, that age had its advantages, they would adapt themselves to circumstances, and add as many years as they had formerly subtracted. We were, therefore, often obliged to have the children produced in order to be aged; an exercise in which we soon became quite proficient.

5. Those only were to be assisted who were unable themselves to defray the expense of emigrating. These were by far the greater number; but where it was thought that the family had some means, and more especially when it seemed probable that their friends in America would send them some money, a small contribution was demanded. Information was extracted from the emigrants themselves, the head of each family being interviewed by us; from the relieving officers and others; while most of the families were also visited in their own homes.

It was represented to us by some of the local shopkeepers that we were sending away persons who could well afford to pay for themselves; but though inquiry was made into every case specified, in no instance could we discover that the emigrants possessed anything beyond the barest necessities, or at the most could afford to provide passages for more than one or two members of the family. Many persons, apparently well to do, were really insolvent, and when their possessions were sold they often had not the wherewithal to satisfy their just debts. In one case, after we had promised to send a family away, it came to my knowledge that the man had sold his holding and chattels for £30, a very exceptional price. On inquiry, however, he produced receipts for debts subsequently paid, verified by us, to an amount of £25, and he owed other small sums besides.

6. Of course no pressure of any sort was put on the people to induce them to emigrate, only those were taken who willingly offered themselves. To us, who were besieged in our inn, beset by anxious inquiries when we went out, and overwhelmed with written memorials—addressed, when we had shown ourselves obdurate, "to the honourable lady with Feeling"—it seemed perfectly ludicrous to learn, as we did from certain newspapers, that we were dragging the people from their homes and forcing them to emigrate. The anxiety to leave amounted almost to a mania, more especially after "their honours" came down, and it was seen that the emigration was a reality, that it was not pressed upon them, and that every care and consideration—incompatible with a mere Government scheme "to get rid of them"—was taken for those who were emigrating.

Many of the applicants were very changeable, one day eager to go, a short time after returning their ticket, and being reintroduced again a day or two later as "parties as has changed their minds." Nor was this vacillation unnatural considering the tremendous step

they were taking. Those going to Canada were especially liable to these fits of uncertainty; they had not the attraction of invitations from friends, their future home was unknown to them, and all sorts of absurd stories about Canada were set on foot by those opposed to emigration. It was fully believed by some that most Canadians were niggers, that if not frozen to death, the emigrants would be kept in servitude for years, that they would be dressed in "Kennedy clothes" like convicts, that the English Government was sending round coffin ships to take them off—with other legends equally well founded. Many also were "desthroyed" by inability to come to what they considered satisfactory terms with a neighbour or landlord.

In addition to the aforementioned principles of action, it seemed to be a duty to do what one could to assist towards the consolidation of the holdings vacated by the emigrants, so that, as far as possible, they should go to enlarge the holdings of the neighbours who remained, and not merely be reoccupied by a new tenant. With this object, then, I took pains—in Belmullet and Newport—to see that the whole of the "family" should go, if any; and by a family was meant all those living on the holding—often three generations. Moreover, we always interrogated the applicants for emigration as to what they would do with their holdings if assisted; and they nearly always promised to assign the holding to a neighbour, or to come to some agreement with the landlord.

Where rent is paid up, or only slightly in arrears, the interest in the holding will be sold either to a neighbour, to the landlord, or to a new tenant; where, however, rent is largely in arrears the land will be given up to the landlord. It is difficult to say what the landlord will do with the land; he can either turn it into "grass," allow it to go out of cultivation, keep it in his own hands, give it to a fresh tenant, or add it on to existing holdings; and this latter course will I am assured be largely followed in Mayo.[1]

It is as yet too early to be able to judge very accurately of the future of each holding, but accounts received up to date seem to show that consolidation in the best form is proceeding satisfactorily. A letter received a few days ago from Belmullet, from one who has good means of ascertaining the facts of the case, contains the following:—

"Where the holdings are not encumbered by arrears of rent, they are invariably disposed of to neighbours not emigrating; and in some cases, even

(1) It seems to be thought that, in cases where the landlord re-lets the farm, or adds it to an existing tenancy, that the new tenant, by becoming a "future tenant," will lose the benefits of the Land Act. But practically this will not really be so. Every new tenant obtains the right of free sale and the advantages of fixity of tenure; and Section 4 of the Land Act so guards him against any arbitrary increase of rent that he practically obtains the third F. also.

where rents are due, the parties sell, the purchaser relying on the probability of being allowed the benefits of the Land Act. From £4 to £6 is about what is realised. Where, on the contrary, the holdings are encumbered, they are vacated without arrangement and pass to the landlord."

Captain Ruttledge-Fair also reports to me the result of careful inquiry in one particular town-land, about the poorest in Belmullet Union. It appears that sixteen families (108 persons) have been assisted to emigrate, and have cleared as many holdings; of these holdings, four have been assigned to four separate "near neighbours," two to two "neighbours in same townland," four in a lump to one "neighbour in same town-land," five have been left—possibly without possession being given—to the landlord; while only *one* has passed to a new tenant. Later on I hope to obtain accurate information regarding all the holdings vacated.

There is at present a feeling against subdivision dominant both in the mind of the tenant as well as in that of the landlord; and as the latter, under the Land Act, has very stringent powers of preventing subdivision, one may hope that power and opinion being, for once, on the same side, the evil will in the future be minimised; more especially with the assistance consolidation will receive from "free sale."

Perhaps I need hardly add that great care was taken after selection to see that all the details of shipment were carefully carried out, that the emigrants were kindly and considerately treated, and that nothing should be wanting to give them a fair start in the new world. Clothes have in most cases to be provided, the "kit" on board ship being supplied by arrangement with the steam-ship company, Messrs. J. & A. Allan, of Glasgow, who had undertaken to convey our emigrants, and whose ships appeared to be clean, comfortable, and well-found. Those going to friends have been landed at Boston, and before they leave the ship they each receive a railway pass to their nearest railway station and (except where it is ascertained that they have something of their own) a sum of money in hand, ranging from $5 for a single person up to $20 or $30, or even more for a family, the amount varying according to the size of the family and the length of the railway journey. As regards these emigrants the responsibility of the committee ends here; but for those landed at Quebec—about one-third of the whole number—further provision had to be made, the emigrants trusting to them to find houses and employment. No colonisation scheme was intended or attempted. Some of the emigrants have been placed by the very efficient agencies of the Dominion and Provincial Governments; others have been sent to homes prepared for them by Mr. Hodgkin and Father Nugent during their trip to Canada last autumn. It is satisfactory to believe, with Archbishop Lynch of

Toronto, that Canada is an excellent place for emigrants, from the religious and loyal, as well as from the climatic and material points of view.

Our emigrants, especially if they go to agricultural districts, are almost certain to do well. Irishmen of the west are ready enough to work when out of their own country; perhaps the lethargy which overcomes them at home may be accounted for by the fact that they have nothing to do and not enough to eat—potatoes not being a food on which a man can be very energetic. Nevertheless, the fact remains that such reclamation and cultivation as exist, is the work of the tenants, the unskilful tillage being due more to ignorance than laziness; while the people—often to the detriment of their own farms—go far afield to seek employment, showing that they are ready enough to work when wages are worth the earning. Unfortunately the cultivation in vogue on the west coast gives employment for a few months only, and during the rest of the year there is little to do, even if the load of indebtedness which weighs down the people did not take away the strongest incentive to exertion.

We have endeavoured to dispatch the emigrants early and rapidly, in order that they should be kept in suspense and distress as short a time as possible, be enabled to take advantage of the spring labour market, and make provision for the winter. The work for this year is now very nearly over, and by the time this paper appears we shall have sent off about four thousand six hundred emigrants, and have but a few hundreds more to send. We may perhaps be allowed to feel some degree of satisfaction that all the arrangements have been so far carried out without any serious delay or accident. The estimated cost—including the expenses of conveyance to the port of embarkation, ocean fare, railway on the other side, landing money, clothes, and such working expenses as we have been obliged to incur—amounts to something less than £6 10s. per head, twenty-five to thirty shillings beyond the Government grant.

The emigrants from Clifden and Oughterard were all, or nearly all, sent from Galway, to which port they had to be brought, sometimes fifty miles, by car or cart. The Belmullet and Newport emigrants were embarked from Blacksod Bay—a splendid roadstead, in which no emigrant or merchant ship had ever been seen before—and every detail connected with their embarkation had to be specially arranged. The shallowness of the bay has necessitated taking the people off in boats, shipping them on the gunboat, which has been co-operative with us—and re-transferring them to the liner which lay some two miles off. Thus to embark at one time, and once a week, three hundred men, women, and children, with their feather beds, involved no light responsibility. The first embarkation from Blacksod—which necessitated our second visit to the wilds of the west

—took place during the frightful storms of March, and to us was full of excitement, anxiety, and incident, though fortunately eminently successful.

I have entered at some length into these details, in order to show how much care has been taken in the arrangements of family emigration. The emigrants have gone off in good heart and hope; they are all gone to definite destinations, to friends, or agents ready to receive them, and with money in their pockets; and not one of them has landed, "friendless and penniless on a foreign shore," to form part of the pauper invasion of which we hear so much.

In addition to the work of the committee, the Local Government Board, through its Emigration Commissioners, have down, in all, the names of some thirteen thousand persons from forty unions, most of whom they hope to send off; so far their proceedings have been somewhat hindered by the red tape incidental to Government matters, resulting in some delay, discomfort, and disappointment.

What more remains to be done; and how many people ought to be taken from the overcrowded districts, in order to produce a real permanent improvement? It is impossible to give a definite answer, experience alone can decide. Two assertions may, however, safely be made, namely, that we cannot go wrong in taking from these special districts every poor family willing to emigrate, and for whom a home can be found on the other side; and that any endeavour to force the people to emigrate would be wicked as well as most impolitic. Again, the numbers of those desirous of leaving cannot be accurately ascertained, varying as they do year by year, month by month, nay, day by day; the Irish being very much like a flock of sheep, ready blindly to follow if one will lead, but quick to draw back on the slightest alarm. This year, however, there can be no question about their anxiety to leave; and unless the harvest be an exceptionally good one, there will be plenty more people ready to go next year; many in our districts already want their names put down in anticipation—this year they have sown their seed and therefore they cannot come, but their labour rewarded they too will be glad to get away. The success of those on whom so much care has been expended is pretty well assured, both in Canada and the States; and the accounts sent home will "give the courage" to many a waverer; while (in the case of Canada) it will lay to rest the fables and legends which are bugbears to many. If, moreover, the Canadian North-West Colonization scheme comes to anything—and it is sincerely to be hoped that it will—and a farm, cow, house, and seed can be offered as inducements, there will be no dearth of applicants for emigration. The overcrowded districts are, we may suppose, confined to the counties of Connaught, to West

Donegal, Clare, and Kerry, the population requiring relief from congestion being variously estimated at from over a quarter to over half a million. In order to give due relief twenty-five to thirty per cent. of this population should be removed by means of family emigration; say at the least 120,000 persons, or 25,000 families.[1]

It is evident that the guardians in the poorer districts will not borrow for emigration purposes; nor should this cause surprise, seeing that many of them are shopkeepers or otherwise opposed to emigration, while the rates are so much overburdened, that even with an assured substantial future gain they may well hesitate before mortgaging them further. This being so, the Government grant—irrespective of and additional to any colonization scheme—should be raised to, say, £6 10s. per head for families; while the administration on this and the placing of emigrants on the other side of the water, should be left entirely in the hands of Government Commissioners, assisted where practicable by local or charitable associations. The money required ought to be cheerfully voted, not merely on the coldly philosophical ground urged by Lord Derby that it would "pay," but much more on the score of humanity.

All this, of course, cannot be done without extraneous aid both in money and organization on either side of the water, which must to a large extent be supplied by Government; and, so far, no doubt, the canons of political economy are infringed. But after all political economy was made for man, and not man for political economy; and the science itself, in order to draw its conclusions, of necessity assumes that men are all more or less on a footing of equality, and should therefore be left to work out their own salvation: strictly applied to a warped system it will often but make matters worse.

In order to obtain any satisfactory results, assisted family emigration must be applied for several years to the overcrowded districts; fortunately they are well defined and not large in extent, so that no very heroic exertions would be needed to make the remedy effectual. The result of experience in our own districts shows that some ten to twelve per cent. of the population have been anxious to leave during the first year; and it certainly would be a mistake, even if the emigrants could be satisfactorily "placed," to attempt too rapidly to depopulate any particular district. The second and succeeding years it is probable that, the condition of the people being improved, a lesser number would be anxious to go, and in all likelihood

(1) There are some twenty-five unions—chiefly in Mayo, Galway, and Western Donegal, and to a lesser degree in Kerry, Clare, Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim—containing a population of about 660,000 souls, in which the average value of the holdings is under £10. In fifteen of these unions, containing a population of over 360,000, the holdings average under £8; and these unions at all events require attention.

it would take four or five years to send away the whole number required.

Thus the conclusion we would draw is that properly supervised family emigration ought to be offered to the poor families in those districts, which in the opinion of competent judges are really overcrowded; and that the assistance should be spread over four or five years, perhaps more; while some measures should be taken to promote the consolidation of the holdings vacated, and to prevent subdivision.

No sudden bound from penury to opulence will take place, and many a long year must elapse before the poverty and dependence of the people can be eradicated. The position is, however, much better than it was thirty or forty years ago; and a gradual decrease in the numbers of the families, with a steady increase in the size of the holdings, must almost of necessity be followed by better cultivation; and this, combined with the improved communications which are essential, and which should be undertaken by the Government, should bring about prosperity—if not loyalty.

The questions of migration and reclamation, so often urged as supplementary to emigration, do not fall within my province. Though to a certain extent politically connected with emigration, they must be taken separately and apart, and discussed on their own merits by those who see in them the best hope for the future.

My business has merely been to endeavour to point out the advantages of a system of State-aided, voluntary, family emigration; a new exodus, which if properly conducted must benefit those who remain in the country equally with those who leave.

SYDNEY C. BUXTON.

"ROBERT BROWNING, WRITER OF PLAYS."

"And Robert Browning, you writer of plays,
Here's a subject made to your hand!"
Dramatic Romances (*A Light Woman*), vol. iv.

IN an early volume of his collected poems Mr. Browning asserts that "their contents are always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons." Dramatic in principle they undoubtedly are; such strictly lyrical and undramatic pieces as *Christmas Eve* and *Easter Day* are exceptions to the general rule, which cannot be recalled without a moment's thought. How clearly in the author's own conception dramatic power is the quality characteristic of his poetic genius, may be gathered from his fondness for such titles as *Dramatis Personæ*, *Dramatic Idylls*, *Men and Women*, *Dramatic Romances*, and so forth. But the dramatic spirit is one thing, and the power of composing a drama is another. No one would deny that Browning is a dramatist of a high order, and yet many would doubt whether he is what, for purposes of convenient distinction, may be called a "practical" dramatist. *The Ring and the Book* is quite enough evidence of the possession of the first attribute; it is above all a study of character, in its contrasts between Guido and Pompilia, Caponsacchi and Pope Innocent; the whole treatment and setting are dramatic in the highest degree (as, *e.g.* in *Half-Rome*, *Other Half-Rome*, and the *Tertium Quid*), being throughout occupied with the vigorous presentment of character in active and generally malevolent manifestations. But when the reader turns from this voluminous poem to one of the professed dramas—say to *Pippa Passes* or *Colombe's Birthday*—he is struck with the unreality and impracticability of the play, and the doubt crosses his mind whether Browning can be said to have the dramatic capacity in the limited sense. It is worth considering in what sense such a distinction can be maintained, and to what extent it can be said that Browning possesses the first gift without the second.

Browning is a dramatist for the one and sufficient reason that he is, above all, the student of humanity. Humanity he draws with a loving and patient hand, but on the one condition that it shall be humanity in active and passionate exercise. Not for him, the beauty of repose; the still quiet lights of meditation, removed from the slough and welter of actual struggle, make no appeal to him; the apathetic calm of a normal human being, exercised on daily uninteresting tasks, is to him well-nigh incomprehensible; storms and thunder, wind and lightning, passion and fury, and masterful strength, something on which he can set the seal of his own rugged,

eloquent, amorphous verse; something which he can probe and analyse and wrap up in the twists and turns of his most idiomatic, most ungrammatical style—these are the subjects which he loves to handle. And so those whose eyes are dazzled by this excess of light, or who lose their breath in this whirl of hurrying ideas, call him unintelligible; while those quiet souls who look for form and measure and control in verse deny that such uncouth and turgid lines are poetry at all. That Browning should have essayed two transcripts from Euripides is a fact not without significance for the critic, for he has thereby opened to us the secrets of his own dramatic aptitudes. For with him, as with Euripides, the humanity he paints is not the dignified, selfish man of Tennyson or Sophocles, with views on "the decorous" or "the befitting," and a conventional regard for respectable deportment, whether towards himself or to his gods; but the wilder, less commonplace, higher developed human being, who hates with a will, and loves with a will, regardless of consequence, who cannot deceive himself as to his own motives and despises external morality, a humanity which dares and sins and suffers, and makes a mock, if need be, of gods and heaven.

It is Browning, more than any one else, who makes us realise the volcano of dangerous forces which simmers beneath the smiling commonplaces of ordinary life and established social usage. Humanity with him is not the sententious and balanced hero of classicalism, nor the feverish melodramatic idealist of romantic literature. The times of Corneille and Racine for him are done with and gone; even the imaginative flights of Walter Scott and Victor Hugo have become "somewhat musty." He lives in an age of positivism; the mighty shades of Honoré de Balzac and George Sand will not disavow their poetic disciple, for he works with the same analytic tools, and digs deep in the same mine of psychological study. The duty of man is to work out his vein thoroughly and to the full. Is he in love? Then he must love surpassingly, absorbingly, recklessly, as in *Cristina*, or *Evelyn Hope*, or *The Last Ride together*. Is he conscious that he is hampered by circumstance and friends from reaching his goal? Then he must drive through the crust of fate and over-ride his circumstances and his friends at all hazards, as in *Waring*, or *The Flight of the Duchess*. Is he aiming at some end, dark and unlovely, an end which no one else can sympathize with, some "round squat turret, without a counterpart in the whole world"? Then he must press on through falsehood and squalor and dismay, though all his companions fall off one by one, as in *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came*. Is he a poet with all the yearnings and isolation and disappointments of a poet's career? Then he must carry out the poetic task through succeeding cycles of egotism and altruism, as in *Sordello*. Is he mad for revenge on some foe who has wronged him?

Then in God's name let him wreak his vengeance to the full, and draw his moral lesson afterwards, as in *Before and After*. Is he bent on some task of moral healing and regeneration? Then let him stand for hours over the man he longs to save; let him urge and ply him with every drug and potion known in the moral pharmacopœia, till his sweat be like drops of blood, as in that magnificent dramatic lyric of *Saul*. If drama be the vivid portraiture of a masterful humanity—madly tender, madly passionate, recklessly dying—then Browning, indeed, possesses the dramatic quality.

But from this to the power of dramatic manipulation is a long step. If we take any of the poems, almost at haphazard, we notice a certain idiosyncratic way of treating the circumstances of the case, a certain mannerism of expression in the thoughts, a certain eccentricity in presenting the motives of hero and heroine, without which the poet appears unable to work. Now it is a modern sentiment in an ancient setting, a widely liberal view put in the mouth of a narrowly religious character, as, for instance, in *Master Hugues of Saxe Gotha*, or the *Death in the Desert*, or perhaps *Saul*. Now it is the seeming impossibility to get away from his own poetic character, as in *Waring* or *Sordello*. In the last most enigmatical poem, which always possesses a melancholy interest—as the bottom of each page seems to mark the successive grave stones of earnest readers, who could get thus far and no farther—we have an explicit connection traced in the long digression at the end of the third book between the poet himself and the character he is depicting. But all this is not unreasonable in lyrical romances, whatever dramatic title the author chooses to give them. It is in the dramas themselves that the real characteristics of Browning's dramatic presentation should properly be studied. In these a distinction may be drawn between a poem like *Pippa Passes*, which, though regularly divided into acts, is really unactable, and such pieces as *The Blot on the Scutcheon*, *Strafford*, and *The Return of the Druses*, which are dramas in the formal sense of the term. Midway between these two extremes lie the dramatic sketches entitled *In a Balcony*, *A Soul's Tragedy*, and *Colombe's Birthday*, while *King Victor and King Charles* and *Luria* approach to, though they do not quite reach, the formal requirements of the drama. In each of these intermediate plays there is such a smallness of interest, such a slenderness of plot, and so limited an interaction of character, that it would be hard to conceive of any theatrical audience, except possibly those which could in Germany bear *Nathan der Weise* on the stage, listening to them with any attention or pleasure.

The essence of drama is, of course, play of character, either the crossing or recrossing of different lines of interest as a number of characters work out the plot, or the evolution of a single character

through the influence or antagonism of others. If a single character, slowly developing, be represented in a series of monologues, it is doubtless interesting as a psychological study, but it is not a drama. The contrast of character is essential, a condition which carries with it the necessity of consistency in portraiture. Now, to Browning also, the drama is an interaction of characters, but the interaction is one which he interprets in his own way. The characters are different mouthpieces of the poet himself, different shadows of his one personality, all alike affecting the same turns of expression and thought; and the contrast, such as it is, is between the various shifting phases and feelings of his own richly endowed mind. In a play of Browning, the hero, naturally enough, talks like Browning; but so too does the heroine, so does the villain, so do the populace. Contrast there certainly is, but not contrast in the ordinary sense. There is none of that impersonal touch which we have in Shakspere, and which makes one know Shakspere's characters, while what Shakspere's own character may be remains a mystery. Browning is too personal, too "subjective," too instinct with himself; he cannot project himself outward, so to speak, in his creations; he cannot forget himself by means of a wide human sympathy. Dramatic creator in this sense he certainly is not; in his noblest creations are to be found fragments of a mind, all bearing a single stamp; in his best characters he remains himself.

But then, such is the artist's gift, this is forgotten over and over again owing to the singularly rich and versatile endowments of Browning's mind. In the mouth of his picturesque and interesting heroes—especially if the plays be read singly and after some interval—the strained and intricate language in which Browning delights does not at once appear inappropriate. And there are many passages in Browning's dramatic writing (which contrasts most favourably with the rest of his work in this respect) where the language is powerfully clear and simple, and in them the absence of any real characterisation remains unsuspected. But Browning cannot be either clear or simple for more than a few moments, and directly the style becomes idiosyncratic, we know with whom we have to deal. Listen to the retainer's talk in *The Blot on the Scutcheon.*

> "Our master takes his hand,
> Richard and his white staff are on the move,
> Back fall our people—'tsh—there's Timothy
> Sure to get tangled in his ribbon ties,
> And Peter's cursed rosette's a-coming off!"

Nothing could be better or more life-like; but now—

> "I don't see wherefore Richard and his troop
> Of silk and silver varlets there, should find
> Their perfumed selves so indispensable
> On high days."

Their perfumed selves so indispensable! It reminds one of Hamlet's waterfly, Osric, rather than of Tresham's retainers. Or let us take another instance, how a bystander—one of the populace be it remembered—is able to describe Ogniben's, demeanour and language in *A Soul's Tragedy*:—

> "Here are you who, I make sure, glory exceedingly in knowing the noble nature of the soul, its divine impulses, and so forth; and with such a knowledge you stand, as it were, armed to encounter the natural doubts and fears as to that same inherent nobility, that are apt to waylay us, the weaker ones, in the road of life. And when we look eagerly to see them fall before you, lo, round you wheel, only the left hand gets the blow; one proof of the soul's nobility destroys simply another proof, quite as good, of the same. Our gaping friend, the burgess yonder, does not want the other kind of kingship, that consorts in understanding better than his fellows this and similar points of human nature, nor to roll under his tongue this sweeter morsel still,—the feeling that through immense philosophy, he does *not* feel, he rather thinks, above you and me!" And so chatting they glided off arm in arm.

Roll under his tongue this sweeter morsel still! Fancy a bystander, one of the populace, calling such talk as this "chatting!" Or once more, listen to Phene in *Pippa Passes*,—Phene, the young Greek girl, a daughter of the old hag, Natalia, "white and quiet as an apparition, and fourteen years old at farthest," as the student describes her:—

> "Even you perhaps
> Cannot take up, now you have once let fall,
> The music's life, and me along with that,
> No, or you would! We'll stay then, as we are
> Above the world.
>
> "What rises is myself,
> Not me the shame and suffering: but they sink,
> Are left, I rise above them:
>
> Yet your friends, speaking of you, used that smile,
> That hateful smirk of boundless self-conceit
> Which seems to take possession of the world
> And make of God a tame confederate,
> Purveyor to their appetites."

Fine lines, assuredly, but as little appropriate to Phene as they would be to Pippa herself, for all that she is the heroine.

The dramatic presentation of character requires more than skilful and striking speeches, with a faintly outlined background of difficult and dangerous circumstances. Action is needed, the pressure of other minds, the alternate yielding and conquering of a human unit, battling with an overmastering fate in a series of impressive scenes, or at least the gathering up of many threads of separate interests in the supreme interest of the hero. The best instance in Browning of this conception of a drama is, curiously enough, in *Pippa Passes*, the least dramatic in form of all his plays. Here we have four separate romances, Ottima and Sebald, Phene and Jules, Luigi and his mother, Monsignor and Ugo (to say nothing of Blu-

phocks and the Austrian police), strung on the single thread of Pippa's New Year's Day. Pippa is the "better mind" of all these sinning and struggling personalities: it is her passing, the sound of her voice and the melody of her songs, which mark in each successive case the highest point in the dramatic situation. The blithe girl from the silk-mills brings to each their redemption, and on her depends, and from her dates their possible amelioration. Here are the true elements of a drama with the fine moral of the endless powers of good, which a frank and simple nature possesses, wave after wave of blessing thrown off in widening circles from the single worthy character in the play. Yet *Pippa Passes* remains, owing to the capriciousness of its form, a poem to be read in the study rather than a play to be seen on the stage. In other dramas no attempt at action is even made. *Luria* affords a notable example. Luria, the Moor, is a fine open character: he is the true man, the honest and gallant soldier; round him are all the tricks and arts of Florence, plot and counterplot, suspicion and intrigue, on one side Domizia, and on the other Braccio. In him, therefore, the reader looks to see that spectacle for gods and men, the good man struggling with fate. But in all the scenes which represent the development of the catastrophe there is no movement, no scenic interest, no picture for the eye. There is indeed much admirable writing and many lines which send the blood up to the cheek, without which Browning would not be Browning. But in all five acts there is absolutely no dramatic situation, unless Luria poisoning himself in the solitude of his own tent may be said to be one. The matter is best seen in a couple of contrasts. The character of the plain soldier, struggling with a world of deception, is in some respects comparable with that of Harold in Tennyson's drama. The position of a successful captain, tempted to turn his arms against the city whose soldiers he leads, reminds one of Coriolanus. But where in Browning's play is the interest of Coriolanus's mother and wife? Shall it be found in Domizia, who remains, it must be confessed, somewhat of an enigma, with her change from feminine vindictiveness to masculine large-mindedness? Or in the wearisome astuteness of Braccio, who fails in the attempt to pull the wires of a Florentine jury, moved to forgiveness by the sudden pleading of Luria's adversary, Tiburzio? And though indeed in Tennyson we miss the sure Shaksperian touch, there is not in him the same austerity of formal dialogue which we find in Browning. He knows that to understand a soldier's character we want to have some of the crash of battle in our ears. Nothing could be finer in its way than the rapid descriptive touches of the battle of Senlac in *Harold*, conveyed in the scene between Edith and Stigand, where, breaking the quick interchange of question and answer, are heard the Norman and English war-cries,

and the monotonous chanting of the monks of Waltham. But such appeal to the eye as well as ear Browning will have none of.

The same limited range of interest is found in *King Victor and King Charles*, where the main point is presumably the contrast between the old king and the young king, the father and the son Victor resigns the crown to Charles, but cannot be content to live in retirement, and plots to return. He is foiled, partly by the somewhat sudden change in D'Ormea, the minister, partly by death. The sole interest is the contrast of the two kings. Polyxena, Charles's wife, is described in Browning's introduction as possessed of "a noble and right woman's manliness," but in the play she is a mere sketch of a character, as far as dramatic purposes are concerned. D'Ormea is first a rascal and then becomes better advised, but no subtle links are indicated to connect the early rascality with the subsequent rectitude, any more than they are indicated in the case of Domizia in *Luria*. Throughout the play nothing of the nature of a "situation" occurs. It is a literary drama at most, and perhaps even so scarcely a good one of its kind. To speak plainly, it is too dull and uninteresting. Nor is it the case that Browning is avowedly only writing dramas for the study, or that he is insensible to the legitimate scenic effects of a play.[1] A purely literary drama always strikes one as somewhat incongruous, and it is no less than a national misfortune that of the three contemporary poets, Swinburne, Browning, and Tennyson, only the last should even care to have his dramas presented on the stage. The result is only too obvious. The "practical playwrights," in whose hands the matter is left, being perhaps rather weak on the literary side, either borrow their literary matter without acknowledgment, or entirely throw overboard the literary elements of drama for the sake of scenic. But in *Strafford*, at all events, Browning gives us a composition in which there are scenes strongly appealing to the eye. The scene at the end of Act III., where Strafford, amidst an excited crowd of his own adherents and the Presbyterian partisans, reaches the doors of the House of Lords, through which we catch glimpses of Hampden and Pym at the bar, possesses the elements of truly pictorial drama. Here too are lines of wonderful grace and beauty: one of them, put into Strafford's mouth, and ending Act II., haunts the memory with its perfect melody.

"Night has its first, supreme forsaken star"

Nor could there well be a more pathetic touch than where, in the midst of Strafford's anxious debating with Balfour and Charles as to his own escape, and the movement towards the door, there occurs the sudden reminiscence of the two children in the next room :—

(1) *A Blot on the 'Scutcheon* was brought out at Drury Lane in 1843 and failed. Macready also acted in *Strafford*, but without success.

"Now! but tread softly—children are at play
In the next room. Precede: I follow."

At the close of the drama, however, which surely might have been made so fine, Browning seems designedly to shrink from the natural scenic catastrophe. All that we have is a couple of contrasted speeches from Strafford and Pym, and the curtain falls, not on the properly *dramatic* interest of Strafford's own personality, but on an *historical* interest, the prophecy of the next death which England's salvation may entail. "England, I am thine own," says Pym.

"dost thou exact
That service? I obey thee to the end."

This is a characteristic instance of the predominance of the literary and historic interest over the dramatic; for observe that the feeling the reader is left with is not the pathos of Strafford's loyalty and its melancholy issue, but the external and superfluous interest that Pym and his fellows may have next time to strike at a nobler prey.

In the choice of subjects for drama, one of Browning's least pleasing characteristics is discovered. It can hardly be denied that there appears in his poems, over and over again, a deliberate preference for the irregular and unhealthy phenomena of human nature and life. Here and there Browning is a naturalist, according to the most rigorous standard of M. Zola. He seems to lay more stress on passion than love, on hypocrisy than truth, on disease than health, on vice than virtue. It is not the moral Puritan alone who would so judge him. Undoubtedly the dramatic elements in life are, more often than not, concerned with the abnormal relations of mankind to one another; this is one of the reasons why the professed moralist is usually intolerant of dramatic art. But it is not the moral point of view but the artistic which is here of importance, and if Browning is to be condemned for "realism" it must be because it is inartistic, not because it paints immoral relations. That excessive stress on the ugly and the morbid is inartistic, surely needs no demonstration. The case stands just as if we were judging a landscape or a portrait. A successful picture is one in which lifelike detail is strictly subordinated to general effect of light, tone, and colour. A successful drama is one in which plot and counterplot, intrigue and passion, are subordinated to those general relations of life which we call human and natural. Life is not all meanness or vice, any more than a cornfield is all pre-Raphaelite poppies, or a human face all photographic moles and wrinkles. Now a dramatic writer who lays emphatic stress on the morbid phases of life is guilty of this kind of inartistic realism: he is painting not on the broad lines of a general effect which is what we see and feel to be "natural," but isolating

one or two ugly particulars, so that the true perspective is distorted. It is to this realistic level that Browning sometimes descends. An almost inexplicable love of the irregular and unhealthy spoils some of his best effects. In one of the finest of his shorter plays, the *Blot on the 'Scutcheon*, the whole interest turns on the immoral relations of the hero and heroine. What makes the drama is the fact that Mildred and Mertoun, who are about to be formally married, have in reality consummated their union before. Perhaps so far the situation is not dramatically illegitimate; but when we find that these two characters began their clandestine meetings when they were almost children, that they are not the characters of mingled goodness and badness which experience in such matters might create, but represented as living models of purity ("a depth of purity immovable," is the expression of Tresham, the murderer of the youthful gallant), it is impossible to avoid the criticism that such a situation, ending as it does in a triple death, is almost grotesquely abnormal. In *Pippa Passes* we have even stronger indications of the same characteristic trait. Ottima and Sebald have purchased their guilty meetings by the murder of Ottima's husband. Phene, who becomes by the devices of jealous fellow-students Jules's wife, is a young Greek girl, a daughter of that hag, Natalia, so she swears, who "helps us to models at three lire an hour;". Monsignor is a vicious hypocrite; Ugo, a blood-stained accomplice in crime; Bluphocks is so repulsive a monstrosity that the poet has in his own defence to quote the apologetic text that "he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good." Nor in the other dramas is there any lack of suggestion of the same unhealthy background, even where vice does not form the main interest. There is the usual hint of the baseness and meanness of humanity in *The Druses*, in the plots of the Prefect and the Chapter; in *Colombe's Birthday* in the Courtiers, in *A Soul's Tragedy* in the character of Chiappino: sometimes a repulsive touch mars a pretty picture of love. When Anael is describing the growing relations between herself and Djabal—

> "Oh, my happiness
> Rounds to the full, whether I choose or no!
> His eyes met mine, he was about to speak,
> His hand grew damp."

Is it not a wilful realism to add that unpleasant fact of a "damp hand," which physiologists tell us is the external counterpart and sign of strong emotion?

The reason for this love of the unnatural and the morbid is not far to seek. Browning is a student of the shady side of life because he is so disposed to keen psychological analysis, and it is obvious how dependent psychology is on the study of pathological states. But the relation of psychology to drama is like that of anatomy to

the statuary's art; it is a necessary propædeutic. To bring psychological analysis in its raw and crude state into drama, is to introduce a page, say of Herbert Spencer, into one of Shelley's lyrics; for a piece of artistic work is eminently synthetic—the putting together and reconstruction of elements elsewhere disentangled. Analysis must precede but not form part of the completed work, just as the scaffolding must not be built into the finished house. It is indeed the very crown and perfection of Art that it should appear so independent of, and yet so necessarily involve, previous analytic study. How much psychological analysis—whether conscious or unconscious—must have preceded the creation of a Macbeth, or an Othello, or, above all, a Hamlet! Even in the last-mentioned character, where there is most of the mental disentanglement of motives and desires in monologues and soliloquies, the psychology is strictly subordinated to the drama. Why else should we have so many commentaries on Hamlet, so many monographs to prove exactly what his character was or was not? But Browning's characters need no commentary. The poet himself is, in the speeches which he puts into their mouths, the most unwearied and exhaustive of commentators. Luria takes eighty lines of patient self-analysis to reveal himself to the audience in Act IV., before he drinks the fatal phial. King Victor, when he returns to the palace he had bequeathed to his son Charles, explains himself in a speech of eighty-two lines. When Constance is expounding to Norbert (in *In a Balcony*) the mental condition of the Queen, her analysis extends over fifty-three lines in one speech and sixty-one in a second. Djabal and Anael, in one of their most critical meetings (in *The Druses*), when Anael is trying to get rid of her worldly leanings towards Loys, and Djabal is in the throes of conscious hypocrisy, commence their interview with fifty-four lines of commentary on their own motives, conveyed in two asides to the audience. Let any actor or actress imagine how he or she is to represent a lovers' meeting which commences in so inauspicious a fashion! In all this there is too much of the art which adds to nature and too little of the higher art which nature makes.

Nor is Browning's analysis of such a kind that he who runs may read. On the contrary, it is most intricate and involved, sounding the depths of human passion and measuring the windings of the human intellect in language which sufficiently taxes the understanding when read in the study, and which is often simply incomprehensible when listened to for the first time. There is no such an explorer of the human mind as Browning; he is, above all, the mental philosopher, the acute psychologist, the unflinching vivisector, the literary surgeon who wields the knife over the quivering nerves and flesh of humanity. And hence the character of which Browning is conspicuously fond is the philosophic student of life,

like Ogniben in a *Soul's Tragedy*, or Melchior in *Colombe's Birthday*, or D'Ormea in *King Victor and King Charles*. Browning has in these matters the true instincts of a metaphysician, but the metaphysical instinct does not always lead to the best or the truest dramatic portraiture. Hence it is rarely possible to feel quite at home with Browning's heroes; the reason probably being that there are certain stages of the ideal, at which all dramatic treatment becomes absurd, the material means of the theatre being inadequate to its representation.

In the delineation of character it is curious to observe how much more important and interesting the male characters are made than the female. It is over his Chiappinos, his Straffords, his Victors, his Lurias, his Djabals, that Browning spends most care and elaboration. There are few good acting parts for women in his dramas. If we take twelve of his female characters, we shall find that six (Eulalia, Polyxena, Gwendolen, Colombe, Pippa, and Lady Carlyle) are all more or less mere sketches of character, three (Ottima, Phene, and Domizia) have some moral taint, and only three are carefully drawn and interesting characters, viz. Constance, Mildred, and Anael. Of these three, the first appears in the scene *In a Balcony*, which, splendidly written as it is, can hardly be called actable, owing to the slenderness of treatment; the second is the principal figure in the *Blot on the 'Scutcheon*, who has entered on an intrigue with the hero before the action of the play commences; the third, Anael, though she commits murder and suicide, is undoubtedly a true, womanly, and dramatic creation. It would be difficult to say what is Browning's view as to the key-note of a woman's character. If one may judge from Constance and Colombe and Anael, it would appear to be self-sacrifice—the endless giving up of herself to the man. The same lesson is brought out in a somewhat unpleasing way in other passages. A moral which Browning seems rather fond of in describing the relations of man to woman is that the man is capable of loving many women (witness *Any Wife to any Husband*, *James Lee's Wife*, *Fifine at the Fair*), while the woman can only surrender herself to the one particular man. It would be interesting to know what some of the ladies who study Browning think of this very masculine moral.

However slightly the women may be drawn, the male characters are almost uniformly psychological studies of great care and detail. This is true not only of the large and more obtrusive personalities, but also of the subordinate. Chiappino, for instance, who appears in the slight sketch called a *Soul's Tragedy*, is a study of the demoralisation of an enlightened but selfish democrat. Tresham, in the *Blot on the 'Scutcheon*, is a type of the aristocrat, narrow minded, but gallant, jealous of his family's honour. Prince Berthold, in *Colombe's*

Birthday, is the cold and scheming man of ambition, who takes love as he takes everything else, as an instrument solely of successful progress. In *Luria* we have the outlines of a contrast on the one hand between two soldier-characters, the simple Moor and the more subtle Florentine who preceded him in the command, and on the other hand between two Florentines, Puccio, who though subtle is generous, and *Braccio*, who is subtle and heartless. King Victor is one of the best creations of all—the prince who, full of fire, audacity, and dissimulation, thinks, and falsely thinks, that a life spent in battle and diplomatic scheming can suddenly be changed to one of rural simplicity and retirement.

In such characters as Strafford and Djabal the psychology is deeper and the analysis more careful. Nothing can be more pathetically tragic than the spectacle of a man who, like King Charles's minister, attempts to benefit his country by measures which his country's fate has condemned. Contradictory motives are struggling for the mastery, early friendship battling with a subsequent duty, old associations with affectionate loyalty. On the one side are Pym and Hampden, ranged with all the new-born forces of a country waking to the consciousness of its freedom. On the other an almost strained sense of devotion to a worthless and fickle monarch in the midst of a corrupt and intriguing court, backed by the doubtful tenderness of a Lady Carlyle. The drama works up to its close with the great problem of Strafford's duty left unsolved. There is no absolute duty, no absolute standard of judgment; to be on Pym's side is to forecast the issues of a doubtful future; to be on Charles's side is to listen to voices that seem nearer and dearer—love, loyalty, and conscience. Here is a situation of truly dramatic interest. We feel the contrast in the two final speeches, and balance alternate sympathy with each. "Have I done well?" says Pym.

> "Speak, England! whose sole sake
> I still have laboured for, with disregard
> To my own heart."

And Strafford answers :—

> "I have loved England too; we'll meet then, Pym!
> As well die now! Youth is the only time
> To think and to decide on a great course:
> Manhood with action follows: but 'tis dreary
> To have to alter our whole life in age—
> The time past, the strength gone! as well die now.
> When we meet, Pym, I'd be set right, not now!"

Noble and true speeches, to both of which in chorus fashion we would fain assent. We would suffer with Strafford and share the aspirations of Pym.

But *Strafford* is not so fine a drama as *The Druses*, nor is the character of its hero equal in subtlety to the character of Djabal.

Djabal is a hypocrite and a hero by turns; he half believes in his mission to lead his people home, and yet knows that his prophetic garb is an imposture. Sometimes the nakedness of his deceit stands revealed, sometimes his right to command is based on the true feeling that he is intellectually superior to his tribe. Must not a people be deceived by some Platonic "noble lie" for their good? Is not his claim to be Hakeem the one chance which the Druses have to regain the cedars of Lebanon? Is not he at heart unselfish, statesmanlike, patriotic? And the touchstone of all his sophisms is a woman's devotion:—

> "I with my Arab instinct, thwarted ever
> By my Frank policy,—and with, in turn,
> My Frank brain thwarted by my Arab heart—
> While these remained in equipoise, I lived
> Nothing: had either been predominant,
> As a Frank schemer or an Arab mystic,
> I had been something: now each has destroyed
> The other, and behold from out their crash,
> A third and better nature rises up
> My mere man's nature!"

Anael at least must know the truth, Anael, who is trying all the while to make herself love him for no other reason than because he is her country's prophet, who is seeking to drown her girl-like leanings towards Loys in the blood of the Prefect, who is desiring to rise on the stepping-stones of her dead love to the higher levels of godhead. Anael is perhaps the one thoroughly admirable and life-like woman's character in Browning's drama, and perhaps it would be hardly unjust to add that *The Return of the Druses* is the one magnificently elaborated play, magnificent alike in the scenic display of its acts, the evolution of its characters, and the force and eloquence of its literature. There could hardly be a more interesting spectacle for a generation which despairs of its contemporary dramatists than *The Druses*, represented, let us say, on the Lyceum stage, with Mr. Irving as Djabal and Miss Ellen Terry as Anael. The mingled craftiness, intellectual strength, and innate nobleness of the impostor is just one of those characters which Mr. Irving seems most capable of illustrating; and the tenderness, and the doubts, and the despair, and the treachery of Anael could hardly find a better representative than that actress who wins enthusiastic suffrages by her gracefulness and melodious tones, even where true tragic depth is wanting. Heaven help the actors who have to recite some of the speeches, with their involutions and their parentheses and their prolixity! But the scenic background is adequate to the needs of even this spectacle-loving age. When Shakspere runs its thousand and one nights, perhaps Browning's drama—literary, academic, impracticable, and "caviare to the general"—may yet be found to have "its first, supreme, forsaken star."

W. L. COURTNEY.

SOME ASPECTS OF LORD RIPON'S POLICY.

It is not often that so much excitement is generated by Indian affairs as at present. The wisest Anglo-Indians have always deprecated the admission of party-passions into the Indian policy of the empire. At this moment it seems almost impossible that Indian policy should not become a party question. May it be permitted to a humble but impartial unit of the Anglo-Indian community to appeal to men on both sides, and ask respectfully that the few words he has to say on the subject may be considered on their merits, apart from those purely English feelings and interests which have hitherto been generally kept out of Indian administration, with more or less success?

In regard to self-government—which will be seen ultimately to be infinitely the most important of Lord Ripon's measures—it really is not a thing that is more characteristic of Whigs than of Tories. It is *social* rather than *political*; and social reform, even here, is of no party. But it has been rather crudely and hastily brought in; and we may still ask whether it was necessary that the measure should be extended beyond the areas of large towns, such as very evidently possessed some means of using it, and be extended, still further, to rural communities, which obviously have not. In this latter sentence I may be charged with anticipating the conclusion by a sort of *petitio principii*. To such a charge it could only be replied, that nothing else can be done. I have lately consulted native opinion in the rural districts of Hindustan, and have met with no variation, so soon as it was perceived that real information was being sought for, without *parti pris*. In the rural communities, nay, in the country municipalities, there is no body of men combining leisure, skill, and public spirit (in the English sense of the word) requisite to form governing boards capable of acting efficiently and actively without official guidance. And, if the people understood that the proposed measure might involve an increase to the rates, I believe they would themselves spontaneously decline the instalment of "Home Rule" that is being thus thrust upon them in the room of their indigenous village-system, or (in towns) of that officialised system on which the present generation has grown up.

The following is the latest reported expression of the native opinion:—

"The problem of the introduction of local self-government, in a country containing a large diversity of races and creeds . . . at various stages of advancement in civilisation, is one which must severely tax the ingenuity and skill of any administrator or governor. . . . We cordially recognise that the presence of some of the local officers in the Committee secures to us a continuity of

system and a breadth of view, based on their wide experience, benefits of which the value can hardly be overstated. We would regret any change in our constitution which deprived us of their assistance in our consultations."—Address of the Agra Municipal Commissioners to the Lieut.-Governor N. W. P., 2nd Feb. 1883.

With regard, however, to the primary question, local government *is*, in a certain shape, desirable for India; provided always that it can be sufficiently controlled by officials to ensure its efficiency, economy, and impartial action. In the great cities it has, under those conditions, worked fairly well for many years; and official control is often reduced to a minimum. As civilisation proceeds, this minimum can, and will, be safely reduced still farther. At the city whose recent expression of opinion we have just seen (Agra), at Lahore, at Dehli, at Allahabad, and in many cities and towns of the Bombay and Madras provinces, populations of over one hundred thousand have for some time past contributed largely to the levying and spending of their own rates. In what are called "the Presidency towns" independence has become still more complete, as also in Hill-Sanitaria, where there is a large white population. Nowhere, indeed, has the official element quite disappeared, but in many places it is being gradually eliminated, and it is in none of them overwhelming. So much must be conceded to the Viceroy and his supporters, among whom, however, it is not without surprise that one finds the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, who has been the first to volunteer the legislative introduction of the scheme into that backward region. Certainly there, more than in most parts of the country, it will be wise to frame autonomous institutions, with a considerable modicum of official supervision, until the boards shall have proved themselves competent to go on alone.

If such be the necessity in regard to Anglicised committees in large towns, it will be found to be still more marked when we come to village groups, and to the small towns that are the chief places of districts or sub-districts. Here, as need scarcely be explained, all has hitherto been done by or under the control of an official of the prefect sort. These officers are known in various parts by various titles; but are generally vested with considerable executive powers, required to inspect in other departments, and recognised by the governments, local and supreme, as the mouthpiece of the populations committed to their charge—averaging about a million for each district. One does not like to repeat Oxenstiern's stock phrase; but surely there was little wisdom in the course first adopted by Lord Ripon, when he enjoined on his subordinate agents that these officers were not to be members of the boards or local committees that might be elected in the districts. So far as my observation goes, this ukase bewildered the electors to such an extent that they

totally neglected it. Submissive to orders as the people of rural India usually are, this was quite too much for them. When the result of the elections was known, it appeared that the district officer was universally (or almost universally) named, not only as a member of the board, but its chairman. And this was very natural. Allusion has been already made to the unwillingness of competent native men of business to neglect their own affairs in order to undertake the unpaid and uncongenial drudgery of administration. The people, then, felt that one of two things must happen. Either these men would take office, or they would not. If they did, they would seek compensation for their time and trouble; and all sorts of malpractice would creep in, till every branch of local administration became inefficient and rotten. If they did not, their places would be taken by the briefless pleaders and the editors of unimportant little local newspapers; by men always adventurers, and sometimes malcontents. The only remedy, it was instinctively felt, was that the boards should be subject to the direction of those independent and experienced officials by whom the work had hitherto been done.

Lest it should be thought that these statements are needlessly pessimistic, let us glance at one item of the most vital importance. If Governments have any reason of existence, it is manifestly, above all things, the protection of life and property. In all Indian towns the watch-and-ward is done by constables, paid indeed out of the rates, and distinguished by badges from the police of the district, but nominated, disciplined, allocated, and ruled by the district superintendents of police. There can be no room for doubt that if these municipal watchmen should be handed over to the management of an undirected committee, whether composed of adventurers or of unwilling citizens, the vacancies would be filled by discharged servants, and other unqualified recruits enlisted for a *douceur*; or, perhaps, not always filled at all. This gradually deteriorating *personnel*, absolved from the bonds of discipline and disconnected entirely from the district force, would do little duty, and would do that little badly; and ultimately the towns would be left to the tender mercies of the roughs. It is useless to argue against this forecast; the writer of these lines appeals to all who, like himself, had charge of districts before the present police organization was introduced. Was not some such state of things characteristic of the old *chaukidári* system? To divest the district officers of all power in the new Boards would, in this, as in other directions, be a step of distinct and disastrous retrogression.[1]

The mistake thus, for a time at least, corrected by popular instinct, is one of the same origin as that made by Lord Cornwallis in intro-

(1) The old *chaukidars* of towns were nominally under the magistrate, but from press of other work he usually left them pretty much in the hands of native committees.

ducing the famous permanent settlement of land revenue in Bengal. Lord Cornwallis was a distinguished specimen of that class of territorial magnates who, in the British Isles, had succeeded in turning a feudal tenure originally given for public service into a fee-simple of landed principalities. By fixing the demand on land in perpetuity, he thought he could create a class in India who would present similar (and as he naturally conceived) salutary features. Lord Ripon is a distinguished nobleman of the same class, who probably feels convinced that, outside the field of politics, there are few more useful positions than that of a Chairman of Quarter Sessions; and honestly believes that it is an excess of tyranny to leave those great functions to be discharged by a foreign hireling. But this theory is not recognised in Oriental public opinion. It is European; and is founded on the elementary error of *Doctrinaire* politics, that (as the late Right Hon. James Wilson put it) what is a sound principle for one country is a sound one for all others. In the East, the integer of autonomy is the *commune*, or "village." Give the name of "ward" to a similar integer in small towns, and you have all the extension which the Oriental mind admits. So long as he can beat his own wife, spoil his own children, share in the common agriculture, in the common pasturage (or plunder as the case may be), and in the annual distribution of land or of rents, he asks no more. And the Hindu villager (at any rate) does not care who rules the district, or what becomes of the villages to right and left of his own. The poorer resident of a town has even fewer corporate notions. But all agree that it is the business of the Government to govern, to make provision for whatever goes on beyond the mystic horizon of each.

One and all desire the minimum of trouble and the minimum of fiscal burden. That is their idea of freedom.

But in the larger towns, as already observed, there must be both trouble and burden. The police and hygiene of gatherings of men, which are increasing on an unprecedented scale under the *Pax Britannica*, must be managed. The requirements of an advancing civilisation demand an ever-advancing expenditure. Funds for this cannot be raised without a system of ways and means, which, if not official, must have that amount of official attention that will be required to make them uniform, fair, and inoppressive. Yet it is of the very essence of self-government that there should be a popular control of ways and means. This may be feasible in the great municipalities, but no one, with due experience, can venture to say that rural India is at present ripe for anything of the kind. The first rider to the decree for self-government—and it is essential to it if it is to work well—must be this: Whatever boards or committees are formed in the outlying districts and small towns, and however they may be otherwise constituted, all must be under the presidentship of the district officer, or of some one appointed by him on his

own responsibility. Selected towns, to be named by the local government, may, perhaps, be placed under independent boards with power to admit such official elements into their body as they may find requisite; provided always that they have a competent health officer, a competent engineer, and that their watch and ward shall come in some way or other under the ultimate control of the government officers of police. And provision must be made, by legislative or other governmental authority, that the funds raised shall be raised by methods that will bear a proper ratio to the power of the various classes to pay and to the benefits to be received by each class. As an illustration, let it be mentioned that the writer is acquainted with a city in Hindustan where a revenue averaging a rupee a head was raised, chiefly by an *octroi* on necessaries, and yet there was no citizen so poor but that he had to buy his daily supply of water from a man who carried it about the streets in goatskins. Taking five to a family and looking to the different scale of living, this is as if a British householder had to pay £3 per annum, exclusive of water-rates.

In their very useful book, Sir J. and General Strachey give the municipal taxation of India at about a million and a quarter. In the last printed *Statistical Abstract* (which appeared later, and gives the figures apparently up to April, 1881) the total was £1,428,627, besides £700,800 for the three Presidency towns. The incidence, per head of the population, was 1r. 10as. and 7rs. 2as. respectively. But as every man, in a rural municipality at least, is married, and as large families are the rule, we must multiply these figures by five. Each head of a family in a provincial municipality thus contributes 8rs. 2as. annually, on an average, to the very slender modicum of civilisation provided; that is to say, good roads, imperfect drainage, oil-lamps (in very small numbers), and an indifferently efficient watch and ward. And this payment represents about a month's income—or about 9 per cent.—over and above their contributions to the imperial revenue. It is not possible by analysis to determine in what proportion the very poor are relieved and brought below this average by the excess payments of the very rich; but more than a third of the whole income was derived from *octròi*, or barrier duties, upon articles of general consumption, the greater portion of the residue being the produce of taxation proper. With all this the people took but little interest in the matter. In the Calcutta municipality—where no official element existed and where the incidence of income rose as high as 16s. 4d. *a head*[1]—"every effort was made to induce the electors to take the trouble to vote, but the number of persons who exercised the franchise was altogether insignificant."—(*Progress and Condition of India*, 1879–80.) If a similar inquiry had been made

(1) Calcutta has gas and water works. The average incidence per family must be very considerable there.

as to provincial towns, it would have been found that public spirit was not more active there than in the Presidency. In the Central Provinces (whose chief, Mr. Morris, has since thrown a heavy vote for self-government) it was admitted in the same report that, in the "small municipalities there was still too great an inclination to look to the district authorities for initiation of public improvement." Poor Central Provincials! It does seem hard that they should be blamed, be it ever so gently, for looking to their rulers to do what those rulers had always appeared to be appointed and paid for doing.

Now, it is a fact, and a very pleasing fact, that these town-dues, rates on land,[1] and local taxes being excepted, the necessary contributions of the people of India to the revenues of the country are very trifling. Regard being had to the enormous yearly expenditure of the empire, it is not a little consolatory to find that the imperial taxation only furnishes 27 per cent. of the total. If every soul of the population paid alike, the payment of each would come to just one rupee a year, or, say, five rupees per family. But in point of fact almost the only obligatory impost is the salt-tax, a capitation of about sevenpence per head . but becoming more or less in proportion to the number of each household.

It much vexes financiers of a certain school that the "rich" of India pay so little. But it will be seen from what has been said that the poor pay scarcely anything at all—in the way, that is, of imperial revenue. The main fact to be borne in mind is that the poor are (roughly speaking) nearly, if not quite, four-fifths of the whole population; there are in India few paupers and still fewer millionaires, and the revenue has always been collected in halfpence, since the days of the Mughals.[2]

Attempts to reach the money-bags of the few capitalists and large traders has been constantly made since the days of the lamented James Wilson; but all these attempts have ended in utter failure, besides producing a good deal of friction and discontent. Many of the complaints and objections that have been thus originated are encountered by the Stracheys in the book just cited. Especially is it urged that the voice of the prosperous is not the voice of the people, and that it is absurd to talk of a tax being unpopular when the people are not affected. But this argument is deprived of such force as it may have ever had by the present policy. If India is to have self-government, that means in other words that it is to be governed through the instrumentality of the prosperous classes; for it cannot be expected that the governing bodies will largely consist of operatives and day labourers. The voice of the classes exclusively or almost exclusively engaged in self-government must needs be

(1) Of these more anon.

(2) An accountant of Akbar's time stated the total revenue of that empire in an integer of which sixty-four went to the rupee.

listened to in regard to such questions as these. The income-tax was always objected to by those who were assessed; and was finally abolished by Lord Northbrook, as business-like and sagacious a nobleman as ever governed India. Probably its reimposition may be regarded as having been ruled out. In its place we for the present find only a sort of class impost called "licence tax," yielding about half a million a year; the incomes of officials, priests, and prostitutes being exempted, as also those of handicraftsmen and petty traders. To this complexion have we come at last. May it not be taken as concluded that direct taxation has been found unsuited for the purposes of Imperial revenue in India?

Besides the Imperial revenue and the income raised by the municipalities, however, there is a further income, principally derived from rates upon land, and amounting to, say, £2,882,125.[1] This item, with the total of the town-dues, forms an aggregate sum of over four millions, which is spent by the various local governments at their several and respective pleasures; and it is, no doubt, fitting that over that expenditure (as over any further expenditure that may be found necessary for local purposes) the people should have such control as they are able and willing to exercise. The most stubborn Conservative could hardly object to this. Care should only be taken not to force the thing mechanically into communities where the will and ability do not yet exist. Even the indiscriminate advocates of the present policy (sound and wise where introduced *with* discrimination) do not generally desire that such communities should be trusted to raise funds. But this is not enough. They ought not to be trusted to spend them; for there is, in truth, very little difference between one function and the other. If a lazy or corrupt board were to husband their resources to the neglect of obvious requirements, there would arise a balance at the end of the year, the result of which might be a reduction in the local rates for the future, at the expense of efficiency; or else there might be a deficit, due to improper lavishness, which might call for an enhancement at the expense of economy. Demagogues may be unwilling to tax their neighbours and constituents, and may have recourse to indirect roads to popularity. Petty despots, on the other hand, may (we have heard of such cases in America) set on foot a system of jobbery which would run the cities into heavy obligations.

It has been already observed that self-government must work through the prosperous. The prosperous will not brook direct taxation for Imperial purposes. In their view it is not fair to take money from an unrepresented community to spend it on objects in which they have no interest or direct concern. It has been shown by experience that this feeling cannot be safely neglected. The

(1) This is the figure taken by Messrs. Strachey.

trading and propertied men of India are not numerous, nor is their power very obviously displayed; but they have many ways of thwarting and obstructing an alien government. Besides their influence over the masses (an influence exerted not only through vernacular journals, but through a variety of other, and often hidden, channels), there is the power that they exercise of influencing local officials. Let a district officer, or his assistant, be ever so anxious to get at the true state of public opinion, it is the classes here mentioned who have the monopoly of conveying it. The poor, in the first place, are too busy in their fields and workshops to talk much to the "Hákims"; and, in the next, they have really no opinions to convey. It is the comfortable, the plausible, the large landholder, and the native banker, who throng the verandah of the Sahib's bungalow in the hot season and attend his camp in the winter; and it is necessarily from them that what public opinion exists among the natives filters up through the district officers by a sort of moral endosmosis till it is dialysed into the atmosphere of head-quarters.

Happily there is no necessity for directly taxing the few rich natives for Imperial purposes. I say "happily," for it has been well shown by Messrs. Strachey that, of all the various schemes that have been from time to time suggested for this purpose, there is hardly one that is free from fatal objections. The rich man, as it is, consumes more salt and excisable produce, he holds more land, he uses more stamps. Let us leave him thus, and be content to let well alone, or to reserve direct assessment for local use.

The above statements may startle those who have learned from our modern pessimists that the sole result of British rule in India has been a state of universal pauperism. The following analysis of the Imperial expenditure, however, will show that, whatever poverty may exist, it is not caused by over-taxation:—Assuming 67 to be the figure of total expenditure, about 4 is the deficit of the year (1881), 21¾ the share of rents collected by the State, 3 the excise, 2¾ the provincial rates, 7 the salt revenue, nearly 10½ the opium, 3¼ the stamps, over 2½ the customs, ½ the licence-tax, ¾ the forests, less than 1 the court and legislation fees; and the rest are miscellaneous items that are received by departments, such as the Post Office, which spend as much as they receive. It will be seen that the salt revenue is the only item necessarily contributed to by the poor. The share of rent is, of course, taken from small farms as from large, but it is a permanent charge under which the land has always been transferred, and its incidence has been gradually reduced from the whole rent (which was theoretically taken by most native governors) to 50 per cent., at which it has been now fixed in many parts of British India.[1]

(1) *V. Fawcett's Manual of Political Economy*, p. 563.

The excise is levied upon articles of which the consumption is optional and, for the most part, objectionable; the opium-revenue, in the same way, is a tax on vice, chiefly paid by foreigners; and so of the rest it is clear that they are mainly paid by the prosperous. We will not say "by the rich"; there are so few rich in India. There are, no doubt, a few very rich men—namely, the rulers, or mediatised rulers, of principalities. How far the sum (under three-quarters of a million) paid as tribute can be taken as representing their fair share of the expenses of a power to whose protection and control they owe their peace and affluence is a political question at bottom, which need not be discussed here. All that it concerns us to note is that there are few large fortunes in British India, and few persons living in actual pauperism. There is a low level of living, and a deficiency of reserve capital to meet disaster withal. But there is neither universal bankruptcy nor crushing incidence of taxation. From a table showing the ideal incidence of taxation on the population of British India, 1881-2, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of a very high authority, I have found that a working man in India contributes less than five days' subsistence yearly to the Imperial revenues, on an average of provinces—more in one and less in another—while one who should fall under each alike would contribute about one month's. But this is only regarding a workhouse diet as "subsistence." The extremely poor who use no higher dietary do not, as has been already pointed out, ever, by any possibility, come under all the heads of taxation. Nor can the land-revenue be called a tax, any more than the English tithes or any other permanent rent-charge. The land-revenue is about half the nett Imperial income, when opium is deducted. The remaining total, or taxation proper, comes to 14·12as., say about eighteen pence; but the analysis shows that it does not fall upon the poor. The prosperous, the comfortable, they who use stamps and exciseable produce, who buy goods imported through the Custom-house, and who come under the sweep of assessed taxes, must necessarily pay a good deal more than the rates stated in the table; so the poor pay much less.

Such being the nature of Indian taxation, it is evident that, while there is no just ground for complaint in the incidence of Imperial demand, there is considerable room for increase in local rating. It may further be concluded that such increase will be the necessary corollary and consequence of self-government.

So far, then, we see that the main element of Lord Ripon's new system is wise and generous. But it is liable to two *caveats*. Having been put on the stage without due consideration, it must, so to speak, be altered in rehearsal. And it must depend for success, in the end, rather on its practical merits than on its apparent popularity, for it

will disappoint expectation when closely examined and practically tried. The exercise of the functions of a voter will be found to involve an increase of local taxation; the exercise of the functions of a member will be found to involve an increase of trouble and work. There will, moreover, be a danger of the poorer classes being oppressed unless the district officers take up an attitude of something more than external criticism and negative control. Thus, for example, the writer has known instances, even under the old *régime*, where Hindu municipalities have endeavoured to debar the Mohamadan poor from the slaughter of cattle, and therefore from the use of beef. This, if the English officials had not interposed, would have first caused a riot, and then brought the poor to something like starvation; their habits and means being duly considered, it will be plain to all who know the country that without beef the urban Muslims cannot live. Such extreme cases might not be common, even under the new system. But it is well in any case to remember that the British position in India is chiefly strong in virtue of its umpire-like character between sections of the population extremely ill-disposed towards each other. Again, the wealthy Hindu men of business, who will undoubtedly preponderate on the boards, will try to levy funds by methods whose chief recommendation will be that it will spare their own property. Chiefly will they affect the *octroi*, or barrier-due system; which will act mainly on the poor consumer, and, in a secondary degree, will spread over the commerce of the country as a transit-duty.

Still the self-government measure (whether popular or not) is so important as a stage in political evolution, that it dwarfs all minor features of the new policy. It is really a minor feature, for example, whether native magistrates are clothed with authority over a particular class of the community, or whether a particular class be allowed privileges of an exceptional kind in criminal courts. It is both the interest and the duty of the British Government that India should be ruled on liberal principles, and that its various populations should be admitted to a share in the management of their own affairs, proportioned to the advance that each may have made in political growth and progress. The people—so far as it can be proper to gather so many and such varied communities under one description—are industrious, temperate, frugal, and submissive to law; and their great and immediate want is not to share in the government, but to be governed. It is, perhaps, a failure to appreciate this essential difference between the development of society there and here that has caused the ill-success which has, to a certain degree and despite of generous intentions, clouded the policy of the present Viceroy.

H. G. KEENE.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It is satisfactory to know that the course which has been consistently urged upon the Government in the pages of this Review is to be taken, and that Parliament will not be prorogued till the greater portion of the Ministerial programme, as originally set forth in the Queen's Speech in February last, has been disposed of. On the day following that on which these lines are written Mr. Gladstone will address a meeting of his followers, and will inform them that the Cabinet has decided upon dropping the Government of London Bill, but upon proceeding with the Tenants' Compensation and Corrupt Practices Bills, as well as with the bills now before the Grand Committees—the Bankruptcy, the Patent, the Criminal Appeals, and, should it come back to the House of Commons at a reasonable time, the Criminal Code Bills. Although there is reason to believe that Ministers in Downing Street did not adopt this arrangement by a unanimous vote, it will be hailed with approval and with relief by the large bulk of the electors in the country, and by the Liberal party in Parliament. A long-standing scandal was growing to intolerable proportions, and unless some drastic step had been taken the advent of August would have witnessed the House of Commons engaged in the same paltry, pitiable, and profitless wrangles which have occupied it, with a few brief intervals of productive work, since the beginning of the year. On reassembling after the Whitsuntide recess the House found the condition of ministerial measures to be as follows. Four had been remitted to the grand and three to select committees; four more had reached the committee stage, while one awaited consideration in its amended form; nineteen had still to be read a second time; three money Bills, the Army Annual Bill, and the Explosives Bill had become law. What—such was the question which every one asked—would actually have been done when the prorogation came? and how, if the record of the session were not to be a blank, was the reproach of sterility to be avoided? One thing was perfectly plain; there was a growing impatience in the country of the delays interposed in the path of legislation, and of the inability, from whatever cause, of Ministers to redeem their promises. This feeling found articulate voice in several resolutions and memorials submitted to the Government, and the moral of the fact was not unheeded by the majority of members of the Liberal party themselves. Gloomy as the prospect seemed, no one seriously doubted that if Mr. Gladstone were to resolve to press forward his programme, as he had done in

past years, he would rally his supporters in and out of Parliament around him. On the other hand it was feared that the energies of the Prime Minister were diminishing, and that he lacked something of the spirit which he was once able with such powerful effect to communicate to others.

As it is the policy pursued by the Prime Minister is at once candid, courageous, and inspiring. One of those periods which occur in the history of every party had arrived when languor takes the place of energy and enthusiasm, and when the failure to apply the necessary remedies might easily be followed by disorganization and defeat. Two years ago Mr. Gladstone convened a meeting of the Liberal party with admirable effect. It was clear from the first that the time was once more ripe for the adoption of this expedient, and that if the Prime Minister were to meet his followers with a frank statement of the condition of public business in Parliament, and were to put it generally to them whether they were willing that the rest of the session should be wasted, there was no doubt whatever as to the reply he would elicit. We may almost venture now to speak in the past tense—to say that these anticipations have been justified by results, and that the Liberal members of the House of Commons, an assembly representing the deliberate opinion of the constituencies, have declared in favour of fulfilling the greater portion of the ministerial programme. Fulfilled, before the Houses rises for the autumn recess, it will be accordingly. It was clearly necessary to do something, especially after the reverses of the 3rd and 4th of May. Nothing was to be gained by ignoring the circumstance that their defeat on the Affirmation Bill had weakened the Government. Better, indeed, that the measure should have been lost at once than that the second reading should have been carried by anything short of an overwhelming majority, and of such a majority there was never a reasonable prospect. But the damaging associations of disaster remained, even though the disaster itself was preferable to the only kind of victory that was possible. Ministers had lost something of the pride and glamour of their invincibility; their position was sensibly weakened, and they could not too soon take decisive steps to make good the ground which they had been compelled to yield. If they had accepted their reverse submissively the consequences might have been fatal; by showing that their spirit and courage are not diminished, they will soon discover that what they have encountered is a check rather than a calamity. There now remains some fifteen months, roughly speaking, before a dissolution will inevitably arrive. It depends entirely upon the manner in which the interval is employed by the Government whether Liberal members will meet their constituencies in the autumn with a strong and just presentiment of triumph, or with a misgiving that may be the harbinger of overthrow. Let us suppose that between now and Sep-

tember a solid proportion of the Government bills have been satisfactorily disposed of. This will enable Ministers to justify, as they scarcely can do at present, their existence as legislators, and appear on public platforms without any parade of apologies and excuses. Then will come the session of 1884—the final one, as there can be no doubt it will prove, of the present Parliament. Without venturing into the regions of prophecy, we may assume that this will be devoted exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the county franchise. Should that measure be thrown out by the House of Lords, the most exacting Liberal could desire no better cry, and, as far as it can ever be safe to predict in politics, the Liberal party would carry all before them in the constituencies.

But the essential condition of success, whether in the immediate or proximate future, is that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues should rouse themselves to really strenuous efforts. They are committed to do this by the results of the meeting which the Prime Minister has convened. If they relax their efforts they will afford their opponents an argument against them. Ministers, it may be said, are indifferent to the fate of their own bills. What else, then, can they expect but that their foes should be more than indifferent? This is the only reproach that is at all likely to tell against the Government. On every other point the ministerial answer to the charges and criticisms of the Conservatives is complete. Veiled obstruction is imputed to the Opposition by all honest Liberals. Should the Opposition answer that obstruction of any kind is not in their thoughts, the retort is obvious, and is to be found in the words of Sir Stafford Northcote himself. At the Knightsbridge banquet the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons illustrated his conversion to the doctrines of Lord Randolph Churchill—that the business of an Opposition is to oppose—by comparing the obstructives in the House of Commons to Leonidas and his three hundred at Thermopylæ. Again, the Conservatives accuse the Government of two distinct things: first, of mismanaging the time of Parliament; secondly, of bringing forward bills which are fore-doomed to defeat, or which fail to make any progress because no national sentiment exists in their favour. Now, as regards the first of these accusations, it is one which cannot be substantiated by evidence. The Affirmation Bill was defeated, and therefore it may be said that the time given to that was thrown away; but it was the Conservatives, and especially the leader of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, who perpetually taunted Ministers with timidity in failing to deal with the whole business of Mr. Bradlaugh by legislation. The measure was therefore the answer, if not to a Conservative demand, to a Conservative sneer. With this single exception the Government have not idly disposed of a single moment. They have not wasted time for the simple reason that no time has

been given them to waste. But, it is remarked, Ministers would be able to get their bills through the House of Commons if public opinion was strongly enlisted in their favour. It is not, and so the measures hang fire. This it seems to us is a very formidable charge for the Opposition to formulate, and is a double-edged weapon which tells just as much against the Conservatives as against the Liberals. It is not denied that such measures as the Bankruptcy Bill, and the Tenants' Compensation Bill, without the appeal to Liberal feeling of May 29, are of a sound and useful sort. They do not belong to the order of sensational legislation. There is nothing about them to generate an enthusiasm which will carry everything before it. But surely that is an additional reason why the progress of such bills should not be thwarted by the Conservative Opposition. If a measure is of demonstrated utility, and while not ardently desired by the country is yet regarded with approval, and is certainly not offensive or dangerous—involves, in other words, no fundamental change—there can be very little excuse for the uncompromising resistance offered to it at Westminster.

The responsibility for this tedious and trivial frittering away of Parliamentary time is by no means confined to the regular opposition or to Irish members. Many Liberals, and even good Radicals below the gangway, are parties to it. Take what occurred in Committee of Supply on the night of Monday, May 21st. Any business assemblage which attempted to transact its affairs in the fashion then illustrated by our legislators, would speedily find itself in a state of desperate perplexity. Petty verbal criticism, endless repetitions, refinements of substantive and adjective which involved no real distinction; motions brought forward only that they might be withdrawn; amendments moved amid laughter, and cancelled amid louder laughter still; this is a fair sample of the incidents which occupied the greater portion of the evening. The vote for the frescoes, for instance, was made the occasion for a verbal wrangle, that scarcely escaped being ridiculous, about artistic technicalities. The Patent Museum was dragged into the discussion without provocation, and with the purpose not of gaining information or of protesting against an abuse, but of wasting time. If this spirit of trifling cannot be checked the House of Commons will deservedly fall into disrespect. There is only one way in which ineptitude of this kind can be terminated. Ministers must present the same front to the House of Commons that they did three years ago, and they will rally their supporters and the whole country round them. In taking up a strong line the Government have everything to gain and nothing to lose. There is only one form of Liberalism which interests or attracts the country: it is Radicalism. In this there are a definiteness and a vigour that impress the popular mind and that are regarded as guarantees of success. Nothing can be more signi-

ficant than the reception given at Liverpool the other day, not only on the occasion of the general meeting, but on the more select occasion of the public banquet, to the mention of some of the foremost Radicals of the day and of their measures. The Government will do well to take the hint that is afforded them by events, to show that they have the courage of their convictions, and that it is determined to translate them into action. The game is still in their own hands, and the tactics they may adopt during the next few weeks will decide whether they lose or win it. If they persevere with their measures we believe that they will be successful in carrying them. If they are not successful they will still have the country with them. In either event they may anticipate a dissolution without any misgiving. The resolutions passed at the gathering, which Mr. Gladstone has done well and wisely to convoke, are a guarantee that the qualities which the situation require are forthcoming. Once more the Government and the Liberal party in Parliament have brought themselves into line with the Liberal feeling in the country.

One word in conclusion: the Liberals, it may be trusted, are not likely to commit the mistake of presuming on the disorganization of their opponents. The Conservative ranks, as we have often said before, will close up in proportion as the signs of Liberal weakness are visible. They may be without a leader, but the necessary consolidating pressure will be applied by events. True it is that they are animated by no principles, and that they display a tendency to adopt the obsolete economical doctrines which Liberalism was compelled years ago to discard. Conservatism at the present moment means little more than a worship of the memory of Lord Beaconsfield, and might be even summed up as the Primrose cultus. None the less it will profit by the blunders of Liberalism, and if the Government fail to turn the remainder of the session to good account, and, when the session is over, to reinvigorate the electors on the subject of the county franchise, the Conservative spokesmen will have a chance of making an effective oratorical campaign against Ministers, during the long vacation, which will seriously embarrass them when Parliament meets early next year.

Social questions have occupied Parliament to a small extent during the past month. The figures of the division in the House of Commons on Sir Wilfrid Lawson's motion in favour of Local Option are another sign of the increasing extent to which the public opinion of the constituencies makes itself felt at Westminster. On few subjects has parliamentary feeling matured so rapidly or decisively. At the same time it must be remembered that though Sir Wilfrid Lawson was successful by 206 to 130, his supporters are not unanimously prepared to go as far as he desires. The Government, for instance, would scarcely consent to intrust the majority in any district with

the power of abolishing all public-houses. What is contemplated, as Sir William Harcourt clearly foreshadowed, is that the licensing power shall be transferred from the magistrates to some popular and elective bodies. These bodies will be constituted by the County Government Bill, and Local Option will therefore be dealt with as part of a whole. The vote of the House of Lords rejecting Lord Dunraven's resolution in favour of opening the picture galleries and museums on Sundays is not without a certain resemblance to the throwing out by the House of Commons of the Affirmation Bill. In both cases the division was taken upon a false issue, and the real question was studiously concealed. The people's representatives have negatived a measure which would have had the effect of enabling Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat, not because he is an irreligious person, but because he has violated the British sense of respectability. The measure if passed would have gone far to prevent the oath—in other words the name of God—being taken in vain, but Mr. Bradlaugh was in ill odour with the public for social reasons, and the insincere objections urged against the measure prevailed. In the same way Lord Dunraven's motion was defeated, not from any profound desire to protect the sanctity of the Sabbath, to prevent its so-called desecration, but to limit the area of its desecration by restricting it only to persons of quality. The Sundays of the polite and fashionable world have long been completely secularized, and with the exception that in England the theatre, the opera, and the racecourse are not open on the first day of the week, there is no difference between it and any other day. Their social gatherings and festivities are held as if the Sabbath were without any spiritual associations. It is not, therefore, regard for its sanctity, but a wish to give its secularity a *cachet* of exclusiveness, that was the real motive of the defeat of the motion.

Foreign affairs have only been the subject of occasional questions in either House of Parliament. The disturbances in South Africa continue, but we are likely before long to arrive at an understanding with the Boers of the Transvaal. The Convention must be seriously modified, and with Sir Hercules Robinson and Dr. Jorissen in London, and the communications which are passing between them and the Government, there should be no difficulty in making the necessary revision. The accounts which have reached us of the state of affairs that have encountered Cetewayo on his return to Zululand are perplexed and untrustworthy. On the north of the great continent in Egypt a distinct advance has been made by the appointment of Major Baring. He will go to Cairo with the advantage of a comprehensive Indian experience, and with a thorough knowledge of the policy of Lord Dufferin. He is also personally acceptable in a high degree to France, while his Indian and Egyp-

tian knowledge combined qualifies him to take a synoptical view of our whole Eastern empire, and to avoid the blunders frequently committed by very able men in political perspective. There is nothing of the fanatic about Major Baring. Amid the heating and disturbing influences on the mind of an oriental climate he has preserved his coolness and clearness of vision. The establishment of the new *régime* in Egypt may, it has been said, create a dangerous activity on the part of Russia in other quarters of the world. The Czar has been crowned in his capital with all conceivable pomp and splendour, and representatives of every power and of every nationality under heaven have flocked to the pageant. What is to be the sequel of the superb ceremonial? Will the event be marked merely by the announcement of new internal reforms and by the redress of domestic grievances, or will Alexander III. signalise his formal assumption of the imperial diadem by a policy of foreign adventure and aggression? The state of Armenia is indeed a source of possible disturbance and danger. The debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Bryce's motion made it perfectly clear that the Porte has failed, and will continue to fail, to fulfil the clauses of the Berlin Treaty which relate to Armenia. This failure releases us from the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and few persons can doubt that the only expedient which can be adopted in Armenia with any hope of success is the concession to her of autonomous government.

For England, the chief if not the entire interest of the Eastern question centres in Egypt. That the existing canal through the Isthmus of Suez is inadequate for the wants even of England alone is now indisputable. It will therefore be necessary to supplement it, and a portion of the French press has vehemently denounced the coarse egotism and selfishness of the English people, who, they are told, think of nothing more than of the manner in which the fresh development of the enterprise can best be turned to their own advantage. M. de Lesseps has announced that he is prepared to construct a new canal within a short period of time, and has added that at the forthcoming meeting of the shareholders he will explain his programme. The one point which England has to keep in view is that sufficient provision should be made for the passage of her commerce through the Isthmus of Suez, and that in the control of any new channel which may be opened she should have a decisive voice. Popular opinion in France is against giving her so much as this; but there is reason to believe that the responsible rulers of the country have decided differently. We are not now concerned to consider whether M. de Lesseps has changed his original attitude from compulsion or as an act of grace. The result is the only thing of importance. The concession made by the Sultan to M. de Lesseps may give him plenary rights, and though it is far from certain that

another tribunal would confirm the decision of the court which has interpreted the agreement between himself and the Porte in this sense, it is as well to be rid of litigation.

The internal condition of France, especially as affected by the external policy of her Government, is calculated to fill her best wishers with grave misgiving. In Madagascar she is committed to a policy of wholesale annexation, and, it may be, to a formidable military campaign. In Tonquin her rulers disclaim any idea of annexation or even of war. M. Challemel Lacour has even asserted that the object of the enterprise is purely pacific, and that nothing more than a demonstration of armed strength will be necessary to secure the end desired. As the Duc de Broglie significantly remarked in the French Senate, whenever a Government means attack it can always find its Kroumirs. No one can fail to perceive that France, debarred from a policy of military ambition in Europe by the attitude of Germany, Austria, and Italy, is endeavouring, in Canning's phrase, "to call into existence a new world to redress the balance of the old." The result of action of this kind must sooner or later make itself felt financially, and one of the chief dangers to the Republic in the future may arise from the heavy taxation which her present policy will render necessary. But at present there is not discernible among the great mass of the French people any alarm at the course of events or their possible consequences. They know little or nothing of what is doing or meditated by the Government in Central Africa, at Tonquin, and at Madagascar. The official despatches are extremely meagre; only a few of them are communicated to the press; nor is there a single French newspaper correspondent who is likely to send home news so full and independent that it would enlighten or terrify public opinion. The very remoteness of the places explains the apathy of the people. There are not, indeed, wanting in France a few politicians of the more advanced school who detect in these expeditions a renewal of the Mexican and Tunisian enterprises, and who see in them a proof of the disastrous influence exercised in high quarters by commercial rings and syndicates. Herein lies the main peril. For the present the Government is irresponsible, because its action almost escapes criticism; but once let events occur unfavourable to French arms or prestige, and it may be difficult to prevent an outburst of disaffection that may shake the Republic to its foundations.

On the other hand, elements are not wanting in the French situation, particularly in those features of it that are chiefly financial, upon which the Government may be congratulated; while there are, it must now be acknowledged, certain classes with whom the military expeditions now on foot are in high favour. The contracts with the railway companies have been well managed, and the compromise which M. Léon Say has suggested for the relief of the Treasury—each railway company undertaking to complete its system, and